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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

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PREFACE

Volume 43 contains letters, notes and telegrams written from 1893 to the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and published in volumes 46, 47, 48 and 49 of the Fifth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*. They are an essential complement to the correspondence published in volumes 34, 35 and 36 of the present edition.

Noteworthy are Lenin's letters to P. P. Maslov relating to the beginnings of the working-class movement and the early spread of Marxism in Russia. They reveal his keen interest in the economic situation in Russia and contain a scientific critique of the economic views of the liberal Narodniks (V. Y. Postnikov, V. P. Vorontsov, and others).

Included in the present volume are many documents from the period of struggle for the creation of a Marxist party in Russia. Uncompromising struggle against Right opportunism (Economism and, later, Menshevism) and the anarchistic petty-bourgeois revolutionariness of the Left Narodniks, on the one hand, and against bourgeois liberalism, which sought to subordinate the working-class and democratic movement to its ends, on the other, is the main theme of the letters written in this period.

Stressing the need to build an independent proletarian Marxist party of a new type, Lenin underscored the importance of open political struggle against opportunists of all shades, for the political independence and unity of the working-class movement in Russia. "Of course," he wrote, "struggle in the press will cause more ill feeling and give us a good many hard knocks, but we are not so thin-skinned as to fear knocks! To wish for struggle without knocks, differences without struggle, would be the height of naïveté,

and if the struggle is waged *openly* it ... will lead, I repeat, a hundred times faster to lasting *unity*" (p. 48).

The letters throw light on the vast effort Lenin invested into founding *Iskra*, the first all-Russia political newspaper, and the journal *Zarya*, which played an exceptional role in the establishment of a Marxist party of the new type. All of Lenin's editorial and organisational work, which ranged from laying down the ideological guidelines, selecting the authors and discussing and reviewing the materials submitted for publication to the transportation and circulation of the paper in Russia, is vividly reflected in these letters.

A number of letters written after the Second Congress of the Party have been included in this volume. They do much to round out the picture of the struggle waged by the Bolsheviks against the Menshevik splitters, showing how, at a time when the Menshevik leaders sought to break up the united party that had just taken shape, Lenin passionately fought for its unity, to prevent the division of local Party organisations. Of particular interest are the letters to Yelena Stasova, F. V. Lengnik, V. P. Nogin, and I. I. Radchenko, and to the Moscow and other local Party committees.

Stressing the revolutionary services rendered by the old *Iskra* and exposing the Mensheviks, including Trotsky, who denied in a slanderous pamphlet the importance of both *Iskra* and the Second Party Congress, Lenin wrote: "Reading a pamphlet of this kind you can see clearly that the 'Minority' has indulged in so much lying and falsehood that it will be incapable of producing anything viable, and one wants to fight, here there is something worth fighting for" (p. 129).

The letters show what colossal effort Lenin devoted to restoring the central institutions of the Party, launching the Bolsheviks' Central Organ, the newspaper *Vperyod*, and preparing for the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P

This volume also contains a number of letters relating to the period of the first Russian revolution, shedding light on the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. For instance, the letter to *l'Humanité* correspondent Etienne Avenard demonstrates the importance of

the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the correctness of the Bolshevik tactical line and the need for the alliance of the proletariat and the democratic peasantry against the "baseness and treachery of the bourgeoisie, who are day by day becoming more and more counter-revolutionary" (p. 174).

A considerable number of letters relate to the period of reaction, among them many to Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International, with whom Lenin corresponded in the capacity of representative of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. There are also letters to other leaders of the international working-class movement testifying to the broad connections Lenin and the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. had with this movement. They illustrate the unflagging struggle Lenin waged against opportunism, for revolutionary tactics in the working-class movement, for unity in the ranks of the revolutionary Marxists and for the fraternal solidarity of the working people the world over.

A notable place among the letters of this period is occupied by correspondence bearing on the struggle against the Mensheviks and Trotsky, who impeded and sabotaged the work of the Party's central institutions, and also against the *Vperyod* group, the otzovists and ultimatumists, whose "Left" phraseology and adventuristic policy threatened to isolate the Party from the working class, to divorce it from the masses, and virtually to liquidate it. Lenin exposed the organisation by the otzovists of a Party school on Capri as a factional scheme and worked for a long time to organise a real Party school for revolutionary workers.

The letters written in the period of the new revolutionary upswing deal with the consolidation of the underground proletarian party and with the struggle against liquidationism. Liquidationism, which first asserted itself among the Mensheviks in the period of reaction, continued to cause great harm to the working class and its Party even after a new upsurge had begun in the revolutionary movement. Combating the liquidators, who underrated illegal work and urged renouncing underground methods, Lenin

focussed the attention of Party cadres on combining illegal and legal forms of activity—utilisation of the Duma rostrum, participation in workers' funds and other legal societies, etc. This volume includes several documents exposing the conference called by the liquidators, who set up the short-lived August anti-Party bloc.

A number of letters are directed against the conciliators. "You cannot sit between two stools," Lenin wrote, "either you are with the liquidators or against them" (p. 271). These letters afford an idea of the difference between the tactics used to combat the anti-Party trends and the approach to those who sought reconciliation with these trends. While calling for uncompromising struggle against the liquidators on the main issues of principle, Lenin counselled taking a different line towards the conciliators, explaining things to them in order to win them over. In a letter to L. B. Kamenev commenting on the latter's pamphlet *Two Tactics*, he wrote: "We must not call for a break *with the conciliators*. This is quite uncalled for and incorrect. A 'persuasive' tone should be adopted towards them, by no means should they be antagonised" (p. 279).

The irreconcilable struggle waged by the Bolsheviks against the liquidators ended in the expulsion of the latter from the Party at the Sixth (Prague) Conference.

The volume includes a large number of letters to the editorial boards of the legal Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda*, and especially *Pravda*. The advice contained in these letters (as well as his articles) determined the political and ideological orientation of *Pravda*, its uncompromising stand towards the liquidators and their newspaper *Luch*. In the spring of 1913 *Pravda* was reorganised, its contents greatly improved and its size increased in accordance with Lenin's instructions. Congratulating the editors and staff on the improvement of content, Lenin set the task of *fighting* "*to win 100,000* readers.... The *great* (and sole) danger for *Pravda* now is the loss of the *broad* readership, loss of a position to fight for it" (p. 350).

A prominent place is occupied by documents written in connection with the preparations for and the convocation of many Party conferences and meetings. These include letters in which Lenin gives his assessment of the Cracow and

Poronin meetings of the C.C. with Party functionaries, the Fourth Congress of the Latvian Social-Democrats, etc. Speaking of the Cracow meeting held in January 1913, Lenin wrote: "It's going wonderfully. It will be no less significant than the 1912 January Conference. There will be resolutions on *all* important issues, unity *included*" (p. 327).

The volume includes many letters written to Inessa Armand in connection with the convocation of the Brussels "unity" conference by the International Socialist Bureau in July 1914. Guided by Lenin's instructions, the delegation of the Central Committee exposed at this conference the harm caused by liquidationism and called for unity of the working-class movement from below. The liquidators did not achieve their ends, the support given them by international opportunism did not yield the results they had expected. "The liquidators' *last* card is the help of the foreign organisations, but that card, too, will be beaten," Lenin wrote (p. 424).

The large number of letters written during the imperialist world war (1914-17) afford an idea of the tremendous theoretical and practical work Lenin accomplished in elaborating and propagating the Bolshevik tactics of struggle against imperialist war, and of his uncompromising attitude towards social-chauvinism and Kautskyism. The letters to V. A. Karpinsky, Sophia Ravich, G. L. Shklovsky, M. N. Pokrovsky and others throw light on the circumstances in which some of Lenin's most important articles and books were written and published—*Socialism and War*, *Imperialism*, *the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, etc. The letters are a complement to such works as "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", "The Junius Pamphlet", "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism" and others, and offer a model of the creative approach to the revolutionary theory of Marxism. In them Lenin, through profound study and generalisation of the historical experience of proletarian class struggle, outlines the tasks of international Social-Democracy and the working-class movement at the time of the imperialist world war, and develops the fundamental Marxist propositions concerning just and unjust wars and

the defence of the country. The volume also contains letters criticising the anti-Marxist views of N. I. Bukharin, G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosh. Firmly and consistently upholding the basic principles of Marxism, Lenin combated at the same time the conciliatory position taken by G. Y. Zinoviev.

The letters to V. A. Karpinsky reflect the tremendous practical work done by Lenin in connection with the resumption of publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Central Organ of the Party. Transporting the paper to Russia, arrangements with contributors and many other things all the way to minor details (type and paper) claimed his attention. For instance, in a letter to Karpinsky dated November 22, 1914, he wrote: "Write and let us know *for how many issues* you have thin paper. If there is plenty (we shall probably get some more from Paris) and **if** it is not too bad for local use, we shall increase the % of thin paper" (p. 436).

Despite the difficulty of establishing contacts with the local Party organisations, the Central Committee headed by Lenin arranged for the circulation in Russia of Bolshevik literature exposing the imperialist character of the war, educating the workers, soldiers and peasants politically and teaching them how to combat the war, and calling on them to rise against their own exploiters. The Central Committee maintained contact with the Party organisations in Russia through Stockholm and later through Oslo, where A. G. Shlyapnikov was representative of the Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee at the time. Some of the letters to Shlyapnikov may therefore be regarded as letters to the Central Committee Bureau in Russia. Contact with Russia was maintained also through M. M. Litvinov, Alexandra Kollontai, and others.

Lenin attached prime importance to rallying the forces of the Left Social-Democrats in the various countries of Europe and America. Included in the present volume are his letters to Left Social-Democrats in Holland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and other countries. He arranged for the circulation of the Central Organ, Bolshevik publications, resolutions of the Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad, etc., among the revolutionary

Social-Democrats of many countries, and established personal contacts with them. In a letter to H. Gorter he supported the idea of founding an international journal of the Left Social-Democrats to counter the social-chauvinists' mean way of "defending opportunism of the worst brand by means of sophisms" (p. 453). In a letter to David Wijnkoop Lenin pointed out: "What we need is not the solemn declarations of leaders ... but a consistent revolutionary declaration of principles to help the workers find the correct path" (p. 478).

From the beginning of the war, when the Second International collapsed ideologically and politically and in effect broke up, with the various Social-Democratic parties at loggerheads with one another, Lenin advocated the establishment of a Third International to include the Left, genuinely revolutionary internationalists. Writing to G. Y. Zinoviev, he said: "I am sending Wijnkoop's letter. *Return it immediately*.... I shall snatch at *this* 'little kernel' of a Left International with both hands. We must work *as hard as we can* to get closer together with them" (p. 461).

A number of letters deal with the preparations for the Zimmerwald and Kienthal International Socialist Conferences and also the popularisation of their decisions. In the course of the preparatory work for the Kienthal Conference Lenin advised the Dutch internationalists to contact the minority of the British Socialist Party and urge them to send "either a representative, or at least a declaration. If, as a result of this conference, we receive ... a Left Marxist international declaration of principles, it will be a very useful thing" (p. 482).

Of particular interest are the letters written in early 1917 and in the last days spent by Lenin abroad, when it became known that the February bourgeois-democratic revolution had been successful. They constitute a valuable addition to other Lenin documents containing an analysis of the revolutionary developments in Russia and the new tasks he set before the proletarian party, the workers, peasants and soldiers. Several letters relate to arrangements for Lenin's return, together with other Party workers, from Switzerland to Russia.

The volume closes with a note to Margarita Fofanova written late at night on October 24 (November 6), 1917: "I am going where you did not want me to go. Good-bye. Ilyich" (p. 638). Lenin had left for the Smolny, the headquarters of the revolution, to lead the October armed uprising.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism
of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

1893

1

TO P. P. MASLOV

I received your letter* the day before yesterday, and yesterday I wrote to inform you that the articles on the peasant reform[1] had been sent to you. Let me know whether you have the article on Postnikov.** If you have it, send it as soon as you can to N. Y. with the request that it be forwarded to me immediately after it has been read; I need it.

I am very sorry you did not find me in Samara.*** Are you planning a trip to the capitals for the holidays? If you are, we could meet.

I am expecting from you a critical analysis in as minute detail as possible of the article on Postnikov: I trust you have noticed that I am drawing far more important and far-reaching conclusions from the premises set forth in it than are to be found in the article itself. The disintegration of our small producers (the peasants and handicraftsmen) appears to me to be the basic and principal fact explaining our urban and large-scale capitalism, dispelling the myth that the peasant economy represents some special structure (it is the same bourgeois structure with the sole difference that it is still shackled to a far greater extent by feudal fetters), and making it patent that what are called "workers" are not a handful of specially circumstanced

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* You could have found out my address from the Bar Council here.

** See V. I. Lenin, "New Economic Developments in Peasant Life" (present edition, Vol 1, pp. 11-73).—*Ed.*

*** And did not meet my friends there.

people but simply the outer layers of the vast mass of peasants who already derive their livelihood more from the sale of their labour power than from their own husbandry. I value Postnikov's book so highly just because it contains data for a precise examination of the situation, provides factual proof of the absurdity of the current notions concerning our "communal" village, and shows that, essentially, the pattern in our country does not differ from that of Western Europe.

I offered the article to *Russkaya Mysl*[2] but it did not choose to publish it. I have been wondering whether it would be better to enlarge and revise the article somewhat and publish it in pamphlet form.

It would be very interesting to hear your opinion on this; I think this could be done by correspondence.

The basic premise in my comments on the works about the reform was that this reform stemmed from the development of commodity economy and that its entire meaning and purpose was the destruction of the fetters retarding and restricting the development of this system. We shall discuss this in greater detail some other time—perhaps I shall be able to forward to you the comments I sent to the author; this would be simplest and most convenient.

Let me have your reply as soon as possible, indeed at once, otherwise the letter may not find me here.

Written in the second half
of December 1893
Sent from St. Petersburg to Samara

First published in 1940
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIII*

Printed from the original

1894

2
TO P. P. MASLOV

30.V. 94

Received your letter the day before yesterday. I indeed had almost forgotten about our correspondence and about the review, but I am of course very pleased to resume correspondence on the questions raised by it, as well as on other questions.

One thing surprises me—why did you have to "search" for me? Didn't N. M. A.* see you on his return to Tiflis from St. Petersburg and inform you (as I asked him to) that I have a permanent address—for the winter at least—namely: Bar Council, Advocate N. N.

Concerning your comments,** I should like to say this. First, as regards the conclusions being too cautious, it should be borne in mind that this shortcoming [I fully agree that this is really a shortcoming] is due to my intention to have the article published in a liberal journal. I actually was naïve enough to send it to *Russkaya Mysl*, which of course turned it down: I fully understood why when I read in *Russkaya Mysl* No. 2 an article about Postnikov by "our well-known" liberal vulgariser, Mr. V. V. It takes some artistry to mutilate splendid material so thoroughly and to bury the facts in sheer verbiage!

The fact is that I draw from these data some major conclusions. Namely, that the data, in my opinion, point to the bourgeois nature of the economic relationships existing among the peasantry. They strikingly reveal the existence

* The person referred to has not been identified.—*Ed.*
** See previous letter.—*Ed.*

of antagonistic *classes* in this "communal" peasantry; moreover, of classes that are characteristic only of capitalist organisation of the social economy. This is the cardinal conclusion, and one fully applicable to the rest of the Russian peasantry. Another conclusion is that already now a huge proportion (probably no less than half and most likely more) of peasant-grown grain goes to the market, and that the principal producer of this grain is the top group of the present-day village—the peasant bourgeoisie.*

Further, I attach much importance to the fact established by Postnikov that as a rule throughout Russia the productivity of labour is 2-2½ times higher in the upper groups of the peasantry. This is of enormous importance from the theoretical standpoint, as is the ascertaining of the *commercial* farm area (a point so dangerous for the Russian exceptionalists that I fully appreciate Mr. V. V.'s careful avoidance of the question).

As for your second remark—concerning the norm of natural economy—I must admit that I do not quite understand you.

The question of a "norm", to my mind, is meaningful only in this sense: it is important to know how big an area the average peasant must cultivate to meet all his needs (both production and personal) and manage without outside earnings.

This is important to know since all peasant farms below this level fall into the category of those selling labour power, and the size of the farm is a fairly accurate indicator to what extent it depends on this source of income. Households in the higher groups are petty-bourgeois pure and simple.

As regards the share of "natural" economy, I believe it is invariably the greatest in the middle group of peasants, but there too commodity economy is bound to account for a substantial proportion (probably some 40 per cent of the

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* Hourwich is therefore mistaken when he says that Russia will in the *future* become a country of the peasant bourgeoisie. It is that already.

A very good book: Hourwich, *The Economics of the Russian Village*, 1892. New York.

total budget must be in monetary form). Farms of the lower and top groups will always be more of a commodity type, for the first sells labour power and the second, surpluses of grain.

The analysis of the groups given in the article on Postnikov is along these lines.

You speak of the "norm of natural economy" and the "norm of commodity economy" as of two separate things. If I understood you right, the latter is my average norm [17-18 dessiatines of crop area according to Postnikov's figures] in which, of course, *it is important to separate and calculate exactly the natural and money components*. I do not see that there is any self-contained "norm of natural economy"; our contemporary peasant economy cannot be a pure natural economy whatever its dimensions.

However, here it is better to wait for a more detailed explanation from you.

As regards the criticism of N. K. Mikhailovsky, I also believe that no publication will print it, not so much because of considerations of censorship (rumour has it that the censors are exorcising Russian Marxism following the commotion raised by *Russkoye Bogatstvo*[3]) as of disagreement with you and fear of an impudent and conceited "big wig". I've had some experience in this respect. [Nor do I think it *possible* or worth while to reply to him in our press.] It would give me pleasure to read your reply.

I shall probably be here until June 12, and perhaps longer. I shall let you know my new address when I leave. In the meantime you can write (after the 12th) through M. H. H.; it will be quicker to forward mail from there.

Sent from St. Petersburg to Samara

First published in 1940 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIII*

Printed from the original

3

TO P. P. MASLOV

31.V. 94

Just received your second letter and am hurrying to reply; if you write at once your answer may still find me here (I'll probably be here until June 12).

Your suggestion appeals to me very much *in principle*. On particulars, however, I cannot pass judgement, not having seen your article. As for my own article,* strictly speaking, I do not think it is worth printing in its present form (the form of a simple review of V. Y. Postnikov's book).**

(In regard to the cost of publication, I think something not very long would be much cheaper.)

All in all it seems that the matter will have to be put off until autumn,*** for even if you managed to send the article here it would still take quite some time before it could be published. We shall have to discuss this thoroughly in detail by letter. Still better would it be to meet in person****; if you have the means (and the desire) to publish and want to write, and if we see eye to eye, it should be possible to arrange....*****

Sent from St. Petersburg to Samara

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

4

TO L. F. MILOVIDOVA[4]

I received *The Housing******* and got down to work. The point is that you left things unfinished. In reading the

* See "New Economic Developments in Peasant Life" (present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 11-73).—*Ed.*

** We shall discuss this in greater detail.

*** And this is not a long time.

**** For experience shows that mail makes very slow haste.

***** The manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

****** The reference is to Frederick Engels's *The Housing Question*.—*Ed.*

final copy a heap of mistakes was discovered (the drawings too, I found, caused much confusion). After reading it, our common acquaintances said the work was very poor. Therefore I had to sit down to revise it, sick and tired though I was of the job. The result was that the clean copy turned out to be a rough draft.

Can you send me ...* by Engels with the 1894 afterword. *You can forward it the usual way*. The address will be the same roughly until August 15, after which the winter address should be used.

You did not fully distinguish between the Germans and the German** in your letter. The lack of "theoretical interest" on the part of the former is understandable to me (though regrettable), but can the same be said about the latter? When giving an interpretation of a question one should not avoid analysing it. True, I recently came across an instance of inability to see what was at issue and why it was important, but I should not like to believe that the same sort of thing can be expected there.

Written July 21, 1894
Sent from Nizhni-Novgorod to Switzerland

First published in 1961
in the journal *Istoria SSSR*
No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

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* Omission in the typewritten copy.—*Ed.*
** G. V. Plekhanov.—*Ed.*

1900

5
TO Y. M. STEKLOV

To Nakhamkis

To answer your questions: 1) In referring to "us" and "the editors" I had in mind the article on the programme of *Rabocheye Dyelo*[5] and nothing else.* 2) The collocutors in Bellerive were we *two*: Potresov and myself, your new acquaintances. 3) If I previously told you that you were not right and then wrote and stressed that you were right, this means that my views had changed and approximated to yours.

We hope to be able in the not very distant future to inform you and Goldendakh (we place great hopes on the closest co-operation with you both) of the final form of the relationships (on the editorial plane) between us (the two collocutors in Bellerive+one in Russia) and the Emancipation of Labour group.[6]

Thanks for the article "The Historical Preparation of Russian Social-Democracy": we are very happy to print it and believe that our journal[7] would gain much if such articles appeared in it more frequently. The article will also be sent to the Emancipation of Labour group, so please do not be annoyed by a possible delay.

My colleague has one point to make: the credit for establishing the first contacts with the workers belongs not to the groups you mention, but to the Chaikovsky group.[8]

Written September 25, 1900
Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 29-31.—*Ed.*

6

TO D. B. RYAZANOV

To Goldendakh

We are happy to hear that you can let us have the article so soon. Your answers to our comments were completely satisfactory, for they showed that we fully agree on all the essentials and fortified our hopes that we shall be able to establish closer relations with you, and that you will be a regular contributor.

With best regards and comradely greetings from Potresov and myself.

Petrov

Written September 25, 1900
Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

7

TO V. P. NOGIN

10/X. 00

Dear Vasily Petrovich,

I received your address and the resolution of the twenty-three[9] against the "*Credo*" from P. B. (Axelrod) only yesterday. Alexei wrote long ago that you would be abroad, but I was unable to locate you (foolish of him not to give you my postal address!). Please get in touch with me and let me know in detail how you are getting on: how long you have been in London, what you are doing, what the people are like in London, what your plans are, and when you intend to leave. Why did you choose London?

There are no passwords; instead of a password (for you do not know me, do you? How did Alexei refer to me when you spoke with him? Did he give you a good enough idea of what we are doing?) I shall give you the initials of the addressee through whom I am to write to Alexei. Alexei writes me: if you cannot make out the address, ask

Novosyolov. The initials are: K. A. G. G.*—insert the missing letters and we shall have made "contact".

All the best,
Petrov

Reply to this address:
Herrn Philipp Rögner, Cigarrenhandlung, Neue Gasse, *Nürnberg*.
Enclose second envelope addressed to Petrov.

P.S. Please let me have two or three addresses of fully reliable people (outsiders, not revolutionaries) to whom one could go in Poltava and find out about Alexei.

Sent from Munich to London

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

8
TO Y. M. STEKLOV**

1) *Nakhamkis*. For the paper, about the international congress+the national French congress, some 6,000 characters.
2) *For the journal*: To separate Nakhamkis and Gurevich.
Delivery point?
When will they take it (the package)?
Address for handing in here.
Let them inform us more definitely whether it is a warehouse they need. (Do they already have one?)[10]
We hope to find people in Russia—though not too close to the border. (Could it be received in Riga or Pskov?)

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* The person referred to has not been identified.—*Ed*.

** Draft of a letter jotted down in pencil on a clean page of a letter from Y. M. Steklov; on top of Steklov's letter is an entry in an unknown hand: "received October 10, answered October 10, and draft returned."—*Ed*.

If things are *fully arranged*, we shall give them *definite* assignments in Russia.

The article should be returned.

Written October 10, 1900

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

9

TO APOLLINARIA YAKUBOVA*

I clearly see two trends also in your letter to a friend: one quite legitimately lays the stress on the need for economic struggle, the need to be able to make use of the workers' legal societies as well, "to respond in diverse ways to the day-to-day vital needs of the workers", and so on. All this is legitimate and correct. You are mistaken if you think that the revolutionaries "are opposed to legal societies", that such societies are "hateful" to them, that they "turn their backs on society", and so on. The revolutionaries too recognise the necessity of economic struggle, of responding also to the day-to-day vital needs, and of learning to make use of legal societies as well. Not only have the revolutionaries never and nowhere *advised* to turn one's back on society, but on the contrary have stressed that it is essential for Social-Democracy to *take the lead* in the social movement and to unite under the leadership of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party all the democratic elements. However, it is imperative to take care that the legal societies and purely economic organisations should *not separate* the workers' movement from Social-Democracy and revolutionary political struggle, but that they should, on the contrary, *link them as closely and indissolubly as possible*. But in your letter there is also that tendency (a harmful and, in my opinion, thoroughly reactionary one), the tendency to *separate* the workers' movement from Social-Democracy and revolutionary political struggle—to put off the political tasks, to replace the

* A variant of part of the letter (see present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 51-54).—*Ed.*

concept "political struggle" with the concept "struggle for legal rights", and so on.

How to draw the line between the sound and useful tendency and the harmful one? I believe there is no need for me to persuade you who have already had a taste of "meetings abroad" that we must not confine ourselves to mere talk. And would it not be ridiculous to fear examination of the question in print since it has already been discussed for a long time in letters and debates. Why should debates at meetings and writing letters be considered permissible and elucidation of controversial issues in the press a "most harmful thing capable only (???) of amusing our enemies"? This I cannot understand. Only polemics in the press can precisely establish the dividing line I am referring to, for some people are often bound to go to extremes. Of course struggle in the press will cause more ill feeling and give us a good many hard knocks, but we are not so thin-skinned as to fear knocks! To wish for struggle without knocks, differences without struggle, would be the height of naïveté, and if the struggle is waged *openly* it will be a hundred times better than foreign and Russian "Gubarevism", and will lead, I repeat, a hundred times faster to lasting *unity*.

Written October 26, 1900

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

10

TO P. B. AXELROD

7/XII. 00

Dear P. B.,

Forgive me for not replying to you in my letter to Bainova; ill health interfered. But having consulted with V. I. I can see now that the situation is very serious: we need the foreign news items, the first sheet of the paper is already being printed, and the second is ready except for the news items.[11] The length of the news column should be some

26,000 characters.* At a pinch we can throw out something else.

In view of this, please send *at once* whatever you can. I shall eagerly await your answer.

Address:

Herrn Georg Rittmeyer.
Kaiserstraße 53. o.
München (enclosure: für Meyer).

With best regards,
Yours,
Petroff

You must excuse my insistence. But what else can I do? I hope that you will see to this as you did with the article on Liebknecht.

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* Rakovsky's article of some 10,000 characters included.

1901

11

TO D. B. RYAZANOV

5/II. 01

Dear Comrade,

We have already read the proofs of your article and it probably has been printed, so that it is impossible to make any changes now. As for the deletion, we did it. We of course would not presume to make any changes affecting the essential ideas of the author without asking his permission first. The given deletion, however, was prompted by purely technical considerations. No editorial office can relinquish the right to make cuts of this order. We were quite certain that you would see yourself that the deletions we have made in no way alter the author's train of thought or detract from the weightiness of his arguments. We hope very much that you will not take this in bad part and that you will continue your co-operation which we value so highly.

The agreement with the liberals which we hinted at in the previous letter* has been concluded.[12] We undertake the publication of a separate general political supplement to *Zarya* which will also carry part of our current materials. We trust that your group[13] will lend a hand with this supplement too. We shall shortly send you the announcement of its publication.

Have you heard anything about the Kiev developments[14]?

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* See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 67-68.—*Ed.*

They say that 18 were killed there. Please let us know what information you have.

Best regards,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

12
TO V. P. NOGIN

5/II. 01

Thanks for the letter and the detailed analysis of *Iskra*. Thorough and well-argumented appraisals pointing out slips (inevitable in such a difficult job as this) are so rare that one appreciates them doubly. Your interest in *Iskra* reinforces my hope that we shall work together for it.

I fully agree with you that the review of home developments is skimpy. In the second issue it is better, but skimpy nonetheless. It is one of the most difficult sections, and only gradually can it be put on a satisfactory footing.

As regards contributions from correspondents, you are not quite right, in my opinion. The coincidence with *Rabochaya Mysl*[15] No. 10 [incidentally, I have not seen the issue; please send it to me] does not bother me.

It shows that we too have contacts with the St. Petersburg League,[16] and that is a very good thing.

Your interpretation of the advice "to be careful" contained in the item about the crisis[17] is in my view erroneous and far-fetched. It is clear from the context that the warning is *only* against *strikes*, and since next to this it is pointed out that strikes are not the only means of struggle, that it is necessary in these difficult times to use other methods of struggle: propaganda ("to explain") and agitation ("to prepare for more resolute—N.B.—struggle"), I categorically protest against comparing the call "to be careful" with the *Rabochaya Mysl* kind of thinking. The advice "to be careful" when it comes to strikes and to

prepare for more resolute struggle is the exact opposite of the *Rabochaya Mysl* position. Your point about demonstrations is fully justified, but, first, this enters precisely into the broader concept of "more resolute struggle"; second, it would be out of place to make this call more concrete and definite since there is no direct occasion for such action and it is impossible to assess the overall situation in detail. In issue No. 2, in a commentary on one particular strike and an item in *Yuzhny Rabochy*,[18] an attempt is made to be more definite on this score.

I cannot agree that the demand for state unemployment insurance could serve to stir the workers into action. I doubt whether this is right in principle: in a class state unemployment insurance can hardly amount to more than a deception. From the standpoint of tactics, it is especially out of place in Russia, since our state is *fond* of experiments in "etatisation", loves to advertise them as being for the "common good", and we should resolutely oppose any extension of the functions of the *present* state and work for more freedom for public initiative. Aid and benefits for the unemployed are all right, but "state insurance"—?

Your point that the article about Zubatov is not quite rounded out is perhaps justified.[19]

As for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Decembrists—this really was an omission.[20]

If you wish, I can get you a Bulgarian passport. *Write me if you need it*, and if so, let me have the particulars for identification.

The transport situation has improved and we may be able to manage without the help of new people.

Please send me "*Rabochaya Mysl*", and also *Byloye*[21] and *other London publications*. I would also like to have a catalogue of publications put out by the Fabian Society and other socialist firms. Which British newspaper would you recommend? Can you send me a couple of issues as samples? I subscribed to *Justice*[22] but was not satisfied with it.

I haven't got four copies of *Iskra* at the moment. We shall get them soon. Why, incidentally, must you have

them? Do not forget that *under no circumstances* can it be circulated abroad. The copy sent you is only for you and your friend*; in general, for the time being, it must remain strictly a secret.

With best regards,
Petrov

I am sending you our pamphlet as well.** So far also *only* for you, *confidentially*.

Please let us know your opinion.

When are you planning to go to Russia? Before you go, we must see each other. Couldn't you come over for a week or so?[23] How are you off for earnings and finances in general?

Once more, best regards,
Yours,
Petroff

Sent from Munich to London

First published in 1958 in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 3

Printed from the original

13
TO V. P. NOGIN

21/II. 01

Thanks for the newspapers. Within the next few days I shall send you *Iskra* No. 2—also *strictly* in secret.

Could you make an inquiry at the *Nakanune*[24] office. A sum of money and three postage stamps were sent there (in the name of Dr. K. Lehmann) as far back as *October* 31 to pay for the mailing of the paper. But not a word has been heard from them since then!

Please send me a copy of the protest against the drafting of students for military service. It would be interesting to

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* The reference evidently is to S. V. Andropov.—*Ed.*

** Probably the pamphlet *May Days in Kharkov*, with a preface by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 357-65).—*Ed.*

compare it with the article on the subject in *Iskra* No. 2.*
Alexei promises to come soon.

Yours,
Petrov

Excuse the brevity of this letter: I've a heap of petty things to attend to.

Sent from Munich to London

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

14
TO P. B. AXELROD

11/III. 01

Dear P. B.,

I received your letter today (together with a copy of the over-laudatory opinion of the Parisians[25]) and am hurrying to send you another copy of No. 2.** How could I not have noticed that the copy sent you was so poor? As a matter of fact, I had absolutely no *choice* then.

Leiteisen's article, in my opinion, is not quite ... but it evidently will nevertheless do. Others seem to have found it better than I did.

I haven't the slightest idea of Shouer. I shall ask others.

I am sending you the copies of *Weltpolitik*[26] I happen to have. If you need all the issues, you probably will have to get in touch with the author himself who again was obliging enough to give his address.

The last sheet of *Zarya* has been proof-read. Soon now....

Alexei wanted to write about the twentieth anniversa-

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* See V. I. Lenin, "The Drafting of 183 Students into the Army" (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 414-19).—*Ed.*

** Of *Iskra*.—*Ed.*

ry of March 1. I don't know whether he did. I am expecting him shortly.

With best regards,

Yours,

Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

15

TO V. P. NOGIN

23/III. 01

I am sending you 5 copies of *Iskra* No. 2 for distribution and sale. If you can use them to collect some money we will be very much obliged to you. We need money badly. Perhaps you could also take steps through London to promote circulation and collection of funds?

I am expecting Alexei any day now. He received his passport and was to have left at the end of last week.

Zarya should be sent to you in a few days from Stuttgart.

Best regards,

Yours....

Sent from Munich to London

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

16

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV*

I received the collection *At the Post of Honour*[27] dedicated to Mikhailovsky. It must be picked to pieces in the second issue of *Zarya*; I'll attend to Chernov, who handles Kautsky à la Bulgakov. It would be a good thing if you

* This letter is a postscript to Martov's letter.—*Ed.*

were to tackle Rafailov, Yuzhakov and the other "sociologists". This will be an act of revenge against Mikhailovsky.

Yours,
Petrov

Written April 15, 1901
Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published September 7, 1956 in the newspaper *Smena* (Leningrad) No. 210

Printed from the original

17

TO M. G. VECHESLOV*

To Yuriev

April 22

Since the red-print leaflets are to be forwarded to St. Petersburg the valise containing them should be sent in that direction (to Pskov, not to Smolensk or Poltava).

We are sending 100 marks as a *loan* to the Berlin group.[28] It would be desirable to collect the money needed for delivering the valises on the spot and to relieve *Iskra* of this expense. Do everything you can to raise the money, for we are very short of funds.

As regards your leaving the neutral group, you know best what to do. It might perhaps be better to wait, since you might be able to win others to our side.

The stamp has been ordered. Let us have the Vienna address again, the one you sent looks queer.

As regards sending consignments through the Polish Social-Democrat, you should accept his offer and do your best to give him a pood or two of literature at the earliest possible date for trial shipment. How much literature do you have on hand? We shall send you the balance—*Zarya* and (after May 1) *Iskra* No. 3.

You did not let us know how much open literature you have received. Send us a detailed account.

Written April 22, 1901
Sent from Munich to Berlin

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

* Written together with Nadezhda Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

18

TO THE *BORBA* GROUP[29]

12/V. 01

Dear Comrades,

Being, as before, supporters of unity in principle, we repeat our agreement to resume unity talks and gratefully accept the offer made by the *Borba* group to take the initiative and mediate in the preliminary phase of the talks. We agree to the holding of a preliminary conference of the Social-Democratic organisations you name.

We believe it is in place to add that we cannot of course end the polemics over issues of principle which we started with *Rabocheye Dyelo*.

Respectfully, on behalf of the *Iskra* group....

We would ask you to let us know as soon as possible whether all concerned have agreed to the idea of the conference.[30] We can definitely promise to take part in May, but a later date would involve some difficulty for us.

Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from a copy in Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova's handwriting

19

TO M. G. VECHESLOV

Draft of letter dated 18.V.01

We of course agree with your plan to begin publication of bulletins[31] at once. Only it is necessary to work out the organisational aspects of the scheme, that is, to settle some inevitable preliminary questions. For instance, will the entire *Iskra* promotion group in Berlin be involved in publishing and editing the bulletins (if I am not mistaken, the idea was not to inform the whole group of our organisational plan as yet), or just a part of it, or a few individuals? Will the title of the bulletins indicate their relation-

ship to *Iskra* or not? It would also be desirable that the programme of the bulletins should accord with the programme put forward in our draft and that the editors should see to it that the departments (translations of Polish, Finnish and other literature) are distributed among *Iskra* sympathisers and supporters. Lastly, it is essential definitely to decide (the decision of course should not be published) that the group publishing and editing the bulletins undertake the task provisionally with a view to turning it over to an elected Literary Commission when the *Iskra* organisation abroad which we have proposed has been openly constituted. There are also other matters which you of course will see for yourself and settle when you get down to working out your plan organisationally in its final form.

We on our part shall select some material we have on hand and send it to you. Let us know when you plan to put out the first issue. Will the bulletins you propose to publish be the same as the earlier ones (as regards format) or different?

Sent from Munich to Berlin

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

20

TO THE PRINTING SHOP OF *ISKRA*

We shall have to change the order of the articles.

Set up the material as long as you have type, and *save the set-up type*.

We hope to be able to send the articles tomorrow or the day after.

I am sending you:

1) Proofs
2) Kharkov
3) Kovno, etc.
4) Samara
5) Sedition, etc.

6) 2 poems
7) Nizhni-Novgorod.*

Send us printer's ink, we do not know how to get it.

Yours,
Lenin

Written between May 22 and June 1, 1901, in Munich and mailed to a local address

First published May 5, 1931, in *Pravda* No. 122

Printed from the original

21
TO G. D. LEITEISEN

24.V. 01

Dear Leiteisen,

As regards Muzykant, we believe that since he se met à notre disposition** and is an enterprising man, it is of course necessary to try and send him at once to the *very* frontier to take direct charge of the consignments, and not only to take charge but to attend personally to conveying them across (respective: to cross the frontier with a smuggler).

Since he agrees, he should be given 200 frs. (that is, the 100+100 you wrote about) and probably sent *to us*. We were wondering whether he should come here or just go to Berlin to talk things over there with our representative, but have arrived at the conclusion that he will have to take a trip here; we have a number of more or less certain contacts at the frontier and near it, and without thorough consultation with the person who is to go there we cannot decide exactly where he should go and what "pretext" to choose.

We are now short of money and have to be very thrifty; we cannot afford to spend on anything but transportation. But if Muzykant gets there on these 200 frs. and lives on

* Some of the listed materials were published in *Iskra* No. 5.—*Ed.*
** Places himself at our disposal.—*Ed.*

them for some time he will probably be able with the help of our contacts to begin deliveries at once.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Ryazanov is here and we have been discussing the plan for our organisation with him. At first he rejected our plan categorically and "resentfully", but then, after the proviso was inserted that all this was *temporary*, for one year, he agreed *conditionally* on his own behalf but assured us that Nevzorov would not agree *on any account* (?). There is also—just in case—another plan: a federation of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, *Zarya* and *Borba*, with the last-mentioned putting out only pamphlets (not a paper), participating in an *advisory* capacity in the work of *Zarya* and *Iskra*, contributing, like the other members, its share to the federation's treasury, raising funds independently by arranging socials, etc. What do you think of this latter project? To me it seems unfair—it grants too much to *Borba*—and I doubt whether it would be acceptable to all.

Generally speaking we believe that an understanding can be reached with *Borba* too; they also seem to be ready to make concessions seeing that we have no intention of giving up our position.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

22

TO R. E. KLASSON*

The group publishing and editing *Iskra* and *Zarya* turns to you as one who took part together with us in one of the

* This letter is an enclosure to a letter of May 28, 1901 (see present edition, Vol. 34, p. 70).—*Ed.*

first Marxist publishing undertakings,[32] and who has always sympathised with the political activity of Social-Democracy, with a request for financial assistance. The future of the entire business now *largely* depends on such assistance, for the initial funds have been used up in getting started and it will take at least a year of full-scale work for the enterprise to begin paying for itself. In the spring of last year (1900) one of us had a talk with your friend (whom you probably now often see) who also expressed confidence that you would not refuse to help. We hoped that with your connections you would be able to collect a substantial lump sum, though our organisation is of course in need of periodical contributions as well.

Written May 28, 1901
Sent from Munich to Baku

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

23

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

12.VI. 01

A few words, dear G. V., to let you know that the article by Orthodox against Berdayev was sent to the printers today. We propose to run it *second*, after your editorial. *Let us have a headline* for it *as soon as possible*, for it is now quite "headless".

We had a bit of an argument over it with Arsenyev and Velika.... They found the sallies against Kistyakovsky (2×2=5) and the end concerning the "bourgeoisness" of Berdayev to be plump....*

All the best,
Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

* Clumsy (German).—*Ed.*

24
TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE*

18/VII.

We received your letter. Let us know the exact date when you can go yourself or send someone for the valise (to Königsberg or Berlin). When the literature has been picked up it should be taken to X at the following address: ....** Do you know any German, for you will have to deal with a German. Figure out how much each trip to Königsberg will cost, and let us know how often it is possible to go there. In case there is an opportunity to pick up the valise in Berlin, the address (and password) are enclosed. It is necessary to take things along to fill the valise.

Written July 18, 1901

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

25
TO P. B. AXELROD

30/VII. 01

Dear P. B.,

I received "Liebknecht" and *Vorbote*.[33] Many, many thanks! First a few words about a special matter. We have decided to arrange a meeting with the author of "The Rebirth of Revolutionism in Russia",*** but under no circumstances in Munich. We chose Zurich, so that our delegate (it is proposed that I should go) could also meet you on the same trip. The meeting is planned for August *8-10* (before the 12th), new style.

Please let us know whether you can allow us to use your flat for the meeting and whether you can be in Zurich at the time so that we could meet (or, rather, whether I can take a trip to see you, for why should you do any travel-

* Written together with Krupskaya.—*Ed.*
** Blank space for address.—*Ed.*
*** L. Nadezhdin.—*Ed.*

ling since you are under medical care? For me, needless to say, it is no trouble at all).

The gentleman in question will come to your flat (we shall instruct him accordingly through Alexei's sister in Geneva, unless you think otherwise), introduce himself as *Sokolovsky* and ask you (or your wife) for the *Iskra* representative. Alexei's sister will wire me when he will leave, and I shall come to Zurich in good time, concealing from him (we fear to trust him too much) my whereabouts.

We have seen the Narodnaya Volya journal *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*[34] (Ryazanov showed us a copy) but have not received it ourselves, promises notwithstanding. I glanced through only the editorial and a review of *Iskra* (favourable, but *for* terrorism). We should be getting it soon, and so should you.

We received the foreword by Kautsky. Your remarks concerning my article* in the letter my sister received today made your attitude much clearer to me. I hope we shall still have a chance to talk about this, and—au revoir!

Yours,
Petroff

G. V. writes that you will see him. When do you intend to go? We can hasten the trip to Zurich to meet Sokolovsky if you plan to leave soon.

Sent from Munich to Niedelbad
(Switzerland)

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

26
TO L. Y. GALPERIN**

We sent you a telegram—the meaning was quite clear—agreement. But bear in mind that communication by

* See "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism" (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 35-80).—*Ed.*

** Written together with Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

wire is very dangerous, for they take copies of telegrams. Try confining yourself to the post. There is no need to come over to discuss details. All that can be arranged by letter. Do you happen to have an experienced printer? If so, mats, which are easy to send (in journals, etc.), can be used. The advantages of this method are: 1) no type is needed, 1a) it is far quicker, 2) less people, which means greater safety in underground work, 3) the paper will have a foreign look, which too is a big advantage from the standpoint of secrecy. By way of experiment we shall send you shortly matrices enclosed in book binding, addressed to K....* Open them carefully, try them out and let us know the results as soon as you can. A universal stereotyper for making type-casts from matrices costs about 300 marks, but whether one can be freely obtained in Russia we do not know. Let us know what the size of your machine is. Can it print sheets the size of our *Iskra*? In general, send us at the earliest date some sample of your work.

If you have the technical facilities, try to put out as soon as possible at least one complete issue of *Iskra* (if you find it difficult to print an 8-page paper, such as No. 6, at least put out No. 5—it's four pages). It would be extremely important for us to have a copy of the Russian edition of *Iskra* in time for the conference[35] here, that is, within a month (at most a month and a half).

Since when are we 800 rubles in debt? Our funds are now low and the debt can be covered only if your printing facilities actually turn out at least three to five thousand copies of *Iskra* (4-8 pages) a month. If you manage to do that there will of course be a net income.

Where did you send the packages you received? Why send 5 poods to Yekaterinoslav? We do not risk sending more than a pood or two as a first try; it doesn't matter if it costs more. Can consignments to Yekaterinoslav be marked "Bücher"**? How long does delivery take? This is

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* Identity not established.—*Ed.*
** Books.—*Ed.*

very important. When writing addresses, separate the words, otherwise you can't tell the name apart from the town and street.

Written between July 31
and August 12, 1901
Sent from Munich to Baku

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

27
TO L. I. GOLDMAN

To Akim

Dear Comrade,

We were very glad indeed to receive your parcel. A magnificent job; even Tsvetov says so. You misunderstood us. We were not at all against the publication of *Iskra* in Russia. On the contrary, we are fully aware that the business will benefit greatly by it, and always wanted this to be done, but we confess we had little faith in the success of the undertaking. Now you have given us that faith. We are sending you an article by X intended for *Zarya* No. 2, but in our opinion it would be very useful to put it out as a pamphlet. You will probably agree with us when you read it. Print 1,000 copies of it. There will be no more delays with material. Let us know when you want the copy for the next pamphlet. Later on we shall send material for the paper.* We repeat, we are very glad indeed.

There will be an item in No. 7 about the Veto myth—it's all sheer nonsense.

You are quite right when you write that *Iskra* should organise. But you are wrong in saying an organisation should have been *left behind* in Russia.

To do this, so to speak, in advance was out of the question; only when things get under way will it be possible to tell how the organisation should shape. Now—and here you are right—there is chaos (partly due to the method of delivery), most of our representatives write to us about this. We are thinking of sending the project we have drawn up for an organisation to two or three people in Russia for consideration, and working out the rules for the organisation with their help. We have not received the Odessa leaflets. Please send them.

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* It would be extremely important for us to have a Russian edition of *Iskra* as soon as possible. If you are not quite up to it, put out separate articles from the paper.

Your new acquaintance whom you met here sends on his own behalf three cheers to you on this success!!! *

Written between July 31 and August 12, 1901
Sent from Munich to Kishinev

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

28
TO P. B. AXELROD

4/VIII. 01

Dear P. B.,

We received your letter of the 30th and, today, your letter from Niedelbad informing us that the meeting can be arranged at your place. I am very glad. I hope we shall see each other this week and have a good talk, and therefore shall confine myself to a brief note on "business".

I wrote today *via Stuttgart* to a man named Finn in Zurich—it was a letter of recommendation to you. My wife and sister knew this Finn (*slightly*) in Russia (*before his arrest*). He created the impression of a superficial person, but there were no grounds to doubt his honesty. He was picked up in the Moscow affair[36] together with the notorious traitor *Ruma* and was exiled to Astrakhan. Other Astrakhan exiles (well known to us) likewise did not question his honesty, all the more so since Finn was *one of the first* to identify Ruma as a traitor.

Going abroad after exile, Finn stayed for a time in Berlin where our representatives evidently were friendly with him at first, but then parted company with him, and *yesterday* I got an unexpected letter from a Berliner saying that Finn "does not observe Party ethics", that "he makes a repulsive impression", that he "knew of Ruma's relations with Zubatov", that although they do not think Finn is a spy they recommend caution.

Astounded by this letter, we carried caution so far that

* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

I did *not even see* Finn* (Alexei, without revealing that he was in on things, merely told him where the rendezvous was to take place), instead my wife saw him and told him that I was *living* in *Stuttgart* and was there at the moment.

Because of this I wrote to him through Stuttgart, and would ask you to keep up the fiction.

Finn is a writer of sorts. I believe that Alexei and I made a mistake in not seeing him and going into the affair personally. Apparently Finn parted company with the Berliners because he would not agree to their demand: to give *Iskra* the *full story* of the Ruma affair. This aroused their suspicion. Finn told my wife that he could not do it because Ruma would then have direct evidence of his, Finn's, connections with the illegal press. Instead Finn gave my wife a note of a few lines saying that there is *no doubt about Ruma's dealings with Zubatov*.

To get to the bottom of all this, I shall write at once to my sister, who knew Finn before his arrest and met him in Moscow. I shall ask her to reply both to me *and directly to you*. You, on your part, please talk to Finn and sound him out, and besides, if it is not inconvenient, detain him in Zurich for a couple of extra days so that I could also see him (it will be much more convenient there than here) and try to correct the mistake I made because of the shocking letter from Berlin.

Finn proposes to go on to G. V. Give him a brief note to G. V. and at the same time send this letter to G. V. so that he should be informed.

Once again au revoir,

Yours,

Petrov

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

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* (I never knew Finn and never even saw him).

29
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

18/IX. 01

Dear G. V.,

I have just made the inserts you wanted in your article against Bernstein, and also broken it up into sections. I am very much afraid that the division is not too successful (and the same applies to the insertion of the note about Kautsky). But you can easily correct this *in the proofs*.

I also wish to draw your attention to my insertions on p. 77 of the manuscript (reverse side) and (on p. 78) in place of the deletion. Perhaps all this should be smoothed out in general.

Your article against Bernstein is already being set up. We shall send you the manuscript together with the proofs so that you can see the insertions I made.

I am enclosing a letter for Rachinsky.

Nothing has been heard from you for quite some time. Are you well? Are you planning to visit Pavel Borisovich, and when?

I am working rather hard on my "agrarian" article,* which is growing terribly long.

All the best,
Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Geneva
First published in 1926 in the collection *The Emancipation of Labour Group* No. 4

Printed from the original

* See "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'" (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 103-222).—*Ed.*

30

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

Dear L. I.,

Please get someone *immediately* to copy the main documents of our conference and send them at once to the following address:

Herrn Dr. Med.
Carl Lehmann
Gabelsbergerstraße 20a
München.

We need these documents badly *at once* to show to friends who will be leaving in a few days for Russia. Therefore please get as soon as you can two or three girls to copy the following documents:

1) The Geneva resolutions.
2) The two questions submitted in Frey's speech.
3) The Union's statement concerning the Bund, and our reply recognising the Bund but "not touching upon" anything else.
4) The Union's amendments to the Geneva resolutions.
5) Statement of the *Borba* group.
6) *Our declaration on withdrawal from the conference.*[37]

In short, all the papers submitted to the bureau.

Please reply as soon as possible to Munich (we are leaving just now).

Best regards,
Frey

Written October 5 or 6, 1901, in Zurich and mailed to a local address

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

31

TO THE *ISKRA* GROUP IN ST. PETERSBURG*

Let us know without fail and keep us regularly informed on what trends there are and to what extent they are repre-

* This letter is a postscript to Martov's letter.—*Ed.*

sented in the St. Petersburg League generally and its centre in particular, whether there are active and authoritative people, etc. It is imperative for us to be always fully informed on the St. Petersburg League.[38]

Written in October, after 15th, 1901
Sent from Munich

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

32
TO LYUBOV AXELROD

22/X. 01

Dear L. I.,

Forgive me for not replying at once and for being very brief: I've again caught something like influenza and my head is absolutely no good. In my opinion, if no account of the conference can be compiled we should do the following: all the documents and statements submitted at the conference to the bureau (the Geneva* resolutions, the amendments to them, the statement of the Union and our statement on the Bund, our declaration on withdrawal, etc.) should be printed consecutively, *none* of the speeches need be given (not even mentioned, to say nothing of a detailed account), just *link* the documents with a couple of words. It seems to me that the documents are so eloquent and speak for themselves so clearly that it is enough to print them (merely indicating how, in what order and on what issues they were submitted or read out) for all sensible people fully to understand why we walked out.[39]

If you do not have the questions submitted by Frey, ask Leiteisen and Dan; they may have them.

Try to confine yourself to such a comparison of documents and send the result as soon as possible to Geneva;

* In the manuscript: "London", by mistake.—*Ed.*

they will print them there and perhaps make some minor amendments if such are needed.

Best regards,
Yours....

Sent from Munich to Berne
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

33
TO G. D. LEITEISEN

10.XI. 01

Dear Leiteisen,

I saw the gentleman* to whom you revealed a League[40] secret and who is now raising a fuss.

I must say that you made a rather big mistake.

First, why did you speak about this gentleman to Leibov and Wasserberg, who are *not* members of the League?? He complains particularly bitterly about this. And he is right. The attitude of the League towards third persons should be known *only* to League members. I think you ought to tell Leibov and Wasserberg off properly and not trust them so much in the future: if you found it possible to tell them, they should have kept silent without fail.

Second, why didn't you put an end to the affair at once, thereby *preventing* the gentleman from making the trip to see G. V. and us?? After all, you are an official functionary, a member of the administration. You should have therefore *accepted* from the gentleman whatever statement he wanted to submit, and after discussing it with others, given him a proper collective answer. You should have told him that he could contact the League *only* through you and that hence he was *obliged* to submit to you *whatever* complaints he had against the League in general or one of its members in particular and had no right to take the matter up with the wrong people (G. V. or us).

As I see it, you departed from the rules (according to

* A reference to A. Y. Finn-Yenotayevsky.—*Ed.*

which all complaints are to be dealt with by the administration) and are guilty, besides indiscretion, of failure to exercise your authority.

Well, so much for that. Do not be offended by my frankness. Now l'incident est clos.* We, needless to say, told the gentleman this: we do not advise you to turn to the League concerning yourself (i.e., to ask whether the League trusts you, etc.). There is no point in doing that. The League is not obliged to reply. What you ought to do is this: do *everything* you can to throw light on the Ruma affair (in *all its* aspects), collect *all* the evidence and ask the League to review the case and publish the findings (i.e., the accusation against Ruma and, eventuellement,** the exoneration of others).

He agreed that this was the only way to go about it and set to work putting down *his* own testimony. If you know of any other witnesses, take steps yourself to get their evidence.

And so our tactics now are: within the League, a *reserved* attitude towards the "gentleman" for the time being. *But not a word* about it outside the League, *or even* to the more aloof members of the League. N'est ce pas?***

Yours,
Frey

Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

34
TO G. D. LEITEISEN

14.XI. 01

Dear Leiteisen,

I hasten to reply at once to your letter which I just received.

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* The incident is closed.—*Ed.*
** Eventually.—*Ed.*
*** Agreed?—*Ed*

Really, you are not being quite ... objective about the "incident". Since you did disclose a secret to a not too discreet person, some measure of indiscretion there evidently was. Of course, this can happen to anyone, and please do not think that I am repeating this for any other reason than to close the incident once and for all. But you must admit that we had some *very unpleasant* moments and explanations to face not through any fault of our own, for it was not we who told Leib... things that could not but make the "gentleman" blow up.

And now as to the substance of the matter. Once the "gentleman" learned (in whatever way) that the League had decided against him (or that a League member had voiced the opinion that it was necessary to take a reserved attitude toward him, that is, the "gentleman",* which amounts to the same thing), the *League was involved* in the affair. This is something that cannot be undone, any more than you can recapture a word that has been spoken.

And for heaven's sake do not add another mistake to the first: do not say *now* that "the League has nothing to do with it"!

The League is already involved, and the *only* question now is how to disentangle it.

The "gentleman" wanted to apply to the League concerning *himself* (you evidently did not quite understand me on this score), i.e., concerning the grounds on which League members had cast aspersions on him.

We persuaded him that nobody had cast any "aspersions", and as regards its reservations, the League is not accountable to anyone.

This finishes the *personal* question concerning the "gentleman". But there still remains the public question of the Ruma affair, about which we have long been receiving letters urging that it be cleared up.

The reservations in relation to the "gentleman" were as a matter of fact due to his "involvement" in this affair.

Therefore, the "gentleman" had to be advised to undertake an "inquest and investigation" of all aspects of the Ruma affair.

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* See previous document.—*Ed.*

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Since he agreed to do so, it is up to us to help him; first, because it is unquestionably in the interests of the *movement* to throw full light on the methods used and the web woven by the provocateur Ruma; secondly, because we League members are a little bit to blame for the fact that the League caused the "gentleman" so much trouble, *which he may not have fully deserved*.

You must agree that it is our right and duty to have reservations as regards X, Y and Z, but X, Y and Z should not be told about them. Once the "sin" has been committed there is nothing for it, you know, but to own up.

We should not add one mistake to another by saying that it is "none of our business" *now*, after we ourselves brought things out into the open....

Yours,
Frey

P.S. Greetings to Yefron. Is he pleased with the outcome of the conference and the establishment of the League?

Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

35

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

19.XI. 01

I'm afraid, dear G. V., that I'm giving you no peace with my letters. I seem to be bombarding you *every day*.

I sent you the article "The Present Industrial Crisis".* I believe it isn't bad and could go into *Zarya* No. 4 with some slight changes. Please read it *as soon* as you have a free moment and give your opinion. If you approve of it, we shall have it set up in type *very soon* (in a week and a half or so) so that Dietz's printery should not stand idle. Perhaps Koltsov would agree to help edit the article if necessary?

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* The article, by A. Y. Finn-Yenotayevsky, was never published. —*Ed*.

As regards printing the documents of the conference the majority has already declared *for* immediate publication (Vel. Dm., Blumenfeld, two Berlin members, and myself, i.e., five out of the nine—the six editors and three administrators). In other words, that question is decided. Let B. Abr. hurry as much as possible.

Do you happen to have an extra copy of the Russian edition of "What Next?" We haven't a single one. Please send it.

Yours,
Frey

Sent from Munich to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

36

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

17/XII. 01

Dear L. I.,

Received three letters from you and am replying to them all. I definitely cannot come[41]: the whole paper now rests on me and the administrative end has been complicated by transport hitches and mix-ups in Russia, and my pamphlet is pressing on me.* I am devilishly late! And I am altogether unprepared; I even asked Berg to write the item for *Iskra* No. 13, for I have read nothing on the history of our revolutionary movement for a very long time. I think you are mistaken in assuming that you will not do because of public sentiment. The Plekhanov anniversary is so *specific* a celebration that it most likely will be attended only by people of very definite trend and sentiment.

Address for letters to Tsvetov (Blumenfeld):

Herrn Dittrich Buchbinder.
Schwanthalerstraße 44.
München.

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* A reference to *What Is To Be Done?* (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529).—*Ed.*

I give you this address because if you write through me your letters to him may be delayed for two *whole* days. He lives at the other end of town and we see each other rarely.

The "strange" letter with the inquiry concerning Mrs. D. should have been sent not to Blumenfeld but to the address enclosed in the same letter.

Best regards,
Yours,
Frey

Sent from Munich to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

37

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

20/XII. 01

Dear G. V.,

I forgot to ask you to do the following: please look among your papers for a *letter* my wife sent you *concerning the article "The Workers' Party and the Peasantry"** (three or four close-written sheets of letter paper, without heading or signature).

You haven't given your opinion as regards printing it in *Zarya*. I would like to remind you of it, so that you should not forget to send it to us *without fail before leaving*[42] (or to bring it along).

Please write when you plan to leave and expect to arrive here.

Berg is said to have scored a success in Paris. But the Union crowd in Russia have achieved absolutely nothing! This is the very time to crush them.

I am writing a pamphlet** against them, and I get an-

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* See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 420-28.—*Ed.*

** See *What Is To Be Done?* (present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 347-529).—*Ed.*

grier and angrier as I go on. The only trouble is that my pamphlet is getting too fat!

Yours,
Frey

Sent from Munich to Geneva
First published in 1926 in the collection *The Emancipation of Labour Group* No. 4
Printed from the original

38
TO P. B. AXELROD

23.XII. 01

Dear P. B.,

The letter was sent not registered to your address a couple of weeks ago.* If possible, put in an inquiry at the post office, perhaps enclosing an envelope addressed in my handwriting, in case this might help.

Of course it would be better for G. V. to call on the way back. I sent him money for the fare. You must have received *Zarya*, of course.

Could you now look through my pamphlet (or book?) against the Economists? If you can, I'll send you half of it in a day or two or early next week, for I would like to have your advice. Drop me a line.

Hoping to see you soon,
Yours,
Frey

Sent from Munich to Zurich
First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*
Printed from the original

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* Lenin wrote about the same letter to P. B. Axelrod on December 19, 1901 (see present edition, Vol. 36, p. 104).—*Ed.*

1902

39
TO V. N. KROKHMAL

3/1.

We have received a letter from Kiev criticising the actions of the committee. It says that (1) the committee is insufficiently informed (there were arrests on the night of December 1, but the committee is unable to ascertain who were arrested and why), and that it is slow in taking action. (2) A leaflet addressed to the workers should have been put out reporting the student unrest and indicating a course of action to the workers. The committee agreed that such a leaflet was needed, but did not issue it on time. We propose to print the letter in our issue No. 14, which comes out in 10 days' time. In view of this, reply *at once* whether you have any objections on either score, or send in your own account of the circumstances connected with these facts. In general the letter is an interesting one, but we would not wish to publish criticism of the actions of a friendly committee without hearing its opinion. *Please* answer promptly.*

Written January 3, 1902
Sent from Munich to Kiev

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

40
TO P. B. AXELROD

3/III. 02

Dear P. B.,

Berg is sending you a communication of a business nature we have read collectively here. I need only add that I am making the following amendments to my draft** (amend-

* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*
** See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 25-31.—*Ed.*

ments along the lines of G. V.):—see next sheet.* From these amendments you will see that there can hardly be any question of differences of "principle".

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Munich to Zurich

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

41

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

Once again zur Frage (on the question) of Krichevsky. G. V. says that in the Paris colony it was *stubbornly maintained* that this Boris Krichevsky had received a letter of *thanks* from Millerand (for his contributions to *Vorwärts*[43]) and that he had at one time even *boasted* about it. So now that a polemic has started between *Vorwärts* and *Zarya*[44] and the question has been put point-blank, it is necessary to exert *at once every* effort to make a most thorough investigation (trial "by ordeal") of the affair. Please tackle the matter at once. Collect evidence from all witnesses, both those who saw something *and those* who *heard* about it, and having done so, write us giving the names of all these witnesses and their testimony. As a last resort you should turn to Petit, though it would be better not to "scare the quarry" but to catch them before they suspect attack.

And so, to work! With full force!

Awaiting your reply,
Yours,
Frey

Written prior to March 23, 1902
Sent from Munich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

* See "Three Amendments to the Draft Programme" (present edition, Vol. 6, p. 32).—*Ed.*

42
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

17.IV. 02

Dear G. V.,

I have another request to make of you. Please drop a line to Quelch asking his assistance in a matter on which he has already been approached by a friend of mine (with a letter from Velika Dm.) and today by myself: ask him to do everything he possibly can and tell him it is very important. You may write to him in French. Such a letter would help me very much with the arrangements, which are well under way and need only to be completed.

Here, in case you need it, is his address: Mr. *H. Quelch*.

37 A. Clerkenwell Green.
London E. C.

In the meantime you can write to me at Alexeyev's address, he lives two steps away. I hope to be finally settled in a week.

Best regards,
Yours....

P.S. Vel. Dm. is perfectly right: at first glance this London makes a foul impression!!

Is your compositor ready to come over here?

Where are Berg and Vel. Dm., and do you happen to know when the former is leaving?

I sent you the agrarian books with Vel. Dmitr. Did you get them?

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

43

TO P. B. AXELROD

18.IV. 02

Dear P. B.,

I take this opportunity to write a couple of words to you: the letters for B. N—ch just received should be passed on to him as soon as possible. If he is not there, please forward them to him.

If Berg is there, ask him to write me a few words about his plans: when and where he is going, and for how many days. And the main thing: did he receive the two letters I posted to him on Saturday morning (the 12th)?

We are busy getting settled—there is plenty to do. In the meantime write to Alexeyev's address—I shall get it at once (Mr. Alexejeff. 14. Frederick Str. 14. Gray's Inn Road. London W. C.). You got my letter from Cologne, didn't you?*

And what about your article?

Best regards,
Yours....

(First impression of London: vile. And everything is quite expensive!)

Sent from London to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

44

TO P. B. AXELROD

23.IV. 02

Dear P. B.,

Here's my new address (which I would earnestly request you not to give to anyone, not even League members, with

* The reference is to "Remarks on the Committee's Draft Programme" (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 59-71). The "Remarks" were written in part in Cologne, where Lenin stopped over on his way from Munich to London.—*Ed.*

the exception of those who stand closest to us, such as L. Gr. or B. N.; let the others write to the Alexeyev address as before, and outsiders to the Dietz address. If possible, when talking with people try systematically to speak of Munich instead of London and the people in Munich instead of Londoners).

Mr. Jacob *Richter* (Holford)
30. Holford Square. Pentonville. *London W. C.*

Berg has probably already left; I got a letter from him today saying that he was leaving on Thursday. If he is still there, tell him that if he does not find Alexeyev at home he can go to Richter—it's only two steps away.

If the "former Economist" (the lady you liked so much) is there, ask her, or, rather, interrogate her closely, *whether she mailed* the registered letters she was given to send off on April 11, 1902, in Munich. If she did, let her send us the receipts at once. If not, give her a good calling down and ask her where the letters are—better still, let her write us (at the Alexeyev address).

I am sending today by book-post (not registered) something very interesting for L. Gr.; let him give it his closest attention.

Has G. V. written the editorial he promised for *Iskra* No. 20? If so, has it been sent to the printers? Have you sent anything else to the printers? If not, *what are we going to do* about an editorial? Is it possible that you all have left the question open? Berg writes nothing about this!?!?

Best regards,
Yours....

Sent from London to Zurich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Printed from the original

45

TO A. I. KREMER

To Alexander

4.V. 02

Dear Comrade,

We have good reason to fear that our delegate (to the conference) was arrested soon after the conference, before he had time to hand over his office.[45] We therefore ask you to let us know: 1) who besides our delegate was elected to the preparatory (or organising, etc.) committee? and 2) how can we contact these people (address, key, password, etc.)?

You might write your communication in invisible ink in code, if necessary, giving the key to the bearer of this letter personally. In general it is most convenient to maintain contact through the bearer, who can send a wire in emergencies and, if something particularly urgent and pressing happens, take a decision himself.

Sent from London to Paris

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

46

TO THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD

To the Union

4.V. 02

Owing to completely unexpected and unforeseen circumstances, we received your letter only yesterday and therefore could not reply earlier. We have heard nothing from our delegate about the "agreed place". It would therefore be more expedient for you to take steps directly to deliver the leaflet to the committees.[46] Evidently one of our people has been taken. So far we are not printing anything about the Belostok arrest. To speed up things in *important* matters we would earnestly ask you to pass on all information

through the comrade in Paris (Leiteisen), sending us (to the address: Herrn Philipp Rögner. Cigarrenhandlung. Neue Gasse. 44. Nürnberg) either a copy of the statements handed to the Paris comrade, or a brief summary.

For the Editors of *Iskra*,
Frey

Sent from London to Paris
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*
Printed from the original

47

TO P. N. LEPESHINSKY AND I. I. RADCHENKO*

Received the statistics. Very many thanks. Send also materials on the evaluation of land in Vladimir Gubernia, Vol. V, Part III, 1901 (Gorokhovaya st.), as well as other volumes.

Written May 5, 1902
Sent from London to Pskov
First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*
Printed from the original

48

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

23.VI. 02

Dear L. I.,

I greatly regret that I just cannot comply with your request and come to Berne. My health is very bad, and I really do not know whether I shall be able to deliver the lecture in Paris properly; did not manage to prepare it, almost complete Arbeitsunfähigkeit,** nerves no good at all. If I could, I would get out of going to Paris too, but it would be a shame to let them down.[47] If I don't disgrace myself in Paris and if I rest a little afterwards, I shall do

* Written as a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*
** Incapacitation.—*Ed.*

my best to come over without fail (perhaps in the autumn), but now I simply cannot do it.

With best regards and many thanks for letting us hear from you.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. My wife would like to know whether the letter for L. Gr., and also her letter concerning the money (with the request that the money be returned or transferred to Richter), have been received.

Sent from London to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

49

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

12.VII. 02

Dear G. V.,

Your article received.* Many thanks for revising it. I have sent it to London just now. As regards Berg's article, V. I. believes it could very well go next to yours, but in my opinion it would be better to hold it up until later. We shall ask Berg.

Write to me in London, for I don't know how long I shall be here. Still, I'll be staying here at least a week, and in case you write within this time, here's the address:

M-me Leguen (pour M. Olinoff)
Loguivy (par Ploubazlanec).
Côtes du Nord.
France.

Why didn't your trip to Brussels come off?[48] Is the conference not going to take place? At any rate I hope to see you in London. I don't think much of L. Gr.'s plan to

* The reference is to the article "Criticism of Our Critics", published later in *Zarya* No. 4.—*Ed.*

substitute for the London meeting a trip by Berg and myself to Switzerland for 10-12 days (sic!) to see some new arrivals from Russia. Really, how can anything worth while be accomplished in 10-12 days? For we have to get to know the arrivals thoroughly and individually, and besides we have much to talk over among ourselves. And we cannot afford to stay long in Switzerland (there's work to be done). Lastly, the newcomers must (if they are *Iskra* supporters) make a study of all (or part) of our correspondence with Russia, and this can be done only in London. Without such a study of our correspondence the meeting would be pointless and all but useless. Because of all these reasons I am strongly for a meeting in London.

Best regards,
Yours....

P.S. In my opinion, unity with the Union crowd is out of the question now: they are insolent and were very offensive towards Berg in Paris.[49] Perhaps he will forward to you my letter setting forth in detail why it is necessary to be firm and extremely cautious with them. Our affairs in Russia are now very much on the upgrade, and here are the Union people threatening to display independence! God forbid....

Somehow *Zarya* is still stuck. Dietz jokes that it isn't fated to come out!

Sent from Loguivy (Côtes du Nord)
to Geneva

First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

50
TO V. G. SHKLYAREVICH

29.VII. 02

Your communication concerning the "inheritance" received.[50] We too feel there is much that is "strange and incomprehensible" about this, especially the suggestion that

Fyokla* should look for a lawyer. How could Fyokla do it? And why shouldn't the heir himself do it? Of course, nothing ventured, nothing gained, and an attempt might be made, but it has to be nevertheless thoroughly considered. Otherwise we might make a laughing-stock of ourselves by chasing soap-bubbles. So, do everything possible to investigate the matter and let us know how "the heir can be placed at our disposal". Send him abroad, or what? Describe him in *detail* for us. Further, why didn't "your" heir apply to the lawyers acting for the co-heirs? (Needless to say, we cannot afford to spend any money on this.)

It would be very important for us to have good contact *directly* with *the Southern workers' organisation*.[51] Please attend to this and send us as detailed an account of it as possible.**

Sent from London to Koreiz

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

51

TO KARTAVTSEV***

4/VIII.

1) I received two more letters from you but could not make them out. Your invisible ink is not concentrated enough. Try it out each time before writing. It is terribly annoying to get a letter and not be able to read it.

2) Did you get our letter asking you to send us some 300 rubles out of our money?

3) What have you heard from prison?

4) Illg's address. You have it wrong, it should be:****

5) Let us know what's doing in the committee. It is said that a certain "Leonty" (Potyomkin)***** has arrived in Berlin. He is supposed to have told a Berlin comrade of ours that a) the Kiev Committee is stripping the "Stariki's supporters" of all authority, b) that it is indignant about the *Iskra* letter and will oppose the recognition of *Iskra* as the Party organ, c) that the committee had instructed him to contact *Zhizn*, which the Kiev people want to make the Party

* Code name for the Editorial Board of *Iskra*.—*Ed.*
** This paragraph is crossed out in the original.—*Ed.*
*** Identity not established.—*Ed.*
**** Address not given in the original.—*Ed.*
***** Identity not established.—*Ed.*

organ, d) that the committee is powerless to counteract the Socialist-Revolutionaries, does not venture to come out against terrorism and merely seeks to oppose the circulation of literature such as *The Ways People Live* and the like. There is probably something wrong here and we have asked word to be passed on to Leonty that he should write us and give us a detailed account of what is happening. But he has not written. Let us know how things stand.

We earnestly beg you to contact us *directly* on all matters of any importance, for passing on information through *Berlin*, *etc.*, always confuses things terribly. We believe that in this case too there has been some mix-up. When giving assignments to people going abroad they must be told not to confine themselves to seeing one or another League member but to contact the Editorial Board *without fail* either in person or by writing *themselves* (i.e., not leaving it to some League member to do)—registered letters from abroad to the Dietz and other addresses are *quite* safe. This is necessary because the members of the League and even members of its administration are scattered all over Europe and do not know much about contacts with Russia.*

We still haven't got the address for contacting you. It was probably in one of the letters we could not make out, but there's nothing we can do about it. We are waiting for your reply.

Please put us in touch with Vakar.

Written August 4, 1902
Sent from London to Kiev

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

52
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

6) We are very much afraid for Arkady, let him take care of himself and not stint money, better not send any to Fyokla.

About Point 6. Since they are on his trail, Arkady should leave St. Petersburg without fail. He could leave now,

* Insertion in a letter written by Krupskaya—*Ed.*

since we shall be seeing Kolya[52] here. Let Arkady bear in mind that he is now practically the only one we have, and that he must take care to avoid arrest *at all costs*.*

Written August 7, 1902
Sent from London to St. Petersburg

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

53
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

8.VIII. 02

Dear G. V.,

The comrade** we had been waiting for, and whom the old friend[53] who brought you the money knows, arrived here yesterday. First of all please tell this old friend to come here: he will be needed for joint talks, and the newly-arrived comrade will be here no more than a week and a half or two.

Further, about the new arrival seeing you. He himself wants to meet you—and it would of course be very useful to the cause if he did. The only question is whether you should try to come here earlier so as to be sure to find him, or, on the contrary, whether you should wait for him in Geneva, *where he is going from here*. Yesterday, before he knew that you too would be here soon, he asked me for a letter to you.

Take this too into consideration: practically all the *Rabocheye Dyelo* people (Martynov, Akimov, Olkhin, Krichevsky, who is going there, *and others*) have gathered in Switzerland (in Montreux, if I'm not mistaken) and our visitor is going there to *see them*. The first impression is that he is an *Iskra* supporter, and Russian friends recommend him as one. But ... just the same.... Mightn't the Union crowd (the *Rabocheye Dyelo* people) feed him a pack of lies? How will it be if he sees them *last* and is unable perhaps to stand

* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*
** V. P. Krasnukha.—*Ed.*

up to some new gossip, or the like? Therefore we think it might be better if he made your acquaintance and saw you more than once in Geneva. You could then perhaps talk things over with him both during his meetings with the Union people and after. Then perhaps whatever new gossip there may be could be squashed at once, etc.

Talk this over (with our old friend), *decide* where to meet the new arrival, and let us have an answer as soon as possible. The worst thing that could happen would be for you to miss each other.

If you decide to see him over there (but our old friend should come here under all circumstances), we shall write you a detailed letter giving all the information we have about him.

Is your mail address absolutely safe? Are you certain your letters will not be read?

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

54
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

12.VIII. 02

Just received your letter of July 25 and read it together with Grazhdanin. We are surprised that you, as a member of the Organising Commission,[54] are not carrying out the earlier intention to co-opt new members from among workers outside Manya.* Grazhdanin believes this measure is the only way to reorganise Manya from top to bottom, and it should be done as soon as possible.

You must see to it that nothing happens to Arkady: we hold you responsible for him, and shall take action against you if you do not get him out of Petersburg before

* Code name for the St. Petersburg Workers' Organisation.—*Ed.*

he is arrested. Let him not be carried away by live work and forget that the gendarmes are also alive. We badly need someone in the South (in Kharkov or Kiev!). Couldn't Arkady be sent there?

Sent from London to St. Petersburg
First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*
Printed from the original

55
TO G. D. LEITEISEN

Dear Leiteisen,

Y.* passed on to me your resolution for the conference on the formulation. I was quite satisfied with the "Confidential Communication", but the verdict should in my opinion be more emphatic, more categorical. In particular, I would suggest:

Run par. 3 into par. 4, since in itself par. 3 is unfinished and pointless.

Add to par. 1: "A thorough examination of all the data relating to Gurovich's character has convinced the commission that as regards his moral qualities he has nothing in common with a sincere and honest revolutionary."

To par. 2. "Consequently, Gurovich did not tell the truth or had to conceal much about his means of livelihood."

Par. 3. See above (and par. 4).

Par. 5. The commission finds that even if in any one of these instances it could be assumed that the gendarmes learned the facts in some other, chance, and unknown manner, a comparison of all these instances absolutely rules out such an assumption and allows of no doubt as to Gurovich's treachery.

Par. 6 should precede par. 5.

Par. 7. Insert "unanimously and insistently". Add: "The commission finds that this opinion is fully borne out by many of the particulars communicated to it which cannot be made public for reasons of secrecy. However, the commission

* Identity not established.—*Ed.*

is informing the revolutionary organisations of some of these facts in a confidential circular letter."

"Taking into account" should be shifted from the introduction to the conclusion, for many of the points are not connected and, taken separately, not too weighty.

Taking into account the aforegoing, the commission holds that the accused Gurovich's plea that there is no absolutely definite evidence and unquestionable proof in no way can serve to exonerate him. A crime such as secret service in the political police, generally speaking, with the exception of a few isolated cases, cannot be proved by absolutely definite evidence and facts concrete enough to be verified by outsiders. Having examined all the evidence in its entirety and thoroughly verified numerous depositions by revolutionaries, the commission has arrived at the firm conviction that (in detail) Mikhail Ivanovich Gurovich (calling,* etc., in detail) was an *agent of the secret political police* and operated in St. Petersburg revolutionary organisations as a *provocateur*.

The commission therefore urges all honest Russian citizens strictly to boycott Gurovich and to treat him consistently as a traitor and spy.

Those are my comments, dear L. Please bear in mind that I did not have time to give much thought to the formulation (for Y. wants the manuscript back at once) and that I have only given a rough idea of the lines along which I think it should be amended. It should make as formidable an impression as possible**; I would then be in favour of publishing the sentence as a separate leaflet, with a photograph and an introduction from *Iskra* on the need to wage a systematic struggle against provocateurs and spies, to set up groups to expose, shadow and harass them, and so on.

If the "fighter"*** tries to wriggle out of it, try to get him to enter his dissenting opinion, or something of the

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* Here could be added age, distinguishing features, etc., and the suggestion made to publish his photograph.

** Like a court decision, the sentence should be drawn up in great detail *without any fear of repetition*.

*** Identity not established.—*Ed*.

sort, in the minutes, so that a record should remain of his shilly-shallying.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in October, prior to 5th, 1902
Sent from London to Paris

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

56
TO LYUBOV AXELROD

Tuesday, Geneva

Dear L. I.,

As regards my lecture, I think that it should be arranged *for Saturday*. Yesterday I spoke in Lausanne, today here, and the discussion here is planned for the day after tomorrow.[55] *Please* try to do everything you can to make arrangements for *no later* than Saturday; I first thought of having the talk on Friday, but they say Saturday is better. It is most important for me to have it over and done with as soon as possible, and if there is to be discussion I think it should be on Sunday, no later. I still have to go to Zurich to speak there.

I am thinking of leaving at 12.45 on Friday which would get me to you after 4. I shall come from the station to your place. Please reply at once whether the lecture has really been arranged for Saturday.

Best regards,
Yours,
Frey

Written November 11, 1902
Sent from London to Berne

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

57
TO LYUBOV AXELROD

28.XI. 02

Dear L. I.,

Thanks for your letter and for the money which was received today.

I received *Krasnoye Znamya*[56] but haven't read it yet.

I was quite tired after the trip, but now I'm beginning "to come to", although I still have to repeat the lecture here tomorrow.

Boring! I do not know yet whether I shall write the pamphlet against the S.R.s.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

58
TO FIT*

16/XII.

Your letter of November 15 received.

I. It was written in a code unknown to us, but we deciphered it all with the exception of the addresses. (Code only by complete sentences, otherwise the key is very easy to discover.) Repeat the addresses....

III. The committee should be joined without fail and agitation conducted within it to persuade it to affiliate with the all-Russia organisation. At the same time the Southern League should be influenced in the same direction. The existence of two organisations in the same city is not normal,[57] and they should eventually merge and form an *Iskra* committee; how to do it is, of course, up to you.

(It goes without saying that the merger should take place only if our victory is assured. Otherwise it is better to wait,

* Identity not established.—*Ed.*

preserving the organisation which supports *Iskra* and undermining the other from within.*)

IV. Re the Organising Committee.

V. We have been informed that some consignment of *Iskra* was intercepted in Odessa. What happened?

Written December 26, 1902
Sent from London to Odessa

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

59
TO LYUBOV AXELROD

18.XII. 02

Dear L. I.,

Just received your letter and am hastening to reply in order to congratulate you on such a tremendous acquisition as Stavsky. His name was mentioned in letters we received from Rostov-on-Don, but I deleted it, for fear of compromising him.** I am enclosing *Iskra* No. 29 for you and *for him*, to let him see without delay our account of the events. I also enclose a letter to him with a request concerning a pamphlet on the Rostov developments.

Further, as regards "Misha the Compositor". The pseudonym is unknown to me, but I know and worked with Vas. Andr. Shelgunov whom he mentions. Since Shelgunov spoke to him about me, please convey to him greetings from me personally and ask him to write us in detail about everything, i.e., about the work and about himself, *who* he is and what his plans are at present, how long he will be abroad, and so on. You will have to devote some attention to these people: it is very important to win them over completely. If you haven't the time to spare, send them to our people in Zurich or Geneva. We may soon be able to send a young

* Insertion in a letter written by Krupskaya. Point III was crossed out later.—*Ed.*

** See Lenin's "New Events and Old Questions" (present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 276-81).—*Ed.*

and very energetic and capable comrade from here (pseudonym: "Pero") to help you.

By the way, "Misha" is mistaken about Odessa: we have letters from the "scene of action" there. There are the S.R.L. (Southern Revolutionary League of Social-Democrats) and the Committee. The latter supports *Borba* and opposes *Iskra*. The former is closer to *Iskra*, but not yet *altogether*, "ours". The Odessa Committee has put out No. 3 of *Rabocheye Slovo* (a printed paper). The S.R.L. issues leaflets. To which "group" did "Misha" belong? The S.R.L., the Odessa Committee, or some other?

My wife will attend to the Petersburg and Moscow messages, that is, she will write to the proper people.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Berne
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

60
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

19.XII. 02

Dear G. V.,

I received your letter and hasten to reply. So you are writing the pamphlet. I am very glad to hear it. It would be a very good thing to publish in the feuilleton of *Iskra* some of the chapters from the pamphlet, including the one you mention. I expect it *next week*; otherwise it won't get into No. 30. It would be desirable to get it in so as to keep on attacking the S.R.s without let-up.

Aren't you really going to reply to Tarasov (reprint from No. 3)? Please do not give up the idea. He needs a good lesson.

Drop me a couple of lines to let me know whether you are writing something, and if so, what and when do you expect to finish, so that I may know what should go into the issue.

I cannot tell whether it is necessary to go to Brussels, for I have no idea of what will be discussed at the conference.[58] We have money now (America has sent 5,000 frs.), which means that if necessary it is possible to go. Ginsburg, in my opinion, could take your place only *as an exception*, *for this once*, but under no circumstances permanently, for it is very likely that decisive steps will have to be taken there too.

If you decide to go, write or wire about the money.

Levinson is threatening to leave because Lalayants was made manager of the printery and he has quarreled with him. I wrote Lalayants asking him to "smooth" things out. Perhaps you too could help to calm down Levinson and impress it on Lalayants to handle him "with care".

I am sending to the printers (to Lalayants) the beginning of the translation of Kautsky and a popular pamphlet on army life. Please look through it at least in proofs.

In Petersburg our *workers have been arrested*, and our intellectuals too. And so the Economists have managed to incite part of the workers. Inde* Nadezhdin's glee. He should be taken to task for his demagogy. The scoundrel!

Lepeshinsky is in the fortress; he was transferred there until "ready to submit to interrogation". The threat of a High Court trial (which means hard labour) hangs over him. They took from him a letter concerning the Organising Committee.[59]

Stavsky, the worker-orator from Rostov, is now in Berne. L. I. has contacted him: he is an *Iskra* supporter. He should be drawn closer to us.

The Tomsk people have reprinted our draft programme with an introduction which is a hymn of praise to *Iskra-Zarya* and all its work.

We shall soon have more information on the progress made by the Organising Committee.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

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* Hence.—*Ed.*

Things are schwach with transport, altogether schwach! A real calamity!!

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

61

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

25.XII. 02

Dear G. V.,

Just received a letter from you and A. N. (how it came to be delivered on a holiday I don't understand!). Well, this looks like forced moves, as chessplayers say. Under the circumstances Bonch of course should be won over to our side, and in all likelihood, everybody will approve of your step (going to Bonch-Bruyevich and "inviting" him to join the League).

But the question is what to do next. In my opinion, if your talks with Bonch-Bruyevich will be (or were) successful, it is necessary first of all (having assured him that you will sponsor his candidacy in the League and are quite certain of success) to insist on a *formal step* on his part as well. In other words, he should officially and publicly announce that there has been a *split* in *Zhizn* and that *he* wishes to go over to *Iskra*.

Without such a step, I think, his candidacy *should not* be *formally* put forward in the League, since Bonch-Bruyevich officially has not yet left *Zhizn* and it would be ridiculous to accept a person belonging to another organisation. Moreover, if Bonch-Bruyevich is still only *warring* with Posse, still only "*dividing up*" things with him, defending our interests, there is as yet no guarantee of a favourable outcome!! *This should not be forgotten*. And if "Bonch is most determined to come over to us", as A. N. writes, insistence on your part will in no way be objectionable to him, he will admit himself that so long as he has not officially left *Zhizn* and made a statement, we, the *League*, cannot vote for him. If the split in *Zhizn* has been *finally* decided

on and is *absolutely* inevitable, it is in Bonch's own interests and his duty to announce this publicly at the *earliest date*, if only in a letter* to *Iskra*. We would publish the letter at once in No. 30 and thereby forestall our opponents and "bind Bonch" (and ourselves by printing the letter**). Indeed, this would be the best way, and the safest, for otherwise we might get into trouble....

And so my opinion is this: I also consider "all kinds of overtures" to Bonch (which A. N. writes about and which you are making) necessary, but if he, Bonch, does not take the formal step, and until he takes it, we should confine ourselves to these overtures which do not officially commit the League, and nothing more.

As to what will happen later, no more hitches can be expected. When Bonch-Bruyevich has left *Zhizn* and made a public statement, and when his transport group has given its support to this statement, it can easily obtain printed matter from our administration and begin transporting it. If it becomes necessary to admit this group as well (as you, G. V., assume), we shall then find out all about it from Bonch and discuss whom to accept and how.

You, G. V., write that "we are awaiting instructions for the negotiations with the transport group". Let the group first *set forth its position in detail*, for who can tell what it represents?

You have not yet replied, G. V., about your feuilleton for *Iskra*, or the article about Tarasov. Why?

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Please send or pass on this letter to A. N.

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

*A letter to the effect that there has been a split in *Zhizn*, *for such-and-such reasons*, that he and company are *leaving* it and *would like* to work for *Iskra* and *Zarya* inasmuch as they share or stand closest of all to....

**The letter was not published in *Iskra*.—*Ed*.

62

TO A. N. POTRESOV

26.XII. 02

I am sending you No. 29 and "Urgent Issue".* The two other pamphlets have *not yet* been found; the "library" here is a *sorry spectacle* and being in the commune has been affected by the disorder of the den.[60]

I wrote to G. V. yesterday about *Zhizn* and asked him to pass the letter on to you.**

You ought to meet Sanin (through G. V. or Lalayants). He is something of a misanthrope, and has fallen behind in every respect, but I believe he could write. It would be very useful to influence him, get him interested, and draw him into the work. Now he is translating Kautsky (*Die soziale Revolution*) for us.

Best regards....

I am also sending a manuscript, "A Page from the Life of a *Young* Revolutionary". Please send it back *yourself* (only show it to G. V., to make sure it will not be lost) and let us know your opinion and vote.

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

63

TO THE BUREAU OF THE *ISKRA* ORGANISATION IN RUSSIA[61]

The main task now is to strengthen the O.C., to give battle, on the basis of recognition of this O.C., to all who are opposed, and then prepare for convening the congress as soon as possible. Please do everything you can to ensure that everybody understands this task correctly and that it

* Article by A. I. Bogdanovich.—*Ed.*
** See previous letter.—*Ed.*

is energetically carried out. It is time for Brutus to enter the stage! Publicity should be given the O.C. as soon as possible.*

Written December 28, 1902
Sent from London to Samara

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

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* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

1903

64
TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

1.I. 03

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of December 21st and all 19 manuscripts received.[62] I am thinking of giving some of these letters (in particular about sectarians) in early issues of *Iskra*, perhaps even in No. 31, which will come out in a couple of weeks.

The one thing not quite clear to me is whether to indicate that these are "from the materials of *Zhizn*". On the one hand, it would be the most natural thing to do, that's how it's usually done, and nobody in Russia would be puzzled—especially if we also carried an item (or your letter to the editor) about *Zhizn* ceasing publication.

On the other hand, it appears from your letter that the *Zhizn* organisation did not want to pass the materials on to *Iskra* and that you have done so on your own initiative. If that is so, do you wish the materials printed *without any comment or indication of the source*?

Kindly let me know how things stand and also your opinion on how best to present the material. Please reply to the following address, which I would ask you not to give to anyone else so that it should be used by you only: Mr. Jacob Richter.

30. Holford Square 30. Pentonville. London W. C.

Wishing you all the best,

Lenin

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1928 in the journal *Oktyabr* No. 8

Printed from the original

65

TO A. N. POTRESOV

1/I. 03

We do not have the rest of the pamphlets (of those you asked for), could not find them.

Return the "Young Revolutionary" manuscript after showing it to Plekhanov (or even without showing it to him).

Could you write a paragraph, article or feuilleton for *Iskra* on the 25th anniversary of the death of Nekrasov? It would be a good thing to print something. Write whether you will do it.

As regards Bonch, the letter and the 19 manuscripts from *Zhizn* he has sent here largely meet my wishes. It was just this kind of formal move and by no means a "renunciation" ("renunciation" of what??) that I suggested we should *strive for* without considering it a conditio sine qua.

(But Posse's intriguing should have been brought out into the open, and it was precisely against Posse and not against Bonch that I advised persuading Bonch to take a direct step while *provoking* Posse to do likewise.)

Best regards....

I have no faith in the transport channels of *Zhizn*. We *need* money *badly*, of course, and *if* it were possible to get a large sum, *many concessions* (not to speak of promises) could be made **for the sake of this.** But precisely "for the sake of this" and "*for* it".

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

66

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

10/I. 03

Dear G. V.,

Please pass on the enclosed letter to Lyubov Isakovna; she gave me your address. The letter is very urgent and

important, and if she is not there, send it on *at once*, but read it first yourself. The point is that there has been a delay with materials about the Rostov strike, and we must hurry with the pamphlet. If the people from Rostov are in Geneva, *please help to hurry them up*.

The feuilleton for No. 31 has been set up in type and the proofs sent to you. If you have *important* corrections, send them in *immediately*.

How is the pamphlet coming along?* How long will it be approximately and when do you expect to finish it? We should have at least a rough idea so as to know what to do about the printing.

And what about the continuation of the article "The Proletariat and the Peasantry"? Will you finish it with one more feuilleton? Can you send it in for No. 32? (If not, we shall probably have to print "The Problems of the Day" sent by Julius, also against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, specifically concerning the editorial in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* No. 14, and likewise scheduled for several issues. Because of this it would be very much in place to finish your article first.) *Reply as soon as you can*.

How was your lecture on the seventh? How are things with *Zhizn*? Bonch-Bruyevich sent me the materials—some of them were chosen for No. 31. He also wrote about transport: in this respect, just as I thought, they have *practically nothing*. As regards the **money and the printing shop**, we ought to try to get from them some concrete tokens of their abstract goodwill towards us. Incidentally, did you write L. G—ch (he is in Paris now) about the vote for the Bonches in the League?

Best regards,
Yours....

P.S. I should like to have your advice about my lectures (on the agrarian question) in the higher school in Paris. They have invited me and I have given my consent, but ... the crowd there (Chernov, Filippov, Tugan). On the other hand, "ours" write me from Paris: the "crowd" is not your concern,

* See present edition, Vol. 34, p. 123.—*Ed*.

and that as a counterweight it is extremely important to speak there too. What do you think?

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

67

TO THE EDITORS OF *YUZHNY RABOCHY**

Once again we earnestly and insistently implore and beg Zhenya[63] to write us more often and in greater detail, and in particular, to be sure to acknowledge immediately by return of post, if only by a few lines, receipt of our previous letters, and write about Boris's reply and about the plan as regards the "announcement". We are still waiting for that announcement—simply scandalous! And lastly: we earnestly advise you to publish the announcement as soon as possible. If Boris remains adamant, then do without him. Impatiently awaiting your reply.

Written January 10, 1903
Sent from London to Kharkov

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

68

TO LYUBOV AXELROD

15.I. 03

Dear L. I.,

Received the material from the Rostov comrades (or rather it is still only a semblance of material!) and a letter from three of them. Too late for No. 31. And if you want my opinion, it ought not to be published: there is something not quite right about three men who have fled abroad proclaiming their solidarity![64]

Why shouldn't they write to Rostov-on-Don instead, so that the *Don Committee* (which knows them after all and

* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

trusts them of course) should 1) send in a statement of solidarity and 2) *officially* ask us to publish a pamphlet on Rostov? Wouldn't it be better to wait a while for a statement of *that kind* than to print a private letter?

Or perhaps the addresses in Rostov don't function? If they do not, let them give detailed instructions and we shall try to send someone to restore contact.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Berne

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

69
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

28.I. 03

Dear G. V.,

I am sending you the O.C. announcement (it went into No. 32) and an article by Pero for No. 32[65]; please return both *as soon as you can*: the O.C. announcement must be preserved without fail (as a very important document) and you will have to decide about Pero's article in view of the abundance of articles against the S.R.s. The Rostov people are writing a protest. That's one thing. Pero is No. 2. A. N. has already written, most likely (he wrote that he was finishing it), about the S.R.s.[66] That's three. Your editorial "Pseudo-Friends of the Proletariat" is four. This has to be discussed to avoid des Guten zuviel.* It had better be discussed by you since the Rostov comrades are close at hand, and so is A. N. with whom you can talk things over. In my opinion the editorial (an *annihilating* one) in any case should be written by you and no one else because you have debated this in public and have seen the Rostov comrades. The Rostov protest should also be published in No. 33, but it

* Too much of a good thing.—*Ed.*

should be as *brief* and sachlich* as possible. Pero's article (it isn't long) should also go in, I think, for it is a sensible reply to a foolish move. A. N.'s article could perhaps be held over, for it is not a reply nor does it deal with a topical issue but is about moderate fathers and S.R. sons "in general".

Think all this over and let us know your decision as soon as possible.

The article about Nekrasov will go into No. 33.

Already several days ago I received the Armenian *Proletariat*[67] (with *Russ.* S.D.L.P. on the masthead) as well as a piece of copy (an item about it); I shall try to get it into No. 33.

I am sending you *Proletariat* as well. Please ask Lalayants or somebody else *to translate in full everything* in it about nationalism and *federalism* and send it to me *as soon as possible*. An item on this should be published without fail (the piece sent in needs editing and for this we must have the text).

What do you think of Bonch!? Our "net gain" was just the two of them—not very much! There is the liquidator (see *Zhizn* No. 6) Mr. Kuklin. Make his acquaintance through Bonch. Couldn't we squeeze something out of him? I believe you met him before, didn't you? At least for the Russian congress, for the O.C. (one of its members is abroad and he could be sent to see Kuklin if need be)? After all, Kuklin can't eat up the printing office, can he? We should levy a contribution of 10,000 on him for our not having come down on *Zhizn* (it is not for nothing that I defended it by pleading its light-mindedness!) or for not doing so in the future....

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Have you seen Rudin's pamphlet (S.R., "On the Peasant Question")? The shameless scoundrels! My fingers are itching *terribly* to get at Rudin and at No. 15 on socialisation! *Please* let me know whether you are writing your pamphlet, how big it will be, and when you expect to finish it. *Iskra* should not be filled with that material; a pamphlet

* Businesslike.—*Ed.*

examining *all aspects* would be far better, and now that the transport channels are working *we could* **knock them out** with a businesslike and principled examination of the substance of the matter. Should I write a criticism of Rudin? What do you think? The idea occurred to me to write an article criticising Rudin[68] and to publish separately "articles against the S.R.s" together with "Revolutionary Adventurism".

What do you think of this?

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

70

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

5/II. 03

Dear G. V.,

I received your article and letter. In what issue the article will be printed I cannot tell as yet. I will let you know in a few days—though it also depends on your reply about the article on Nekrasov.

To speed up the answer to the Union, I have done the following. V. I., L. Gr. and I agreed upon a draft reply and sent it to Julius (it is important to discuss it there also with P. And.). Julius is to send you the reply *at once* together with my letter.

If you approve of the reply, pass it on to Olkhin (and arrange for him to keep in touch either *through you* or else give him the Richter address. Better through you).

If you do not agree with the answer, put precisely formulated amendments (or a new text) to the vote at once, and tell Olkhin that things are being held up somewhat because of the voting in a "scattered" board.

I am very glad that you are writing an editorial on the "Pseudo-Friends of the Proletariat" and in the introduction to Thun are giving a trouncing to Tarasov (page from the history of socialist thought). The introduction to Thun is of course the proper place for this.

The breakdown of *Iskra*'s Austrian channel is nonsense. So far everything has been going well there with *three* channels functioning. Dementyev is doing a fine job and writes regularly.

(It would be a good thing if you would summon also A. N. to cast his vote on the letter to the Union, on the tactics of the O.C. generally, and on the election of members from us to the O.C. Section Abroad.[69])

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. So I can expect the editorial in a few days? N'est ce pas?

P.P.S. Write *what* you agreed upon with Olkhin. *Were any steps toward unity proposed and what exactly?* Was there any talk of *Borba*, *Svoboda*, *Krasnoye Znamya*?

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

71

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

8.II. 03

Dear Comrade,

All the material received. Thanks. About the fiction, I don't know yet whether it will go in. I am thinking of running the item about the sectarians in the army in No. 33. About the strike in Galicia I can't say anything yet: far too long.

As regards the collection of money (for popular literature) the person to apply to (as on all administrative questions) is Mr. Leo Alleman 26. Granville Square 26. Kings Cross Road. London W. C. I saw him the other day and he seemed to agree with me that new subscription lists would be superfluous. The League already has subscription lists: they

should be circulated more widely. As for the *Iskra* library, that of course depends on the whole Editorial Board. Take it up with Plekhanov. I confess I would not be in favour at present. In order to start a "library" one must have a special person to edit it (whom we do not have) or a special staff (which we do not have). One should have a *selection* of books and pamphlets of like nature (which we do not have). To stick Kautsky, Thun, etc., into the library would in my view be artificial in the extreme.

What need is there for a "library"? If there are good pamphlets we can publish them without a library. In the meantime there are few pamphlets, and *no good translators*. (I am having a hard time *redoing* translations)—why make loud *promises* of a "library"??

If you manage to find *good* translators and select good material for translation, the undertaking would be *very* useful and bound to succeed.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1928 in the journal *Oktyabr* No. 8

Printed from the original

72
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

2.III. 03

I am submitting to all members of the Editorial Board a proposal to co-opt "Pero" as a full member of the Board. (I believe that for co-optation not a majority but a *unanimous* decision is needed.)

We are *very much in need* of a seventh member both because it would simplify voting (six being an even number) and reinforce the Board.

"Pero" has been writing in every issue for several months now. In general he is working for *Iskra* most energetically, delivering lectures (and with tremendous success), etc.

For our department of topical articles and items he will be not only very useful but quite indispensable.

He is unquestionably a man of more than average ability, convinced, energetic, and promising. And he could do a good deal in the sphere of translation and popular literature.

We must draw in young forces: this will encourage them and prompt them to regard themselves as professional writers. And that we have too few of such is clear—witness 1) the difficulty of finding editors of translations; 2) the shortage of articles reviewing the internal situation, and 3) the shortage of popular literature. It is in the sphere of popular literature that "Pero" would like to try his hand.

Possible arguments against: 1) his youth; 2) his early (*perhaps*) return to Russia; 3) a pen (without quotation marks)* with traces of feuilleton style, too pretentious, etc.

Ad 1) "Pero" is suggested not for an independent post, but for the Board. In it he will gain experience. He undoubtedly has the "intuition" of a Party man, a man of our trend; as for knowledge and experience these can be acquired. That he is hardworking is likewise unquestionable. It is necessary to co-opt him so as finally to draw him in and encourage him.

Ad 2) If "Pero" is initiated in all aspects of our work he may not leave so soon. And if he goes, organisational links with the Board and subordination to it are not a minus but a tremendous plus.

Ad 3) Stylistic shortcomings are not a serious defect. They will be ironed out. At present he accepts "corrections" in silence (and not too readily). In the Board there will be debates, things will be put to the vote, and the "instructions" will acquire a more definitive and imperative form.

Therefore, I propose

1) that all six members of the Editorial Board vote on co-opting "Pero" as a *full* member;

2) if he is accepted, to tackle the final settlement of relationships and voting procedures in the Editorial Board, and to draft precise rules. *This is necessary for us* and important for the congress.

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* "Pero" (meaning Pen) was the pseudonym used by Trotsky.—*Ed.*

P.S. I consider it *extremely inconvenient* and awkward to *put off* the co-opting, for I can see that "Pero" is already *quite* annoyed (he has not of course openly said so) with being left hanging "in the air" and treated, so it seems to him, as a "youngster".

If we do not accept "Pero" at once and he leaves in, say, a month for Russia, *I am certain* he will take it as a sign that we *simply do not want* him on the editorial staff. We might lose him, and that would be very bad.

Sent from Paris to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

73
TO G. V. PLEKHANOV

10/IV. 03

Dear G. V.,

I have been unwell again these days and that is why I did not answer you. The Breshkovskaya item received, but too late to go in the current issue. It will go in the next.

Are you writing about collective liability? (I have asked that *S.-Peterburgskiye Vedomosti*[70] be sent to you.) It would be a good thing to have an article on the subject for the next issue. The visitor has left. I do not know whether it will be possible to settle the affair. At any rate I got him to agree to mediation by the O.C.

Best regards,
Yours....

P.S. You don't say anything about my pamphlet.* Please send it to the printers as soon as possible: it is most important not to hold it up. It can be read later in the proofs, if anyone else is interested, not in the manuscript.

Sent from London to Geneva

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Printed from the original

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* *To the Rural Poor* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 359-430).—*Ed.*

74

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Private from Lenin.

Dear Friend,

I am greatly distressed by your long silence. I can understand very well why you have no desire to take up the pen, how difficult, if not impossible, it is to write about all sorts of petty matters, but you mustn't forget after all that these (often absurd) petty matters beset us from other sources. You really must write a few lines, to give at least a general idea of your attitude, otherwise you put us too in an awkward position. We hear from all sides *about discord in the O.C.*, about the quarrel with Yuri, the quarrel about Liza, and so on. Of course I listen very unwillingly to all this and shall never (as far as I am concerned) allow any action to be taken until I hear from you or see you, but how much pleasanter to have a line from you. For months there has been nothing! So, I shall await news, and as for myself, let me say this: it seems to me (I cannot be sure of course) that you have been carried away a little in the matter of Liza (an inefficient person that Liza, rushes about for no good reason instead of attending to her business), that the charges against Yuri are exaggerated, that the most, the very most important thing is to *hurry with the congress*, to hurry by all possible means.

How is Kurz? I learned about his state of health recently and realised I had no grounds whatever for being dissatisfied with him (please convey this to him, if you can, but let me add that he too is to blame for his silence). How are you getting on with Jacques and Kostya? What nonsense Jacques preaches against the two centres! Can't you prevail upon that by no means stupid but slow-thinking lad? How's Medvezhonok? What advice did you give him? Very best regards.

Yours....

Written May 24, 1903
Sent from Geneva to Samara

First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from the original

75

TO KARL KAUTSKY

29/VI. 03

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing a copy of the Russian translation of your pamphlet (*The Social Revolution*). I have made *only one* remark on pages 129-30, where on the basis of Russian industrial statistics I have shown how much Russia too could economise by organising bigger enterprises (100 and more workers) working two or three shifts, and by closing down small ones.

The Russian translation of the pamphlet has been printed in 5,000 copies.[71]

With best regards,

Lenin

Wl. Ulianoff
Chemin du Foyer. 10.
Sécheron—Gèneve

Sent from London to Berlin

First published in 1964 in German in the journal *International Review of Social History*, Vol. IX, Part 2

First published in Russian in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

76

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

16/VII. 03

Dear V. D.,

G. V. told me that you can get from one of your acquaintances a Brockhaus and Efron encyclopaedia. If so, I would kindly ask you to get me the volumes containing the articles:

Peasantry,
Serfdom,
Serf economy,
Corvée,
Quit-rent.

I am greatly in need of the reference material in these volumes for an article I am writing in a hurry.* Please let me know if you can get them.

Yours,
Lenin

Just received the pamphlet by Engels[72] and am sending it on to you. Ask V. M. to translate *all* the Vorbemerkung** and return the pamphlet to me without delay.
When could she return it?

Just received your report.[73] Thanks!

Written in Geneva
and mailed to a local address

First published in 1928
in the journal *Oktyabr* No. 12

Printed from the original

77
TO Y. O. MARTOV

My statement to Martov
(reconstructed, approximately, from memory)

I fully concur with Comrade Martov's wish, expressed through Comrade Hans, to eliminate the personal aspect of our conflict[74] by an exchange of statements, and, for my part, I submit the following statement.

I did not and do not question the integrity and sincerity of Martov. Once Martov states, after acquainting himself with my project for the election of two triumvirates and approving that project, that he personally had always considered it essential to extend the original editorial triumvirate, I myself do not question or allow anyone else to question Mar-

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* Lenin was working at the time on the article "Reply to Criticism of Our Draft Programme" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 436-51).—*Ed.*

** Prefatory notes.—*Ed.*

tov's sincerity. I would be very glad to learn that the accusations he levelled against me were the result of a misunderstanding.

November 29, 1903 *N. Lenin*

Written in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1904 in the book by V. V. Vorovsky, *Commentary on the Minutes of the Second Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad*, Geneva

Printed from the original

78
TO VERA ZASULICH

3/XII.

Dear Comrade,

I have forgotten to inform you that I would like to have all my articles signed N. Lenin, and not "Contributor".

If either the letter to the editor *or* the agrarian article *must* be held up, please publish the "letter" in No. 53 and hold up the agrarian article.*

With S.D. greetings,
Lenin

Written December 3, 1903, in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany X*

Printed from the original

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* Lenin also wrote about this to G. V. Plekhanov on November 18, 1903 (see present edition, Vol. 34, p. 199).—*Ed.*

79

TO Y. O. MARTOV

Sent 19.XII. 03

Dear Comrade,

The C.C. leaves it to the editors of the Central Organ to issue instructions to Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich as regards both the text of the statement "From the Editors" in his paper[75] and the nature of the literary supervision to be exercised. Both questions in our opinion are within the competence of the C.O. and we cannot undertake to issue instructions on them to Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich.

The editors should have taken up the mediocrity of the articles and Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich's inexperience not with the C.C. but with Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich himself.

The C. C. will of course receive the proofs and will do its best to advise in particularly important matters. We do not think the question of the text of the statement is very important, but "special supervision" by the C.O. over a publication like Bonch-Bruyevich's paper would, in our opinion, be useful.

We shall consider the question of most convenient type.

We have left it to Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich himself to hand in the copy to the printers if the editors of the C.O. have no objections to this.

Written in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

1904

80

TO THE EDITORS OF *ISKRA*

Dear Comrades,

Iskra No. 61 carried, probably by mistake, an announcement that not only letters but *also money intended for Iskra* and *Zarya* should be sent to Axelrod's address.

The public might interpret this as meaning that a special fund was being established to finance the publication of *Iskra* and *Zarya*, whereas actually *all* funds for the purpose come *exclusively* from the Central Party treasury administered *exclusively* by the C.C.

We ask you to correct this mistake as soon as possible.

Acting Representative Abroad of the C.C.

P.S. Please be sure to reply to this letter.

Written March 18, 1904,
in Geneva and mailed to a
local address

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

81

TO THE EDITORS OF *ISKRA*

20.VI. 1904

TO THE R.S.D.L.P CENTRAL ORGAN

Dear Comrades,

The representatives of the C.C abroad have appointed as Treasurer of the Central Committee Comrade Lyadov

(address of the forwarding office). Please pay all money to him and ask him for receipts.

Members of the C.C. *N. Lenin*
B. Glebov

Written in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the text in an unknown handwriting and signed by Lenin

82
TO M. N. LYADOV

To throw light on the matter[76] I wish to add: 1) that the claim that Osipov "resigned at the previous meeting" is an *obvious lie*, since Glebov, *who was present at this meeting*, himself *signed* the agreement of May 1904 referring to... members of the C.C., including Osipov.

2) I was *never* officially informed of Travinsky's resignation.

Written September 1, 1904, in Switzerland
Sent to Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in an unknown handwriting

83
TO THE COMPOSITORS OF THE PARTY PRINTING SHOP

Dear Comrades,

I hope you will comply with Comrade Galyorka's[77] request without delay. The question of his right to his

pamphlet is so indisputable and so remote from the present conflict that to dwell further on this seems to me unnecessary.

Member of the C.C. *N. Lenin*

Written September 2 or 3, 1904,
in Switzerland
Sent to Geneva

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

84

TO I. S. VILENSKY

To Comrade Ilya, manager of the Party printing shop, and Party compositors

Irrespective of the legitimacy of Comrade Glebov's claims (I have handed over all materials relating to the matter to Comrades Olin, Bonch-Bruyevich and Lyadov), I consider it necessary to state that *under all circumstances* the manager and compositors are obliged to turn over the Ryadovoi and Galyorka pamphlet* to the authors for the following reasons:

1) the printing of the pamphlet is paid for in full by the authors and hence it is their exclusive property;

2) authorisation to set up and print it in the Party printing shop was given by agents of the C.C. long before Comrade Glebov appeared on the scene with his "reforms". Subsequent decisions, even if they were taken by properly constituted meetings of the C.C., in no way invalidate legitimate authorisation given by persons acting as agents of the C.C;

3) the authors do not insist that it be indicated in the pamphlet that it was printed in the Party printing shop.

* See previous document.—*Ed.*

I would consider refusal to turn over the pamphlet at once to the authors to be nothing but direct seizure of other people's property.

Member of the C.C. *N. Lenin*

Written between September 5 and 13, 1904, in Switzerland
Sent to Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

85

TO M. S. MAKADZYUB*

Private, to Anton

Dear Comrade,

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter if only in a couple of words. I am not certain that your address is still good but Zemlyachka has asked to write her through you. Besides, it would be desirable to start regular correspondence. This is extremely important. To make sure that your letters do not accidentally get into the wrong hands, write on top "Private, to L." or "Private, to N. K." Could you let us know the whereabouts of Tomich (=Emmanuel=Emma)? We have lost touch with him. We sent him several letters but do not know whether they reached him. If you happen to know his address. please let us have it.

The Declaration of the C.C. has evidently not been too kindly received by the Majority committees.** In the Caucasus it caused an outburst of indignation, in Odessa, Nikolayev and Yekaterinoslav it met with strong disapproval, and our old comrades have been sending in indignant resolutions from prisons.... The "conciliators" have succeeded in deceiving some people by their fables about peace prevailing in the Party. Tula, Saratov and Astrakhan, for instance,

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*

** A reference to the "July Declaration" of the C.C. (see present volume, Document 92).—*Ed.*

are said to have withdrawn their resolutions on the congress, but as soon as they learn what the real state of affairs is they will of course again insist on its convocation. Incidentally, I do not know how much truth there is to the rumours that the above-mentioned committees have withdrawn their resolutions. The "conciliators" do not always accurately enough pass on information, and the Editorial Board, on the pretext of preserving peace, does not print resolutions on the congress adopted by the committees (St. Petersburg, Yekaterinoslav). Besides the ten points there are several more which are in no way secret but which the "collegium" (taking advantage of the arrest of some of its staunchest members and unlawfully expelling one member who does not share its views*) has decided to conceal from the members of the Party to avoid unnecessary fuss. These include the decision to dissolve the Southern Bureau[78] and not to publish Council minutes unfavourable to the Minority, and the prohibition of the printing of Lenin's writings in the Party printery without permission from an agent specially appointed by the "collegium".... The Majority has decided not to permit the opinion of the Party to be misrepresented or to allow itself to be silenced; it is sponsoring the publication of Majority writings; the publishing has been undertaken by Bonch-Bruyevich. We shall not be short of literary forces, the only hitch may be finances. Galyorka's pamphlet *Down with Bonapartism!* (concerning the C.C. Declaration) and a collection of articles by Galyorka and Ryadovoi have come out, and a popular pamphlet on socialism by Ryadovoi and many other things are ready for the press.

Pass all this on to Zemlyachka if you know her address, and also inform her that both of her letters have been received.

Acknowledge receipt of this letter without delay.

Lenin

P.S. Is your address for contacts still valid?

Are the Pedder and Dilon addresses good? Has Tsensky

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*A reference to F. V. Lengnik, Maria Essen and Rozalia Zemlyachka.—*Ed.*

been to see you? Did you receive our letter? Let Zemlyachka know that her relatives are worried about her and are sure she is ill. Acknowledge receipt of this letter at once, and we shall send you our new address forthwith.

Written September 16, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

86

TO M. LEIBOVICH*

Private, to Yevsei (Malyutkin) from *Lenin*

20/IX.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter written in the Gritsko code received; we deciphered it with much difficulty since you went by another edition. We are using the same code.

The conciliators here are engaged in liquidating the Majority. When it informed the committees of the peace restored in the Party, the C.C. forgot to add that it had itself gone over to the Minority and begun to hound the Majority. Besides the points made public in C.C. resolutions, there are also some which are not to be publicised, not because of any considerations of secrecy, but just to avoid temptation. The C.C. has decided: to dissolve the Southern Bureau for agitation in favour of the congress, to disband the forwarding office, to apologise to the book-stitchers, not to publish the minutes of the Council [for they discredit the Minority and show that before beginning agitation for the congress the Majority (firm) proposed honest peace and insisted on the boycott being ended on both sides while the Central Organ replied to this proposal with ridicule], to institute a special censorship of writings by the Majority—a special censor has been named from among the conciliators to decide whether one or another piece written by Lenin can be printed, and Lenin has been deprived of

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*

all the rights of a representative abroad. More, the C.C. is arranging a conference with the Minority, completely ignoring the Majority. The Minority of course is rejoicing and lauding the C.C. *The composition of the C.C. has changed, two members have been arrested, two have resigned, and one member has been expelled* completely unlawfully. The C.C., which in April took the Majority viewpoint, now finds that the C.O. is up to the mark. Yet, if in the beginning there were no differences of principle, now there are plenty. To justify itself, the Minority is smearing the old *Iskra*. It claims (Dan's report to the international congress, and Trotsky's pamphlet) that the old *Iskra* was not so much a Social-Democratic as a democratic organ, that it was concerned not with organising the working class but with organising the intelligentsia, that Axelrod did not take part in it because it was not really a Social-Democratic organ. Only the new *Iskra* has put forward the slogan "to the masses", and so on and so forth. It is difficult to recount all the nonsense they are now spouting, speculating on the ignorance of the public, on its lack of knowledge of the history of the movement. The C.C. is not in the least perturbed by all this and is vastly tickled at having won the forgiveness of the C.O. by its declaration*.... On the pretext of preserving the peace in the Party the C.O. does not print resolutions passed by committees in favour of the congress, for example, the Yekaterinoslav, Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod and Kazan resolutions.

Of the 20 committees in Russia (those with a vote), 12 (the St. Petersburg, Tver, Tula, Moscow, Siberian, Tiflis, Baku, Batum, Yekaterinoslav, Nikolayev, Odessa and Nizhni-Novgorod committees) have already declared for the congress, besides which the Riga and Kazan committees are for it. But the new C.C. has announced that the Samara, Orel-Bryansk and Smolensk committees are now also included among those with a vote. These committees take a conciliatory stand and conduct negligible work....

In view of the aforesaid, the Majority has decided not to allow itself to be silenced and is printing its writings independently, the publishing having been undertaken by

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* A reference to the Central Committee's "July Declaration".—*Ed.*

Bonch-Bruyevich.[79] The Council, which said nothing when Ryazanov and Akimov were putting out their pamphlets, has made a fuss and is insisting that the line "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" should not figure on the pamphlets. Bonch-Bruyevich editions of the pamphlet *Down with Bonapartism!* by Galyorka and a collection of articles by Galyorka and Ryadovoi, *Our Misunderstandings*, have already come out. The pamphlet *The Fight for a Congress*, containing resolutions adopted by the committees, including the Riga resolution, will be published shortly. The Riga people say that they want to see the Party institutions in the hands of the Majority as the Congress decided, and will press for this at the coming congress too, but that they find it necessary that certain rights be guaranteed to the Minority. The Riga resolution has already been subscribed by the Petersburg and Moscow committees. That's how things stand.

Bear in mind that we have already been dissolved,[80] and therefore if you want your letters to reach the right address, write on top: private, for Sharko. I am sending you new postal addresses.

We hope you will give every support to the Majority publications. It would be a good thing if a special resolution were adopted on this question. Send us letters and materials of all kinds.

Your previous letter still remains undeciphered. Let us know what key you used, for although it is old by now, it interests us nevertheless. Do you know what is happening in Yekaterinoslav and Odessa? The Minority is spreading a rumour that the Odessa Committee has withdrawn its resolution on the congress. We haven't heard from the spot for a long time, but the report does not ring true. Let us know how things are with Gritsko. Greetings.

P.S. We shall send you all new publications shortly.

Written September 20, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Nikolayev

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

87
TO V. P. NOGIN

21/IX.

Lenin to Makar

Baron wrote us that the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee had adopted a resolution on the congress, but for some reason he did not send the resolution itself. Send it as soon as you can to the following address: V ———.* This address is good also for letters to Lenin. A young woman who wants to work has gone your way, she is not too well versed in Party affairs, has never done any such work before. If you can give her some work to do, you can find her at the following address.* The continuation is a personal letter to Olga Ivanovna *Chachina*.

Written September 21, 1904,
Sent from Geneva to
Nizhni-Novgoro

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in
Krupskaya's
handwriting

88
TO YELENA STASOVA, F. V. LENGNIK, AND OTHERS**

Dear Friends,

We were overjoyed to receive your letter, which emanates so much spirit that it has imbued us all with new energy.[81] You must carry out your plan by all means. It is an excellent plan and will have tremendous significance. It is also urgently necessary to write to the German. We are eagerly waiting to hear from you. Your advice as regards a publishing business has already been half-realised. The writers we have, and a mass of ready material. In general we are all in excellent spirits now, there are plenty of plans, Starik

* Address not given in the manuscript.—*Ed.*
** Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's Instructions.—*Ed.*

too has buckled down to work, correspondence with Russia and abroad has livened up, and now, I hope, people will soon begin to grouping. The Minority is now flirting with the conciliators, the Central Organ is undertaking the publication of a popular paper, the *Yuzhny Rabochy* people have been given a big bite. Particulars about the publishing business of the Majority will be passed on to you by our common acquaintances, to whom we shall write about this in detail. **Kol's wife and child are well, they live in Yekaterinoslav.** Repeat **the names of people whom it is desirable to enlist in literary work. Brodyaga has arrived,** the Minority is wooing him, he has not yet taken a definite stand. Josephine is here, physically she is very poorly. The forwarding office has been turned over to the C.C. Well, I suppose that's all. We embrace you warmly, dear friends, wish you health and strength.

Starik & Co.

Written September 23, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

89

TO KARL KAUTSKY

Geneva, October 10, 1904

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you by book-post my article which should serve as a reply to Comrade Rosa Luxemburg's attacks.* I am aware that the sympathies of the editors of *Neue Zeit*[82] are with my opponents, but I believe it would be only fair to grant me the right to correct some of the inaccuracies in Rosa Luxemburg's articles. My article has been translated by Comrade Lidin. You have already printed one of his articles, hence you can judge of his knowledge of the

* See "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Reply by N. Lenin to Rosa Luxemburg" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 472-83).—*Ed.*

German language. I myself cannot write in German. I have made my article very brief; I wanted it to take up less space than Rosa Luxemburg's, and not to be too lengthy for *Neue Zeit*. If nevertheless you find it too long, I am prepared to cut it again to the desired length. At the same time I must insist that no cuts be made without my consent.

Kindly let me know if the Editorial Board accepts the article or not.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

N. Lenin

My address:
Vl. Oulianoff
3. Rue David Dufour. 3.
Genf. Genève, Suisse.

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1964 in German in the journal *International Review of Social History*, Vol. IX, Part 2

First published in Russian in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

90

TO YELENA STASOVA, F. V. LENGNIK, AND OTHERS*

14/X.

Our very dear Friends,

We sent you some three weeks ago a letter through **Irina.**** **We heartily endorse your plan.** Write if you have a chance. Bonch and Lenin have undertaken the publishing end. *Down with Bonapartism!*, *Our Misunderstandings* and *To the Party* have already appeared, and *On the New Road*, *The Fight for a Congress* and *On Socialism* are coming out shortly. According to our estimates 14 committees, 11 of them with full voting rights, have already declared for the congress. All the attempts of the C.O., the C.C. and the Council to hold up the agitation for the congress have proved fruitless. The C.C. saw that the Majority also has to be reckoned with and is evidently ready to make concessions

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*
** See present volume, Document 88.—*Ed.*

With the Minority too they haven't been able to achieve full unity. In a word, they have got into a mess.

Formerly the C.O. played the committees off against the C.C. and baited the C.C., now it is playing the periphery off against the committees and trying to prove that the opinion of the committees is not the opinion of the Party, and that strictly speaking there is no Party. They have done everything they could to split the Party and now they shout that the Party does not exist.

The position of the C.C. has untied our hands and life now is far easier than before. Of course there is some had news, for example, **Brodyaga has gone with the Minority, so has Samsonov,** but that can't be helped. We shall go on working and upholding our views, and time will tell. A new pamphlet by Trotsky came out recently, under the editorship of *Iskra*, as was announced. This makes it the "Credo" as it were of the new *Iskra*. The pamphlet is a pack of brazen lies, a distortion of the facts. And this is done under the editorship of the C.O. The work of the *Iskra* group is vilified in every way, the Economists, it is alleged, did far more, the *Iskra* group displayed no initiative, they gave no thought to the proletariat, were more concerned with the bourgeois intelligentsia, introduced a deadly bureaucracy everywhere —their work was reduced to carrying out the programme of the famous "Credo". The Second Congress was, in his words, a reactionary attempt to consolidate sectarian methods of organisation, etc. The pamphlet is a slap in the face both for the present Editorial Board of the C.O. and for all Party workers. Reading a pamphlet of this kind you can see clearly that the "Minority" has indulged in so much lying and falsehood that it will be incapable of producing anything viable, and one wants to fight, here there is something worth fighting for.

Kol's wife is well, she is in Yekaterinoslav.

Warm greetings to all of you.

Staril & Co.

Written October 14, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

91

TO KARL KAUTSKY

26/X. 04.

Dear Comrade,

Two weeks ago I sent my article (reply to Rosa Luxemburg) and a letter to you at the editorial office of *Neue Zeit*.* Please let me know whether the article has been accepted or not. If it has, I must make a few small additions (about the new Russian resolutions) and corrections. If not, I shall be compelled to look for other ways of acquainting the German Social-Democrats with the inaccuracies in Rosa Luxemburg's article.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

N. Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Berlin

First published in 1964 in German in the journal *International Review of Social History*, Vol. IX, Part 2

First published in Russian in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

92

TO I. I. RADCHENKO**

From Lenin, private, to Arkady, *the Urals*

28/X.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter received. Please send us the resolution adopted by the Urals Committee. The Minority maintains that the Urals Committee came out against the congress, and *Iskra* has reported that it declared for peace in the Party, voicing support for the actions of the Central Committee. Everybody wants peace in the Party, and what is at issue now is how to resolve the crisis experienced by the Party,

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* See this volume, Document 89.—*Ed.*

** Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*

through the Party, i.e., by convening the congress, or through a private deal with the Minority. The Central Committee came out in its declaration in favour of the latter. Consequently, the *Iskra* statement can be understood only in the sense that the Urals Committee has decided against the congress.

Use invisible ink, and address your letters "To Lenin, private".

Your letter shows that you are completely uninformed about the state of affairs in the Party. I shall give you a brief outline. (See also letter to the Siberian League.) So far the following committees have declared for the congress: Siberian, Caucasian Union Committee (after the resolution given in the supplement to Nos. 73-74), Tiflis, Baku, Mingrelia-Imeretia, Odessa, Nikolayev, Yekaterinoslav, Petersburg, Moscow, Tver, Northern Committee (after the C.C. declaration), Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Riga, and Tula (13 organisations with full rights)—formerly this would have been enough, but the Council has given the right of vote to another five committees (Smolensk (?), Orel-Bryansk (?), Samara, Astrakhan, and one more, evidently Kremenchug). All these are committees which we know in advance will declare against the congress. Moreover, the Council recognises only those committees as having come out for the congress whose resolutions it has received (the resolutions of the Nikolayev, Northern and Nizhni-Novgorod committees have probably gone astray). Further, confirmation of the resolutions is required every two months, which the committees, owing to irregular receipt of *Iskra* and absence of regular correspondence, may not know. The resolutions must be signed by the members of the committees so that no one might vote twice for the congress (only Council members may vote three times against the congress: in the Council, in the Editorial Board, and in the League). In view of the stand taken by the Council, the C.C. and the Central Organ (to hound those conducting agitation for the congress), the demand for signatures has a very definite purpose. The object of all this is to hamper agitation for the congress. But since the committees are taking a very definite stand, the Minority has now launched an attack against them. Everything is being done to undermine the

prestige of the committees in the eyes of the local communities and the workers, who are being literally incited against the committees. Special efforts are being made to influence the periphery. How this disorganises work is easy to imagine. The Minority is now laying siege to Petersburg. Such is the situation in the Party. Not a very happy one, needless to say. Send us a secret address for contacts, people often go from here and may also go to the Urals.

With comradely greetings,
L.

P.S. Ask the C.C. for Majority publications.

Written October 28, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

93
TO A. A. BOGDANOV*

November 2

Your letter of October 9 (22) received. The undeciphered letter has been repeated. Not a word about the light-minded Minonosets. To what address was the money sent? Lidin, Alexeyev, Afanasyeva have left, no news from Popova.

Now for some semi-foreign, semi-Russian news.

The Bonch Bruyevich and Lenin Publishers are very slow, pamphlets are coming out in driblets. The long-promised pamphlet *The Fight for a Congress* has only just come out. The hitch there is partly due to the printery, but mainly to lack of money. In general the money question is most desperate, for sending people to Russia (the demand is enormous) and transport cost a great deal. Every effort should be made to obtain a big sum. This is now the only hitch, everything else we have. Without a big sum we are doomed to the intolerable,

* Written jointly with Krupskaya. Passages by Krupskaya are in brevier.—*Ed.*

depressing vegetable existence we are leading here. We must get that money if it kills us. For Russia is organising and expects decisive steps from us! The Riga Committee has adopted a resolution supporting this publishing business, and so have the Odessa, Nikolayev and Yekaterinoslav committees. Many people are asking why the Majority did not ask permission, but they completely ignore the actual situation and forget that Bonch-Bruyevich and Lenin acted as private individuals and not in the name of a group, though in Russia this was not understood and a resolution was adopted in support of the group headed by Bonch-Bruyevich and Lenin, which is absurd. The C.C. refused to transport Majority literature on the grounds that it was not Party literature.

There is virtually a complete split in the Party. The Minority and the C.C. have already made a deal and they are pursuing a common line consisting in machinations against the congress and liquidating the committees "from below". This is done by sending into the militant Majority committees Minority groups which lay siege to the committee, carry on agitation in order to undermine confidence in it among the public, among the workers, and especially in the periphery. Then, after the ground has been prepared with the aid of the periphery, they kick up a row in the committee demanding its surrender. This is what is happening now, with the benevolent participation of the C.C., in Petersburg. The C.C. is pursuing a hypocritical policy towards the Majority committees, assuring them that if there is no reconciliation with the Minority, which, they say, is quite possible (there's hypocrisy for you!), the C.C. will call the congress, that the C.C. is not against the congress and has not changed its views, that it considers it possible to make a deal with the Editorial Board of the Central Organ since they do not consider it the organ of the Party but of a group. Although it is a Majority C.C., the fact is that at the Congress and after it, the only consideration in the elections to the C.C. was whether X or Y was a good practical worker; the Congress gave the C.C. no ligne de conduite,* and hence it can lay down its own line and is not obliged to adhere to the Majority stand. In a word, they talk any amount of nonsense.

In Russia there is strong resentment against them. The Nikolayev Odessa and Yekaterinoslav committees called a conference and adopted a resolution.... The Majority participants answered them as follows.... It is proposed to elect candidates from a few of our own committees, then announce the formation of a Bureau of the Majority Committees, and after that make the rounds of the rest of the committees inviting them to join in and add one or two of their own candidates to the list.

Where is Boroda? Arrange for a password with Gorky. When are you coming?

Do everything you can to make the light-minded Minonosets move faster. The procrastination is inexplicable and

* Line of conduct.—*Ed.*

terribly harmful. Reply at once and in greater detail, and more definitely.

So far the Bureau nominees are Demon, Felix, Baron, Lidin, Alexeyev, Gusev, Pavlovich.

Written November 2, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

94

TO I. P. GOLDENBERG

To Meshkovsky

2/XI.

Dear Comrade,

We have learned that our letter has reached you, the same letter was sent to Maria Petrovna's address. Please ask her to acknowledge receipt. We are impatiently awaiting your reply, do not put it off too long, it is most important now to keep up a regular correspondence. I repeat the postal addresses. All letters and leaflets can be sent to these addresses. In our next letter we shall send you one more address. *Iskra* No. 75 reports that the Saratov Committee has declared for peace in the Party and "voiced support for the actions of the C.C." Everybody wants peace in the Party, the only question being whether it is permissible for the C.C. to make a deal with the Minority on the basis of an understanding that the C.C. will work against the congress in every way. The decisions of the Council published in the supplement to Nos. 73-74 afford an idea of what this deal has led to. *Iskra* no longer prints resolutions of Majority committees or else gives them space in the supplement, which is not even put on sale (after No. 74 resolutions on the congress were received from the Caucasus: from the Caucasian Union Committee, and the Tiflis, Baku and Mingrelia-Imeretia committees), and there are also resolutions from the Odessa (37 signatures) and Moscow prisons. *Iskra* has started a column in favour of Party peace where resolutions *against* the congress are printed.

It is somehow unbelievable that the Saratov Committee should have come out against the congress and for the C.C. declaration. Please send *as soon as possible* all the resolutions of the Saratov Committee, and let us know what sort of an organ *Svobodnoye Slovo* is, the Minority says it is in possession of all the contacts. Please send us all the committee's publications for recent months, or at least a list of them, and let us know how the work is going, how it has been organised, whether they have literature, and whether there are contacts with the peasants. Send us material for publication, make a special effort to get people in the periphery to write; after all there is plenty to write about.

Can you connect us with Astrakhan and the Urals?

All the best.

Written on Lenin's instructions.

Written November 2, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

95

TO I. A. PYATNITSKY

To Pyatnitsa. To "Pyatnitsa", private, from Lenin

Dear Comrade,

Our mutual friend* has told me about the letters you have at your disposal[83] (letters from a C.C. member abroad to C.C. members in Russia where it is stated that the Minority abroad has become high-handed and that the resolution of the 22** unquestionably reflects the real will of the Party). I think you ought to send these letters to me here at once.

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* Meaning Rozalia Zemlyachka.—*Ed.*

** See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 452-59.—*Ed.*

In the first place, I am a member of the C.C. and therefore have every right to be informed of the correspondence between a C.C. member abroad and members in Russia, all the more since this correspondence deals with the stand taken by the Minority, a question which concerns the whole Party. Surely you will not help C.C. members who have defected to the Minority to conceal from the Party (and even from other C.C. members) the real state of affairs?

Secondly, the letters show that some members of the C.C. (Glebov, Konyagin and Nikitich) are simply not telling the truth when they speak in their letter to the Russian committees of the conciliatory attitude of the Minority abroad. Once we have declared open war on this Bonapartism, this deception of the Party (Galyorka in his pamphlet declared this war on behalf of all of us), it is our direct duty to expose before the Party any deception on the part of C.C. members. If, having in our possession proof of such deception, we failed to bring this proof to the attention of the Party, we would not he doing our duty to the Party. If we speak of Bonapartism in the press and from the public platform and at the same time miss the opportunity to offer documentary proof of that Bonapartism, we will be simply windbags. After all, we use the word Bonapartism not as invective, as Martov and Plekhanov have used it.

It is sometimes said that private letters should not be used in political struggle. This is not so. When private letters reveal abuses by Party functionaries, such letters should by all means be used. Plekhanov used private letters in his Vademecum* not even in relation to functionaries. Besides, the letters in question are not private letters at all, they are the correspondence of C.C. members on C.C. business. And I, as a member of the C.C., and you, as an agent of the C.C., are in duty bound to foil this attempt to conceal the truth from the Party.

For all these reasons I consider it imperative that you at once send me these letters or, at any rate, complete copies of them. Of course, parts of them are confidential, and we shall never make these public. But that which concerns

* Handbook.—*Ed.*

the interests of the entire Party and contains nothing confidential must be divulged. How to do this and when, is something we shall think about here.

Reply to this letter *without fail* and as soon as possible. It doesn't matter how badly you write Russian. You can even write in Yiddish if you wish. But let it be immediately.

If you do not agree with me about sending the letters, we shall all have to ask you to come here as soon as possible, *within a few days*. This is such an important matter that it must be discussed and decided at all costs.

Best regards,
Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. Be sure to tell *Nik. I—ch*,* the "*Jacobin*" and *Zhitomirsky* that they should send me their addresses *at once*. It is a downright disgrace that everyone should drift around on his own without keeping in touch with one another.

Written in November prior to 16th, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Odessa

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Printed from the original

96

TO THE TVER COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.**

26/XI.

Dear Comrade,

Both copies of your resolution received. They were not turned over to the Central Organ because recently the following happened. The Nikolayev Committee sent a resolution to be forwarded to *Iskra*, which was done. The resolution was returned by Martov accompanied by gross abuse. The C.C. and the Central Organ, he said, knew for certain

* Identity not established.—*Ed.*
** Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*

that there was no committee in Nikolayev and that the resolution had therefore obviously been written by some frauds and impostors. Since the resolution bore no signatures, no date, and no indication of the attitude of the periphery to it, it was meaningless, he said, and he, Martov, even refused to forward it to the Central Organ, declaring he was sick and tired of all this fabrication of false resolutions. The same fate evidently awaits the Tver resolution. We shall print it in a Majority leaflet.

Please let us know how things are going.

Did you receive the *Iskra* letter to the Party organisations concerning the Zemstvo campaign? In it, the editors in their striving for a "new and higher type" talked a lot of nonsense, including the absurdity that the workers should not frighten away the liberals but act so as not to cause panic among them. The letter has caused a heated debate. Lenin replied to it in his pamphlet *The Zemstvo Campaign and "Iskra's" Plan*.*

Please let us have addresses to which we can send literature. The addresses you sent the resolution to are quite alright. A certain Rogova will come to you from Perm. She is said to be a good worker. We do not know her personally but perhaps she will be of use to you. Her status is illegal, please help her to get settled.

The key for communicating with Bolshak is Gambetta: South American states 34b., й in the middle. Bolshak asks that a passport and small files be sewn into the soles of a pair of boots and passed on to him through Nekrasova or relatives.

Please acknowledge receipt of our letters at once. Greetings.

Lenin

Written November 26, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in
Krupskaya's
handwriting

* See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 495-516.—*Ed.*

97

TO THE IMERETIA-MINGRELIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.*

To Mingrelia-Imeretia Committee

28/XI.

Dear Comrades,

Both your letters, of the 23rd and the 28th, received; the first (with the statistics and addresses) got into the hands of the Minority and was delivered to us only today. We have made out the addresses, the address for literature will be used at once. Your resolution in favour of the congress was received and forwarded to the Central Organ. We have not heard of any recount of votes, and there hardly will be one.

The resolution of the Nikolayev Committee was received recently and forwarded to the Central Organ. Martov returned it with gross abuse, saying that the Central Organ and the C.C. knew for certain that there was no committee in Nikolayev (a downright lie, for the C.C. went with its declaration to the Nikolayev Committee and knows very well that the persons who signed the resolution are in the Nikolayev Committee), that the resolution had been sent by some impostors and frauds who had forged it.... The resolution of the Caucasian Union Committee in favour of the congress was not printed, but another ... against the congress was printed. *Iskra* said that the Saratov, Samara, Urals and Astrakhan committees had endorsed the C.C. policy (the resolutions were not given), but the very same day the issue came out we received a letter from the Urals saying they had not heard from the C.C. for several months and that they did not know in general whether the Party existed at all. Plekhanov is openly saying that there is not going to be any congress.... As for the C.C., it hypocritically declares that now it is not against the congress, but that it is necessary to make sure that the congress will really represent the opinion of the Party.... The C.C. is pigeon-

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*

holing the committees' resolutions, and in its letter to Party comrades it says: "now that the Party has declared for us"....

The committees have asked the C.C. for Majority literature but the C.C. has refused to ship it, claiming firstly that it is not Party literature, and secondly, that it cannot contribute in any way to developing the class-consciousness of the proletariat. What hypocrisy! I suppose Trotsky's new pamphlet issued by the new *Iskra* and therefore to some extent representing its "Credo" does contribute a great deal to the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat.... The pamphlet declares that there is a wide gulf between the old and the new *Iskra*, that the Congress was a reactionary attempt to perpetuate sectarian methods of struggle, that the old *Iskra* did not care about the proletariat, that the *Iskra* supporters call the proletariat blockheads, etc., etc. No wonder Struve praised the Minority tendencies as vital... (see Lenin's leaflet "An Obliging Liberal"*). Did you get the *Iskra* letter to all Party organisations on the Zemstvo campaign? In its striving for a new, "higher" type of propaganda and agitation, *Iskra* talks a lot of nonsense, going so far as to say that demonstrations should be organised with caution so as not to cause a panic among the Zemstvo people. Lenin has replied to this letter in his pamphlet *The Zemstvo Campaign and "Iskra's" Plan.*"**

Now that the C.C. has made a deal with the Central Organ not to allow the congress to be held, it will be postponed indefinitely. Nevertheless the Majority has resolved to fight for it, but it can succeed only if it is fully united and properly organised.

Well, that's all for the time being.

All the best,
Lenin

Written November 23, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

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* See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 484-87.—*Ed.*
** Ibid., pp. 495-516.—*Ed.*

98

TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

Moscow, 29/XI.

Dear Comrades,

Your resolution received. Thanks for the promised support.[84] Please let us know how things stand in the committee. Will this address do for letters? We are not sure, and hence are writing briefly although there is much to write about.[85] Acknowledge receipt of this, at once.

With comradely greetings,
Lenin

Written November 29, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published April 21, 1963, in the newspaper *Moskovskaya Pravda* No. 95

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

99

TO THE BAKU COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.*

Baku, 29/XI.

Dear Friends,

We are complying with your request, and are sending a trial consignment of half a pood of our own literature for the time being, so as not to have to buy any. If the trial proves successful we shall send you what you ask for. In addition, we have arranged to send parcels to the address given by Raisa.** We were very glad to hear about Lenochka. Why does she not write? The others are none too punctual either. Did you receive our letter of November 10?***

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.—*Ed.*
** Identity not established.—*Ed*
*** See present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 264-65.—*Ed*

It is increasingly clear that the Council will not allow the congress to be held on any account. Plekhanov says so quite openly: no congress! At best the Central Organ throws the committees' resolutions into the waste-paper basket or returns them with gross abuse, as was done in the case of the Nikolayev Committee, which sent in a resolution in favour of the congress, but not in the form prescribed by the Council, for which the authors of the resolution were branded as frauds, impostors, forgers of resolutions.... To *compel* the Council to call the congress, the Majority must organise properly, as Lenin wrote in his last letter. Did you get the *Iskra* letter to Party members about the Zemstvo campaign? (See letter to the Mingrelia-Imeretia Committee.)*

Well, that's all for now. Send material for publication The Majority is thinking of publishing its own organ. The hypocritical behaviour of the Party institutions is impelling it more and more to take this step.

We have received a letter from the Caucasian Union Committee (through the Editorial Board of the Central Organ) and shall reply shortly.

Greetings,
Lenin

P.S. What is happening in Batum? What is the mood there?

Written November 29, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original
in Krupskaya's
handwriting

100

TO THE CAUCASIAN UNION COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

5/XII.

Dear Comrade,

We have received: 1) the statement of the elected representatives of the class-conscious workers in the Baku

* See this volume, Document 97.—*Ed.*

R.S.D.L.P. Committee concerning the reorganisation of the committee; 2) the Balakhany and Bibi-Eibat workers' leaflet of October 20; 3) the Baku Committee's leaflet "The New Fox-Tail Policy"; 4) the necessary explanation, and 5) the statement of November 9. We do not have the resolution of the Baku Committee or the resolution of the conference of Caucasian committees which we have been told was sent to us.

As regards the "statement" the following must be said. Some time ago (in the summer) a detailed letter was received from the C.C. representative in the Caucasus concerning the Minority affair. The letter was immediately forwarded to the Central Organ, which means that the Council was well aware of his opinion, as was C.C. member Glebov, who took part in investigating the matter.

The Majority is putting out a pamphlet, *The Council Against the Party*, which will examine the matter in detail on the basis of the opinion of the C.C. representative in the Caucasus.[86]

Please let us know what size parcels sent from Sosnowice should be. Reply as soon as possible.

A violent controversy is now under way between the editors of *Iskra* and the Majority on the question of the Zemstvo campaign. The editors circulated an absurd letter "for Party members only" in which they thoroughly confused the issue of the attitude towards the Zemstvo people. Lenin replied with the pamphlet *The Zemstvo Campaign and "Iskra's" Plan*.* There is nothing confidential about the question, and it is important enough to warrant open discussion.

Therefore demand that the Editorial Board's letter on the Zemstvo be reprinted for everybody to read. For it is disgraceful to say one thing in *Iskra* and another in a letter to Party members. This is a matter of concern for all. Parvus sent in a letter supporting Lenin's viewpoint and opposing that of the Minority. We have sent you the pamphlet *The Zemstvo Campaign and "Iskra's" Plan*.

Tell Lenochka that her letter has been received; it got into the hands of the Minority and was passed on to us

* See present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 495-516.—*Ed.*

opened. I shall write her in a few days. She's much too pessimistic....

With comradely greetings,

Lenin

Written December 5, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

101

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

12/XII. 04

Dear Leiteisen,

Today we finally, and *practically*, settled the question of the organ. We propose to begin publishing as of January 1-10; the size will be half the old *Iskra* (something like *Osvobozhdeniye*)—100,000 characters, or roughly four pages of the old *Iskra*. It should come out fortnightly, and still better, weekly.[87]

The cost will be about 400 frs. an issue. For *one* issue we have the money, and for the rest—*promises*.... This is on the short side, and the initial period is especially hard going. Because of this, remembering your offer, I turn to you: consider the question thoroughly and write how much you could give to help; we shall count on you in an emergency (besides promises of a "big sum" from Russia, we have some "prospects" of getting a few hundred francs here, and then, apart from this, so far in the past three or four months there has always been a thousand or two francs available for pamphlets). It would be good to know the maximum we can be sure of getting from you *in an emergency*, when we are unable to raise money anywhere and the paper is threatened with death.

Now about writing for us. We count on having you as our permanent correspondent covering the French movement. We should carry 8,000-12,000 characters once in two weeks about French socialism and working-class movement, etc. *Let us have something without fail by January 1.*

Further. Since you are au courant as regards French political life (as you told me yourself) and are in a position to follow the latest literature, sometimes better than from Paris, perhaps you could keep us posted on, and at times obtain and forward to us, or review, etc., interesting new books, articles and items published in journals, and the like. The foreign press now writes a *great deal* about Russia. There is much that never comes to our knowledge; you see far more newspapers, journals, books. For instance, I recently happened to read about the book *Rouble et roublards* by a French correspondent who fled from Russia after the outbreak of the war. It would be extremely important for the paper to keep abreast of such new books and to *carry articles* about them. Please give this serious thought and render us *all-round* literary assistance. Draw our attention to interesting new publications and send us items and extracts from *socialist* newspapers and journals which we could translate for the paper, etc. For you probably follow practically the entire French (*and Belgian*?*) socialist press, don't you?

Bear in mind, then, that we are *seriously* counting on you.

You must come here on Christmas. It is most important to talk things over, at leisure, thoroughly, concretely.

Did you write Plekhanov about the "Zemstvo" views of the new *Iskra*? Their letter is stupid, isn't it?[88] And Starover in No. 78 is simply delightful.

Yours,
N. Lenin

By the way. Could you send me material to refute Starover's reference to Clemenceau? For it is incorrect.[89] Please get the material and send it to me. It would be edifying to refute him factually.

Sent from Geneva

First published April 21, 1963, in the newspaper *Moskovskiye Pravda* No. 95

Printed from the original

* We have no correspondent in Belgium. Can you undertake the job or suggest somebody?

102
TO ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA

Reply

13.XII.

Your second letter received. The first did not reach us. Congratulations on the successful start of the raid on Bukva, which we would ask you to carry to the end. The paper has been launched, we expect to put it out in January. (**Money is desperately needed.** Please do everything you can at once to send at least 1,000-2,000 rubles, otherwise we shall be in the air and everything will be left to chance.) Let us know at once: 1) when will you see Bukva and when do you hope to clear up the matter, 2) exactly how much has Bukva promised to give per month? 3) did you speak to Bukva about **Sysoika** and what did you say? 4) what was the nature of the meeting between Bukva and **Charushnikov** to have been (concerning a talk with Sysoika? general acquaintance? or the handing over of the money?)? Did the meeting take place and when will you know the results?

Written December 13, 1904
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

103
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Via Caucasian Union Council
To Yuri

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter and the *beginning* (the end has not yet reached us) of the article "*Iskra*'s Military Campaign". I was especially happy to receive your letter since we hear so rarely from Russia, so rarely do people write us not "in duty bound" but to exchange ideas. Please write more often and collaborate more closely with our new organ, which we shall begin publishing in the near future

(we are sending a detailed letter about the paper to the Caucasian League with a request that it be passed on to you too*; ask for it and bring it to the attention of as many comrades sharing the Majority views as you possibly can). I would say that your article is unquestionable evidence of your literary ability, and I ask you not to give up writing. It is quite possible that even this article could be adapted and revised for publication (in its present form, as you remarked yourself, it is somewhat out of date). Try to answer this letter as soon as possible and to establish *direct* contact with us by letter, to correspond regularly. This is of utmost importance considering the scanty flow of literary contributions from Russia. Write also about local affairs, and what Majority literature you have seen.

With comradely greetings,
Lenin

Written December 14, 1904
Sent from Geneva to the Caucasus

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

104

TO THE TVER COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

20/XII.

Dear Comrades,

Your letter received. Nadson's poem *The Songs of Mephistopheles*.** We have sent only two letters direct to you, yet you acknowledge receipt of three.... Why don't you reply as regards the Zemstvo campaign and write anything about local affairs? The conciliators claim the Tver Committee tends to side with them, and cite as proof your contribution printed in *Iskra* No. 79 and signed "Tver Committee". We sent you a letter through a comrade announcing the publication of the new Majority paper *Vperyod*. In it we

* See V. I. Lenin, "A Letter to the Comrades" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 521-26).—*Ed.*

** Key for deciphering the letter.—*Ed.*

explain in detail what compelled us to start the paper, what its tasks are, and so on. Let us know whether you have received this detailed letter and what you think of it. For God's sake write us about the state of affairs, about local work. We know nothing about work in Tver at present, whether you have literature and technical facilities, whether leaflets are published and what kind, how extensive the committee's contacts are, how the Zemstvo campaign is being conducted, and so on and so forth. Repeat about 1) Rogova, 2) Bolshak, 3) Dedushka.—

Lenin

Written December 20, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in
Krupskaya's
handwriting

105

TO MARIA GOLUBEVA

To Yasneva, private, from Lenin

I wrote to you in Saratov, but have received no reply.* Let me know what this means: whether you did not get the letter, or whether we have parted ways. If the first, your silence is nevertheless inexcusable: we have been trying to find contacts in Saratov for almost a year. Let us hear from you at last!

Written between December 23, 1904
and January 4, 1905
Sent from Geneva to Saratov

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XV*

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 139.—*Ed.*

106

TO THE CAUCASIAN BUREAU OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

To the Caucasian Bureau

Dear Comrades,

Your statement received. We do not know what the bureau wrote. We shall communicate what we know. Some time ago we forwarded to you the resolutions of the conference of Southern committees and the reply of the participants in the conference of the 22. A slight correction has to be made in your assertion that the Southern committees proposed that the group of 22 appoint a Bureau of the Majority Committees from among *its* members. It was proposed that the participants in the conference of the 22 name the comrades they thought best suited for the bureau. From the reply of the participants in the conference of the 22 it can be seen that they in no way considered themselves empowered to "appoint" anyone; instead they put forward a list of nominees and asked the committees to introduce changes or additions in it as they saw fit. You have received that letter, haven't you? The Southern comrades also took the same view, and, not agreeing with the list proposed, nominated **Ryadovoi** and **Zemlyachka** for the Bureau (a minor point: all the nominees are in Russia with the exception of two, and of these one has just come from Russia and is going there again). So far as we know, their nomination coincided with the choice of the Caucasian Bureau. But these persons did not feel they had the right to take any steps before the conference of the Northern committees, which has already taken place. Here's its resolution.* Thus 13 committees (4 Caucasian+3 Southern+6 Northern) have declared for the congress and the establishment of the Bureau of the Majority Committees. As you can see, everything is being done to enable the committees in Russia to come to an agreement. Other committees besides the thirteen have also declared for the congress; the Central Committee itself admits that 16 have already declared for the

* The text of the resolution is not given.—*Ed.*

congress, but it now maintains that 19 are needed (this is what the Odessa Committee was told).

In any case the Majority committees should hurry up and organise. In a few days you will receive documents from which you will see how the C.C. negotiations with the Minority began and how they ended: with the retention by the Minority of the autonomy of the technical institutions and the co-opting (so far unofficial) into the C.C. of three of the most ardent Mensheviks whose inclusion in the C.C. the Minority had insisted on from the very beginning. The Mensheviks have begun to run things their own way. The Petersburg business is proof of this. The workers were eager for a demonstration, the committee set the date for the 28th, but in many districts the organisers were Mensheviks (the Petersburg Committee considered it impossible to exclude the Mensheviks from the work) and they conducted vigorous agitation throughout against the committee. The C.C. did not supply the committee with literature; the Mensheviks had the literature but of course did not give it to the committee, and in their districts they did not prepare for the demonstration. Three days before the demonstration the Mensheviks disrupted a meeting of the committee and, taking advantage of the absence of three Bolsheviks, called off the demonstration; 15,000 leaflets were burnt, and when the Bolsheviks, horrified, got another meeting together it was already too late, nothing could be done any more, and hardly any workers showed up for the demonstration. There is seething indignation against the committee, and the Mensheviks who caused all this mess are breaking away, carrying with them nearly all districts, and are receiving support in the form of literature, contacts and money. Now there are two committees in Petersburg. Undoubtedly the same will happen in other cities. The Mensheviks have no scruples and, having seized the C.C., the Central Organ and the Council, will pursue a line which will leave the Majority completely out of the picture. This is no battle of principles. It is the most outrageous mockery of the Party and principles. This is why we began to publish our own organ. There is a complete split in the Party and there must be no procrastination if we do not wish to reconcile ourselves to the sacrifice of Party principle to clannishness, to absence of

principle prevailing in the Party for a long time to come, or its being thrown back to Economism and the *Rabocheye Dyelo* approach.

Written in December, not earlier than 25th, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

107

TO A. Y. ISAYENKO

Yesterday we heard about the split in Petersburg. Well, well! They're a cunning lot, you can see they stop at nothing....

Maybe this at least will shake up the Bolsheviks and make them realise that one has to fight actively or these scoundrels will split all the committees.*

Written December 26, 1904
Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original

* Postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

1905

108

TO V. A. NOSKOV, L. B. KRASIN AND L. Y. GALPERIN, MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P.*

To Members of the C.C. Glebov
Nikitich
Valentin

Geneva, 13.I. 05

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed you will find my statement in reply to your, in *Iskra* No. 77.[90] My representatives in the arbitration are Comrades Schwarz and Voinov. Address for communication with them: forwarding office of the newspaper *Vperyod*, for so-and-so.

N. Lenin

Sent in two envelopes to the address: Mr. P. Axelrod. 4. Bd. Pont d'Arve. 4.

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

109

TO A CORRESPONDENT OF *VPERYOD*

Dear Comrade,

Your article "What Are We To Do?" is not suitable for publication. You *are creating* a *non-existent* difference. We

* The letter has the word "*Copy*" on it in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

have so many serious differences that we must refrain from breeding new ones. Who has spoken, and where, *specially* about breaking up anything by force?[91] Nobody, I believe. It was merely conceded as an *inevitable* result *irrespective of* our wishes. We urged people to go to the meetings *even* if they had to *force* their way in in order to propagate *our* slogans. I grant that the presentation of ideas was at times clumsy, but to cavil at this would be to repeat the foul methods of the new *Iskra*. You of course do not wish to cavil, that is unquestionable. But you do not in any way prove that there has been "tactlessness". And to say that "all tactics should consist in tact" and the like, why, that's altogether "off the mark".

With comradely greetings,

N. Lenin

Written in January 1905
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1924 in the book "*Vperyod*" *and* "*Proletary*". *The First Bolshevik Papers of 1905*, Krasnaya Nov Publishers, Moscow

Printed from the original

110

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE[92]

27.II. 05

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of February 24. Of course I agree, on behalf of my organisation (the paper *Vperyod* and the Russian Bureau of the Committees of the Majority of the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Russia), to accept your conditions and promise to carry them out. The receipt for the sums of £60 and £20, with indica-

tion of their destination, will be printed in our paper *Vperyod*.

I must apologise for my bad English.

Yours very sincerely,
Vl. Oulianoff

Sent from Geneva to London

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original
Written in English

111

TO THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

The Labour Representation Committee (secretary *MacDonald*), a British proletarian organisation, has sent *60 pounds sterling* (1,506 francs)* through the editors of *Vperyod* in aid of the widows and orphans of workers who fell on January 9 (22) in St. Petersburg. The editors of *Vperyod* have forwarded this money to the St. Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party with the request that the donation be brought without fail to the attention of all workers' organisations of our Party without exception (district committees, meetings of organisers, factory groups, etc.) which could themselves help properly to distribute the funds. It would be desirable that the workers themselves acknowledge the receipt of the money to their British comrades.

Besides the 60 pounds sterling for the victims, the Labour Representation Committee at the same time sent another 20 pounds sterling to *Vperyod* to be used for the needs of the uprising.

Now, March 13 (February 28), the editors of *Vperyod* have received from the same Committee another 90 pounds sterling (about 900 rubles) of which 50 pounds (about 500 rubles) is for aid to the orphans and widows of the workers

* About 600 rubles.

who fell in the fight for freedom. We shall collect this money in a few days and send it on to Petersburg.

Since some workers have friends in London the exact address of this Committee might come in handy. Here it is: Labour Representation Committee, Victoria Mansions, 28, Victoria Street. London. S.W. Secretary J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Reply to this letter without fail.

Written March 13, 1905,
in Geneva

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

112

TO I. I. SCHWARZ

To Yekaterinoslav

Dear Comrade,

We shall reply in detail to your letter in a few days. This is merely a hurried note to let you know the following: If there are organisers who side with the Majority, do one of two things *at once*: 1) send in *their* name a *letter* to the congress protesting against the committee and expressing a desire to take part in the congress; 2) if you find 50 rubles and someone to send, then send a delegate to us (to our address in Geneva) without delay, supplying him with a credential written in our cipher.

Good-bye for the present. Shall write more in a few days. Now please don't delay and try to comply with our request at once, better the second than the first.

Written in 1905, not earlier than
March 31, in Geneva

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

113

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

1914. 05

Dear L.,

It is impossible to get an Organising Committee credential for you to deliver greetings to the congress.[93] I thought at first that our congress would open by April 22 and that it would issue you a credential, but that did not work out; our congress is being delayed.* You can say you are speaking for the Editorial Board of *Vperyod* and deliver greetings to the congress in its name, and *through it*, in the name of the R.S.D.L.P. That will be the best.

The item about Martov's lies is going in.[94] Write from the congress.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. In *Neue Zeit* No. 29 Kautsky again told a pack of lies about *Vperyod* and *Iskra*![95] It would be a good thing for you to "correct" him in your speech *at the congress*.

Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

114

TO A. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

Dear Comrade,

We received your letter and were very glad to hear from you. Congratulations on overcoming the obstacles raised by the notorious agents appointed to conceal the truth.[96] Do everything possible to keep in touch with us regularly by letter. This is urgently necessary. As soon as correspondence is arranged, we shall give you some interesting assignments.

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* The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. opened on April 12 (25), 1905.—*Ed.*

At present we are looking forward to the congress. It is to open in a few days. The C.C. and Plekhanov still have not made their position quite clear. It looks as if a split is inevitable. Reply at once if you want to be informed about the congress sooner and more accurately than anyone else.

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin,

your former village neighbour.[97] Is that peasant radical* you used to bring to me still alive? What is his stand now? Why don't you find us contacts with the peasants?

Written in April, prior to 21st, 1905
Sent from Geneva to Samara

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

115

DRAFT OF A LETTER TO THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY ABROAD

To the League

Dear Comrades,

We are sending you a communication about the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Please let us know your attitude to the Third Congress and to the Party Centre it set up.

With S.D. greetings,

C.C.

P.S. We would kindly ask you to reply within two weeks. In the event that we do not hear from you we shall be com-

* D. Y. Kislikov.—*Ed.*

pelled to assume that the League does not recognise the Third Congress.* Of course, the above time limit can be extended if need be.

Written between May 23 and 26, 1905, in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

116

TO Y. M. STEKLOV**

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Vas. Vas., a member of our Editorial Board, has informed me that on the whole you share the stand of *Proletary*[98] in the present disputes on tactics and organisation among the Social-Democrats. This was very good news for all of us members of the Editorial Board of *Proletary*. It is our firm conviction that the old conflicts of the circle period should under no circumstances impede joint work on the basis of common principles and strictly Party relationships. We therefore consider it our duty to invite you to work with us in *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. We would be extremely happy if we could thus pave the way to uniting by truly Party bonds as many influential representatives of Social-Democracy as possible.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

N. Lenin

Written after May 27, 1905, in Geneva

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

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* This is followed by an insertion in an unidentified handwriting: "—the signature of your representative on the letter to the delegates of the Third Congress leads to this assumption".—*Ed.*

** According to M. S. Olminsky, this letter was never sent.—*Ed.*

117

TO ALEXANDRE-MARIE BRACKE-DESROUSSEAUX

47 Bd. Port Royal 47. M. *Desrousseaux*

Dear Comrade,

You told Comrade Belsky that there was a speech by Paul Lafargue concerning Social-Democratic participation in a provisional revolutionary government. We would be very much obliged if you could send us the pamphlet with this speech as soon as possible, or if you could give us a detailed account of this speech....[99]

Forgive my poor French.

Written in 1905, not earlier than June 11
Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

118

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Geneva, July 3, 1905

Dear Citizen,

We have received your letter informing us that you have sent 5,049 frs. 23 to Mr. Plekhanov. The head of our forwarding office has written him that we expect half of this sum to be sent to our address.

I should like to let you know, dear citizen, that it was a mistake on your part to have sent the money to Mr. Plekhanov. We have already had the honour to inform you that since the Third Congress of our Party *Iskra* has ceased to be the organ of the Party and that Mr. Plekhanov is no longer the representative of the Party in the International Bureau. We have also had the honour to inform you that the Central Committee of our Party has not yet delegated a special representative to the International Bureau and that in all cases you should get in touch with Mr. Ulyanov.

You advise us to come to an agreement with Mr. Plekhanov. You should be aware that no agreement of any kind is possible between our Party and Mr. Plekhanov until his relations with the Party have been officially settled. I am therefore obliged to ask you to inform Mr. Plekhanov that half of the sum should be forwarded to the Central Committee of our Party (to Mr. Ulyanov).

Accept, dear citizen, our fraternal greetings.

On behalf of the Central Committee
of the Russian Social-Democratic Party
Vl. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

119

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Geneva, July 8, 1905

Dear Citizens,

We have received half of the sum you sent to the Russian Social-Democrats, that is, 2,524 frs. 61½ centimes. But it was a mistake to send it to Comrade Plekhanov. We have already had the honour of informing you that Comrade Plekhanov is no longer the representative of our Party and that on all questions concerning our Party you should get in touch only with the Central Committee of our Party, that is, with Mr. Oulianoff, 3 rue de la Colline, Genève.

Accept, dear citizens, our fraternal greetings.

On behalf of the Central Committee
of the Russian Social-Democratic
Labour Party
N. Lenin (*Vl. Ulyanov*)

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French
in the journal *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian)
Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the text of
the journal
Translated from the French

120

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Dear Vl. Dm.,

I am sending you the "paper".*

Your appointment to the Economic Commission turned out to be inexpedient for the time being: it would not have lessened but rather aggravated the friction.

If need be always get in touch with me. I do not think there is any reason to fear friction. But of course one must be tactful and cautious whatever turn things may take.

I hear there is no paper for the next issue!

Greetings to V. M. Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written July 31, 1905,
in Geneva and mailed
to a local address

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

121

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Dear An. V.,

I am sending you a new pamphlet by Plekhanov. How petty are his sallies and "digs" at the Machists! For me this is all the more disappointing since essentially Plekhanov's criticism of Mach is, I believe, correct.

I am thinking of writing a short article entitled "G. Plekhanov's Latest Contribution".[100]

Prepare the introduction to your pamphlet *Sketches on the History of the Revolutionary Struggle of the West-European Proletariat*.[101] We shall put out a special one about the February revolution.[102]

We have C.C. letters from Russia looking forward to writings by you.[103] It is very difficult for us without your

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47, p. 308.—*Ed.*

regular, close collaboration. The paper, true, comes out, but it is somewhat monotonous as well. That's one thing. Secondly, there are no pamphlets, especially popular ones. You ought to continue in the vein of *How the Petersburg Workers Went To Petition the Tsar*.

My pamphlet will come out this week.* 1 shall send it to you.

The Congress minutes will probably come out in August.

Vas. Vas. is swamped with routine work and does not write, which is a great pity.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written August 1, 1905
Sent from Geneva to Viareggio
(Italy)

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Printed from the original

122

TO THE CENTRAL AND ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEES OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

To Absolut's address

To the Members of the C.C. and the St. Petersburg Committee from Lenin

14.VIII.

Dear Comrades,

I have received a letter and a "statement" from Comrade Konstantin Sergeyevich, and consider it my duty to give the following reply, which I would ask *all* members of the St. Petersburg Committee to read. Needless to say, the conflict should be examined, in accordance with the Rules of the Party, by the Central Committee, and I am far from presuming to pass judgement from here. But in

* A reference to *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 15-140).—*Ed.*

view of the reference to the "Lushin letter" as emanating from abroad, I must express my opinion. Lushin is a despicable defector from the Majority to the Minority, offended for not having been invited to the Third Congress. The "Lushin letter" was published by the author (in the press) earlier, before the Third Congress, and contained the absurd charge that the Majority had shown *insufficient resolution* (!) in fighting the Minority. Comrade Konstantin Sergeyevich made a mistake in signing the letter, but to hold it against him would be the height of unreasonableness. It was a forgivable mistake for a man unfamiliar with the "mores" (or rather lack of mores) of the émigrés. Konstantin Sergeyevich himself dissociated himself at once from this Lushin person. Having known Konstantin Sergeyevich first as a *splendid*, one of the most valuable correspondents, and then having *met him personally* in Geneva, I must commend him as a worker, and resolutely object to the "Lushin letter" being used against him.[104]

Written August 14, 1905
Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

123

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

From Lenin to the C.C.

30.IX. 05

Dear Friends,

1) I am sending you a draft contract with Malykh for approval by the entire C.C.[105] I advise approval, since there are a lot of people here who have nothing else to live on, and the Party cannot support them (including editors and contributors of *Proletary*). This is a serious question, which I would beg you not to decide offhand; otherwise there is liable to be a desperate crisis.

2) I advise raising the 50 per cent to 100 per cent. Malykh ought to agree.

3) Be sure to get an undertaking from her at once to submit to ideological *guidance* (and not only control) by a person to be agreed upon between herself and the C.C. This is quite possible, she will agree; this point is enormously important in principle, and its practical significance for the future will also be very great.

4) You are placing me and especially yourselves in an impossible position vis-à-vis the International Bureau by not appointing a representative to the conference and not sending C.C. members here as promised.[106] For heaven's sake can't you see that in this way you are setting the entire international Social-Democracy against you. I already have an inquiry from the International Bureau concerning the strange silence of the C.C. (I replied that you agree in principle to a conference without arbitration, that you will soon send delegates, and that talks are now going on in Russia between the Organising Commission and the C.C.).

It is necessary to give the International Bureau a precise and clear official answer, otherwise you will seriously compromise yourselves, it will look as if you were evading the issue.[107]

5) I have lost all hope of your coming. Why didn't you write a word about the end of Sysoika? Let me know whether you have definitely given up the idea of coming. In general there has been no news from you about anyone for over a month.

6) As regards Plekhanov, I can pass on some local rumours for your information. He is obviously angry with us for having exposed him in the eyes of the International Bureau. He swears like a stevedore in No. 2 of *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata*.[108] There is talk of his putting out his own paper, or returning to *Iskra*. The conclusion: he should be regarded with growing distrust.

Best regards. Let me have at least some sort of a reply.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

124

TO THE KHERSON BOLSHEVIKS

Dear Comrades,

We have received your postal address from a comrade who visited you, and hasten to make use of it to contact you direct. We attach much importance to direct contacts and exchange of ideas, and that is why we are trying to get in touch with you. Write us at this address: Mr. Albert Milde, Marienstrasse, 13II, Leipzig.

N. Lenin

Written October 10, 1905,
in Geneva

First published in 1934
in the journal *Krasny Arkhiv*
No. 1

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

125

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

To the C.C.

16.X. 05

Dear Comrades,

I have talked to Ivan Vasilich's messenger and yesterday sent a telegram giving my consent. I authorise Ivan Vasilich or Sergei Vasilich to make the necessary cuts in the *Poor*,[109] if it is taken away from Petrov. I agree to its being taken from Petrov, but only on condition that this will not mean a break with Petrov, or a sheer deception of Petrov on my part, since *I gave Petrov permission* to try to arrange this thing. This means it is necessary 1) at least to compensate Petrov for expenses already incurred (Ivan Vasilich's messenger agreed to this); 2) to get Petrov's consent to submit to the decision of the higher body (i.e., I permitted Petrov to make a try, while the C.C. decided to hand it over to Belov—so that Petrov should not have reason to consider me an unreliable business partner). If Petrov has already succeeded in arranging things, I would strongly

advise against taking it away from him, for I do not see how Belov is better than Petrov; 3) please get in touch with my sister* on this matter (she can easily be communicated with), since she might have already made some arrangements in my name.

As for Petrov, I shall inform everybody here that 1) the C.C. did not endorse the contract; 2) we are within our rights in negotiating with Petrov on each separate instance since no monopoly has been established; 3) it is advisable to deal with the C.C. publishers as more advantageous and closer to the Party.

That seems to be all. Write and let me know whether I have understood you correctly.

Your agreement with Nolin is good, but I am afraid it might be fictitious. An "editorial committee" = 7—4—1 = 2!! And these two are burdened with other things!! This is a fiction, not an editorial committee. Besides, after signing an agreement with Nolin you all give heaps of work (Radin, Kamenev, Werner, Schmidt, Lyadov, Bazarov, Fedorovich, etc., etc.—unless Belov has deceived me?) to Belov. What does this mean? Nolin for the soul and Belov for the body, is that it? If our meeting does not take place, you will be kind enough to explain to me thoroughly by letter what is the matter. It is altogether out of the question for people in the underground or members of the R.S.D.L.P. to engage in the complex and bothersome business of publishing. That is why Belov (and Petrov no less than Belov) is getting ahead of us. And I seriously warn you that that is how it will be, for Belov has enterprising people who give themselves *wholly* to the business, while Nolin's "editorial committee" (you can be sure) will not be able to devote even one-hundredth of its energies to *this* work. We shall keep on talking, arguing, bargaining, holding meetings (we have been engaged in this laudable occupation ever since summer, *for six months*), while Belov and Petrov will do business. I am not blaming anybody, for it would be absurd to do that—it is inevitable under the circumstances. This will change 1) if freedom is won—and then everything will change; or 2) if Pyatnitsky goes about it

* Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova.—*Ed.*

like Belov and Petrov, which he cannot do since he is occupied with a host of other things.

P.S. Received *Rabochy* No. 2. I shall write you about the feuilleton in detail. The author should not have tackled such subjects: the result is a sort of "sentimental" socialism, which is very dangerous.[110]

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

126

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH*

17.X. 05

Dear Comrade,

The Scholtz affair has taken such a turn that the Party is likely to suffer a serious loss through the fault of the manager of the printing shop:[111]

Besides, fulfilment by the Party printery of Demos orders also involves losses for the Party since things are not properly handled.

In view of this and considering that the affairs of Demos, supervision over which has been entrusted to me by the Central Committee, *cannot* require your presence in London later than October 21 (new style), I *urgently* request you, on agreement with Iv. P., to give up the trip to Berlin and to leave *at once* for Geneva to settle the matters entrusted to you by the C.C.

N. Lenin

P.S. I draw your attention to the fact that to refer to Demos business in justification of your continued absence would not be right on your part, for I have communicated with I.P. and learned that Demos business equally requires your *immediate* return.

* This letter bears the note by Lenin: "Sent 17/X.05".—*Ed.*

P.P.S. Scholtz filed a suit (for 2,031 frs. 25) on October 17. Payment falls due on October 27. We need a few days (a minimum of five) for legal consultation.

Sent from Geneva to London

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

127

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

Dear Comrades,

The International Socialist Bureau has forwarded me a letter from Vaillant setting forth the proposal of the Socialist Workers' Party of France. The Bureau has asked me to submit this proposal for discussion by the central body of my Party and to reply at the earliest date. Vaillant's letter is as follows:

"The question raised in my letter which you circulated was to introduce a definite proposal. Today I am sending you this proposal. I could not do so earlier, for to give it sufficient freight it was necessary that it should come from the party as a whole, from the Socialist Party (French section of the International Workers' Party), which has adopted it unanimously through its delegates at an assembly of the National Council on Sunday, September 24 (September 11), in Paris. The following is the proposal on which a decision is to be taken after discussion by the International Socialist Bureau: 'As soon as developments, overt or covert, give cause to fear a conflict between governments and make war possible, the socialist parties of the countries concerned should at once, on invitation from the I.S.B. contact each other direct with the object of determining and concentrating the actions of the combined forces of the workers and socialists to avert and prevent war.

"'At the same time the parties of other countries would be invited by the I.S.B. to a meeting to be held at the earliest possible date in order to determine what action on the part of the entire International and the organised workers is most suitable to avert and prevent war.'

"Jaurès joins me in asking you to send at once a new circular letter to all parties. You will understand, as will the socialists of all countries if they agree with us, how important, in view of the possible developments, it is not to put off discussion of this question to a distant meeting of the Bureau, but to inform the Bureau directly of their agreement; thus, if the proposal is adopted, as we hope it will be, it could be implemented promptly in the event of a conflict."

I for my part should like to add that, in my view, this proposal is somewhat naïve, since the only thing that can have an effect in the event of a conflict between governments is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Written October 18, 1905,
Sent from Geneva to Russia

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Printed from a copy in an unknown handwriting, with corrections by Lenin

128

TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P.

At the comrades' request I give here information concerning the Economic Commission in as precise a form as possible.[112]

The Economic Commission consists of comrades specially appointed by the C.C. representative abroad.

At the present time (October 20, 1905) it includes Comrades Bonch-Bruyevich (manager of the printing shop), Kruchinina (treasurer and manager of the forwarding office), Ilyin, Lenina (secretary of the C.C.), Abramov,* Knol, Vetchinkin, Ladyzhnikov and Nik. Vasilich.

Generally speaking, the function of the Economic Commission is to handle the business jobs of the Central Committee abroad, and to help the Central Committee in all its work abroad. This applies to the technical end (printing, forwarding, and so forth), finances, transport, sending people to Russia, measures relating to arms, and so on, co-ordinating the work of all C.C. agents, controlling the work of each individual agent, and so on, right up to special assignments from the Central Committee.

The Economic Commission elects its chairman or secretary, etc., and distributes work among its members, with

* See Avramov R. P.—*Ed.*

the exception of the appointment of permanent functionaries (in charge of forwarding, the treasury, the secretariat, printing shop, transport, and so on), which depends on the Central Committee.

Decisions of the Economic Commission may be revoked by the Central Committee or its representative abroad, but are not subject to endorsement by the C.C. unless this is asked for by some member of the Economic Commission or unless objections are raised by anyone.

For the purpose of control over the activities of individual agents of the C.C. (the treasurer, secretary, manager of printing shop, etc.), the Economic Commission appoints comrades from among its members to make a thorough examination of the whole work of the given agent and to report to the Commission on measures to improve his work, and also to check up on the progress of his work from time to time. The only exceptions are special activities or spheres of activity exempted for one or another reason by the Central Committee from control by the Economic Commission. The carrying out of all ordinary and current work undertaken by the C.C. is to be systematically controlled by the Economic Commission.

The Economic Commission helps the Central Committee to direct the activity of the Committee of the Organisations Abroad,[113] not in the form of directives to the latter, since it is an autonomous organisation, but by studying its reports, discussing its work, examining the organisation of its activities and searching for ways of improving it.

If the comrades who asked for a more explicit definition of the functions of the Economic Commission consider it necessary to draw up a detailed statute, the Economic Commission as a whole should discuss this statute, after which it would be endorsed by the C.C.

Written October 20, 1905,
in Geneva and mailed to a local
address

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Printed from the original

129

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

Geneva, October 23, 1905

Dear L.,

I have just been informed by Bracke of the French Parti Socialiste that their party congress will take place in Châlon-sur-Sâone from October 27-30 to November 1. Le meilleur accord est réservé aux délégués de l'Étranger.*

Will you be there? *Be sure to drop me a line*. If you will, represent us and deliver without fail an *exhaustive* speech with greetings from the *revolutionary* Social-Democracy of Russia.

If not, let me know *at once*. In that case we shall send a detailed message of greetings from here.[114]

So be sure to reply!

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent to Paris

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

130

TO G. D. LEITEISEN

Dear L.,

Please do take the trouble to write a short article or even a paragraph about your interview with Guesde, Lafargue and Bracke concerning the provisional revolutionary government and our participation in it. We need it for *Proletary* (or for *Novaya Zhizn*,[115] depending on the circumstances). You must write, if only a few lines, and as soon as possible![116]

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written in early November 1905
Sent from Geneva to Paris

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVI*

Printed from the original

* Foreign delegates will be accorded the warmest welcome.—*Ed.*

131

TO N. F. NASIMOVICH

Comrade Dirks,

Please tell Vl. Dm. Bonch-Bruyevich that the Party Programme must be published *at once* as a *separate* pamphlet with cover, list of publications, address of the forwarding office, etc., and *matrixed*.

I would earnestly ask that first *both* of you go over it *carefully* once more to make sure there is not the slightest misprint. Check it against the minutes of the Second Congress.

The price of the pamphlet should be fixed both for single copies and *bundle orders* (per 100 copies, 1,000 copies).

Written in November, prior to 9th, 1905

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

1906

132
TO G. A. KUKLIN

A Mr. G. Koukline 15. Rue de Candolle. Genève.

Dear Comrade,

I am extremely worried about the fate of a certain packet of documents of historical significance.[117] It was among the papers left in your keeping about which the editor of an historical journal spoke to you this summer.

I would be very much obliged to you if you would drop me a line letting me know whether the packet can be located and sent here; where the suitcase or box is and whether the packet can be easily found there.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

V. Ulyanov

Address: St. Petersburg.
Railway Administration, Fontanka, at Obukhov Bridge. Ivan Nikolayevich Chebotaryov.

Written September 14, 1906
Sent from Kuokkala (Finland) to Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

1907

133
TO ETIENNE AVENARD[118]

March 1(14), 1907

Dear M. Avenard,

Thank you for your letter.

I would ask you to make the following corrections:

(1) Page 6 (No. 1). You quote me as saying: "not to work for the bourgeois revolution which would dupe the working class".

This is most inaccurate. We Social-Democratic revolutionaries *must* not only work for the bourgeois revolution but we must lead it, direct it, *together with the peasantry*, against tsarism and *against the liberals*.

Perhaps it would be better to say: "... in joint work, not with the liberal bourgeoisie, who want to put an end to the revolution, but with the democratic peasantry, against the baseness and treachery of the bourgeoisie, who are day by day becoming more and more counter-revolutionary".

We Bolsheviks *also* stand for the participation of the proletariat in the *bourgeois* revolution. But we believe, with Karl Kautsky, that it is precisely together with the peasants and by no means with the liberals that the proletariat can carry the bourgeois revolution to a victorious conclusion.

(2) Pages 3-4.

Stolypin's article in *Novoye Vremya*[119] appeared on January 4 (old style) and not on January 6.

(3) It is necessary to add that Milyukov visited Stolypin on *January 15*.

(4) The last words of your article: "... countless masses of peasant *proletarians*."

Not "peasant proletarians" but "democratic peasants".

In the social (socialist) revolution we can count only on the proletarians of the cities and the proletarians of the countryside. At the present time, however, we have not a social revolution in Russia, but a *bourgeois* revolution. And it is only the proletariat together with the peasants, together with the democratic peasantry, together with the broad masses of the peasantry, who can bring *such* a revolution to victory.

Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. I received your letter very late. I have only a few minutes to spare. Forgive this hurried reply.

Sent from Kuokkala
to St. Petersburg

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

134

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY

For Pyotr

Dear P.,

I don't know whether your letter was written before you met our local friend or after. At any rate I am answering your questions.

N. K. has spoken about the money question *many* times. She will mention it again and so shall I.

I have not written to *R*. because I myself recently saw (when I happened to be in those parts) two comrades from there and took up all matters concerning you with them.[120]

You ask what I think about your work there.

It is rather difficult to answer this question in a few words. When you have looked around you will see for yourself what material, information, etc., can be sent from

there, but this is a relatively minor problem and can be easily solved. The general conditions of work there is another matter. I doubt whether you have ever seen such foul conditions as those in which the emigrants find themselves abroad. You must be *extremely* cautious there. Not that I am advising against waging war with the opportunists. On the contrary, it is very necessary to fight there, and much fighting will have to be done. But it is an ugly kind of war. You must always be prepared for malicious underhand attacks, outright "provocations" on the part of the Mensheviks (they will systematically provoke you), and very little *effective* sympathy. For over there you are frightfully out of touch with Russia, and idleness and the state of mind that goes with it, a nervous, hysterical, hissing and spitting mentality, predominate. The difficulties you will encounter there have *nothing in common* with the difficulties encountered in Russia: though there is practically full "freedom", there is no *live* work or an environment for live work to speak of.

In my opinion the chief thing is for you to have work, your own work. *R.* may provide it.... More important still is it for you to maintain contact with the *organisation* in Russia: in that case you won't feel rootless there. And, finally, most important of all, we all, both there and here, should work *in unison*, march in step, exchange views more often (if not all views are clearly expressed in the press). Only by working abroad *in contact* with the *organisation* in Russia can one protect oneself against being sucked down into the slough of despond, squabbles, the viciousness of overwrought nerves, etc. My own memory of that "abroad" is only too fresh, and I speak from no little experience.

It would be very good if you would work together with Knunyants and Trotsky. It would be much easier for you with them.

Anyway, you will see all this for yourself in time.

The address you have written to here should *not be used* on any account. Besides, I shall be leaving here soon. For the time being write me at this address: Herrn Kakko *Paavo*, Terijoki, and inside the envelope (and *only* inside) for L—n. Let me have your address there as soon as possible.

Best regards. Warm greetings to *all the Knipoviches*.

Yours,
....*

Address: I. Ladyschnikoff, Uhlandstrasse N 145. *Berlin*.
Entrance *through courtyard*. This is a private address. Abramoff lives in the same place, one floor higher. Opposite, at Uhlandstrasse, 52, is the office where they can be found in the mornings. I give it just in case, though you probably know this by now.

Written in late September-early October 1907 in Kuokkala

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

135

TO KARL HJALMAR BRANTING

Dear Comrade,

The bearer of this letter is our Party comrade.[121] I would kindly ask you to give her your advice and assistance. In particular, she has instructions to look for our Social-Democratic books and documents in Stockholm and if need be to send them on. These books, etc., are partly in the basement of the Stockholm People's House (in crates), and partly, perhaps, with Comrades Börjeßon or Björck (Bokhandel Björck & Börjeßon, Drottninggatan. 62).

I trust that with your help the bearer of this letter will be able to carry out her assignment, which I consider extremely important.

With best regards,
N. Lenin

Written in early October 1907 in Kuokkala

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

* Signature illegible.—*Ed*.

136

TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE[122]

28.XII. 07

Dear Comrade,

I have made arrangements with Mr. Börjeßon, but unfortunately he is not able to ensure the delivery to us of all letters and parcels. You must forgive me if I therefore once again ask you to find *one more* member of the Party who could receive letters and parcels of books in Stockholm *weekly* and send them on (to Finland and back to Geneva).

I intend to leave for Berlin on Tuesday.*

With best regards,
Yours,
I. Frey

Malmstens Hotell
Mastersamuelsgatan 63

P.S. I shall visit you 4 p.m. Monday. If this is inconvenient for you, please telephone to the Malmsten Hotel.

Written in Stockholm
and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the
German

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* December 31, 1907.—*Ed.*

1908

137
TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

13.I. 08

Dear An. Vas.,

For several days now my wife and I have been in Geneva.... It is devilishly sad to have to return to this accursed Geneva again, but there's no other way out! After the disaster in Finland there was no alternative but to transfer *Proletary*[123] abroad. That's what the Editorial Board decided. The only question is whether to Geneva or some other place. So far we are making inquiries, but I personally believe that Geneva and London are the only places that are free. But London is expensive.

I read your pamphlet about Stuttgart to the end; the third supplement came very late, I barely managed to read it before leaving. I think you made a good job of it, and all the comrades were very pleased with the pamphlet.* We all thought it unnecessary to "correct" it; it would have been a pity to mar your vivid and lively style. And there is no syndicalism in it; what it does contain, in my opinion, is a number of major indiscretions "for use by" Plekhanov and Co. Did you see his carping and base cavilling in *Obrazovaniye* or *Sovremenny Mir*?[124] We shall always have opponents of this kind and must be triply cautious. Moreover, you also forgot about the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who have for quite some

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* See present edition, Vol. 34, pp. 370-71.—*Ed.*

time now been attacking the German Social-Democrats, making use of the criticism of the syndicalists and *distorting* this criticism into *vituperation* against Marxism.

I don't know whether our people will now manage to put out your pamphlet. Publishing has become difficult.

Did you get my first volume?

How are you getting on? How's the heir? I hear you had a good trip with Gorky.

Write and let us know what you are working on. We count on you both as a contributor to *Proletary* and as a lecturer. You will not let us down, will you?

Where is Gorky? I wrote to him in Capri (Villa Blaesus). I wonder whether it will reach him.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Address: Mr. Vl. *Oulianoff*.
17. Rue des deux Ponts. 17.
(chez Küpfer). *Genève*.

Sent to Italy

First published in 1934
in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Printed from the original

138
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

14.I. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am no longer in Finland, but, regrettably, in Geneva: Vl. Oulianoff, rue des Ponts 17 (chez Küpfer), Genève....*

* Two lines illegible. The sheet is torn here and the end is missing. The following lines are written on the reverse side.—*Ed.*

...during the latest hounding in Finland part of the minutes of our last Congress in London [was lost]. If I am not mistaken, I was told that the materials and documents of this Congress were sent to the International Socialist Bureau.[125] Is this true? I should be very much [obliged] if you could....

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original verified against the text of the journal
Translated from the French

139

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

To Anatoly Vasilyevich

Dear An. Vas.,

Drop a line to let me know whether you have settled down and are work fit. We are counting on you to write for *Proletary* 1) letters from Italy twice (roughly) a month, 8,000-12,000 characters. The first in about three weeks' time. 2) Political feuilletons from time to time. Do you see the Russian papers (Gorky gets a lot of them)?

Write.

Best regards,
Yours,
Starik

Written between January 14 and February 13, 1908
Sent from Geneva to Capri (Italy)

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

140
TO MAGNUS NILSSEN

27.I. 08

Dear Comrade,

Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels, has passed your inquiry on to me. As representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the International Socialist Bureau, I can inform you that the Estonian Social-Democrats (if I am not mistaken, they call themselves the Union of Estonian Social-Democrats) are part of our Party. There is indeed in Revel a Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party consisting mostly of Estonians. As regards citizens M. Jurisson and J. H. Seppin, these names are unknown to me. This in no way militates against them; the organisations of our Party function in secret and I know none of the Estonian comrades personally. I shall write to the Central Committee of our Party in Russia and make inquiries about these citizens (and, to make sure, also to the Revel Committee), but we cannot expect a quick answer.

With S.D. greetings,

Vl. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

Address: Vl. *Oulianoff*. 17. Rue des deux Ponts. 17. (chez Küpfer). *Genf. Genève.*

Sent to Christiania (now Oslo)

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

141
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

27.I. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I have received your letter of January 24, 1908, and have written to Comrade Magnus Nilssen in Christiania*

* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

that the Revel Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. *does indeed exist* and that the Estonian Social-Democrats belong to [our Party].* As for citizens [Jurisson] and Seppin, I do not know them, [and in general] I do not know a single Estonian Social-Democrat personally; it should not be forgotten that the organisations of our Party are secret. I shall write to Russia and ask for particulars about these citizens, but no immediate reply can be expected.

With fraternal greetings,

Vl. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original Translated from the French

142

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

29.I. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am told that the third volume of the reports of the various parties to the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress is to come out in a few days and that the report of our Party is not yet ready....*

Will it be possible to publish our Party's report in the third volume or not? What is the time limit for submitting it?** The hounding in Finland has most likely prevented our comrades from completing the report, for when I was in Finland two months ago I heard myself that the Central Committee [had assigned the job] to a comrade,

* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

** As regards the time limit for submitting the report see letter to Camille Huysmans of February 2, 1908 (*Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 47, p. 131).—*Ed.*

who was working energetically [to complete] the report. [Accept, dear] comrade, [my fraternal greetings].

Vl. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original
Translated from the French

143

TO THE EDITORS OF *BERNER TAGWACHT*[126]

Statement. *Berner Tagwacht* No. 24 (Thursday, January 30) carries a statement by L. Martov in regard to the case of Dr. Semashko, a Russian comrade arrested in Geneva.[127] In this statement Martov for some strange reason refers to Semashko only as a journalist who had been present at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart; at the same time he calls himself a "delegate of Russian Social-Democracy at the Stuttgart Congress".

The Swiss workers will unquestionably interpret this statement of Martov's to mean that Semashko has nothing to do with the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

In order that Martov's utterly inaccurate mode of expression should not mislead anyone, I, as representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in the International Socialist Bureau, hereby declare that Dr. Semashko is an old member of our Party and that he was at the International Congress both as a member of the Party and as a journalist working for the Party press.

I feel this explanation to be necessary inasmuch as our Swiss comrades are clearly evincing considerable interest in Semashko's arrest. All the Russian comrades who know him are firmly convinced that he is in no way implicated in the Tiflis "expropriation" nor could he have been. And not only because the last (London) Congress of our Party categorically rejected this "method of struggle", but also because Dr. Semashko has lived uninterruptedly since Feb-

ruary 1907 in Geneva, where he has engaged in literary activity.

We are firmly convinced that the international Social-Democratic press will very soon be able to welcome the release of the comrade arrested in Geneva with the same justified joy as *Vorwärts* (in Berlin) and *l'Humanité* (in Paris) at one time welcomed the release of the comrades unjustly arrested in Paris.

N. Lenin,

Representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the International Socialist Bureau

Written between January 30 and February 2, 1908
Sent from Geneva to Berne

Published February 5, 1908, in German in the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* No. 29

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the newspaper text
Translated from the German

144

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

27.II. 08

Dear Anatoly Vasilyevich,

I remind you again and again about Ferri. If you haven't sent it yet, it's too bad!

Besides we would very much like to ask you to write an article about the *Paris Commune*[128] for *Proletary* No. 3 (23) (the anniversary issue). Perhaps you have the new book by Jaurès and Dubreuil—although these gentlemen could hardly give a correct appraisal of the Commune. Marx's letters to Kugelmann which we have frequently discussed should of course be mentioned again and quoted for the edification of the opportunists.

The size of this anniversary article—15,000 characters maximum. Deadline, *next Wednesday* (March 4). Please reply *at once* whether you will send it.

Please send it!

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Capri

First published in 1934 in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Printed from the original

145
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

1.III. 08

Dear Comrade,

My friends write me from Brussels that I am expected there shortly for the session of the International Socialist Bureau.

I should be very much obliged if you could let me know whether this is so or not. Could you [tell me]* exactly (or at any rate [approximately]), when the next session of the Bureau is to take place. I shall soon have to go for a few weeks to Italy, and therefore it is very important for me to know whether I will be needed in Brussels.

Accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

Vl. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original Translated from the French

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

146
TO LEON TYSZKA

18.III. 08

Dear Comrade,

Yesterday Kon paid me a visit and showed me your telegram to him, and complained angrily, irritably about its impermissibly sharp, "police" tone, which he said he could least of all forgive you who are well versed in the nuances of the German language. I believe I should give you an account of this characteristic talk with Kon. I replied of course that I did not know what the neue Wendung* was, but that I was certain that you would not have sent such a telegram without good reason, and that to accuse Alexinsky, and the more so yourself, of wishing to entgegenarbeiten** the investigation was more than ludicrous.[129]

Kon told me—in confidence (not from you, of course)—that there is serious evidence against Litvinov, that he, Kon, knows Litvinov well and would not wish to make life hell for him or to take steps that would have very serious consequences for him; no, but that he, Kon, merely considers it absolutely necessary to show Europe (and especially the German Social-Democrats) that trial by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is not a fiction and that the Party can vindicate itself. "Surely a way can be found to do this without making life hell for anyone!" Kon exclaimed. I, of course, said that in my opinion this could be done and that there was no need for him to worry. There would be a hearing under all circumstances, the Party would see to that, so why worry? It would be a scandal, said Kon, if Alexinsky were to prevent a hearing. Nonsense, I said. Alexinsky *does not want* to prevent a hearing *nor can he*. There already *is* a scandal, and it is the *Mensheviks* who are making it: see the article "Time To Stop" in *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 1-2, I said.[130] *Kon hadn't read it!!* Think of it: while the investigation *is still going on*, while Litvinov's lips are sealed, while the documents of the

* New turn.—*Ed.*
** To work against.—*Ed.*

investigation *cannot* yet be published, the newspaper pours out abuse anonymously! Think of Litvinov's position!! Yet this newspaper is *actually the organ* of the Central Bureau Abroad,[131] nourished by it. And these are the judges??! That is how I explained Alexinsky's behaviour to Kon. To avoid any misunderstanding and false rumours I consider it necessary to pass this on to you. For however surprised I was that Kon should have come *to me*, the fact remains that he did. And I am afraid that as a representative of the *German* party in the Central Bureau Abroad he might misquote me. I do not think we can rely on *this sort* of a reporter to speak on Russian affairs before the Vorstand* of the German party. It is essential that you personally as a member of the supreme collegium should speak with the Vorstand and *without fail* translate them the article in No. 1-2 of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. Otherwise such absurdities offensive to me as Kon's coming to "complain" to me that Alexinsky is working against the hearing are bound to occur. There is a limit to everything....

Best regards,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. Be sure to reply *at once* as to whether you will permit the article** I sent you to be printed in Russian in *Proletary* (with the reservation that it was written for *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*) and *when*. We are *frightfully short* of copy for *Proletary*, and I am impatiently awaiting your reply.[132]

P.P.S. After coming to me, Kon saw Ryadovoi, and, I believe; hinted to him that he had after all privately shown his friends the Mensheviks the record which you forbade to be shown.[133] What the devil is this!

Sent from Geneva to Berlin

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

* Executive Committee.—*Ed.*

** A reference to the article "The Assessment of the Russian Revolution" (see present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 50-62).—*Ed.*

147

TO A. A. BOGDANOV

Talked yesterday to Tyszka, who will be at your place today. In our opinion he does not know anything yet about the *aggravation* of our philosophical differences and it would be very important (for our success in the C.C.) that he should not know of it.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written in late March 1908
in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

148

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am very sorry not to have found you in the People's House.[134] My friend Romanov, a former deputy of the Second Duma, came with me, to ask your advice. I have been told that there are 200 [francs]* in the International Socialist Bureau [intended] for the Duma deputies. The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party....

...does not answer us. I presume that under the present [circum]stances I have the right to ask that fifty francs be paid on my [voucher] to Deputy Romanov, who has been several months without work.

* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as suggested by the context and the remaining legible letters.—*Ed.*

Be so kind as to reply to this address:
Mr. Georges Salomon. Rue Goppart. Bruxelles.....

Vl. Ulyanov

My address: ....

Written May 16, 1908, in Brussels and mailed to a local address

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

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Translated from the French

149

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Geneva, June 30, 1908

Dear Comrade,

I wrote you that members of our Central Committee had been arrested in Russia. Now my friend informs me [that one member]* of the Central Committee is free. He [writes] that the [first] half of the *report* [of our Party] has [been sent] to you ... the report for ... Stuttgart.

Within a month, my friend [writes], we shall be able to send the other half of the report, [if] Comrade Huysmans [confirms] that our report will be published.

Be so kind, dear comrade, as to answer this letter... and I shall immediately forward [your reply to Paris].

With fraternal [greetings],

N. Lenin

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original
Translated from the French

* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as suggested by the context and the remaining legible letters.—*Ed.*

150

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

8.7. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Many thanks for your kind letter. I shall pass on your reply to our comrades in Russia, and I hope that they will soon send you the remainder of our report. As for the payment of 1,600 frs., I may assure you that the Central Committee of our Party will pay this sum, most likely [not later] than within a few....*

[The plenary meeting of the Central Committee] has been called,** and I am obliged to await its decision. The money will assuredly be paid without delay.

Accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the text of the journal
Translated from the French

151

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Aug. 18. 08

Dear Sir, Mikhail Nikolayevich,

I take the liberty of applying to you as former editor of the *History of Russia*.[135] The secretary told me recently about the various plans concerning an article dealing with the history of factory industry. Although we fully agreed on everything I should like to have your opinion: is it all right for me to undertake it in view of Tugan-Baranovsky's refusal?

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* One word illegible.—*Ed.*

** A reference to the plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., held in Geneva on August 11-13 (24-26), 1908.—*Ed.*

Please write a few words in reply on receipt of this letter. Besides the subject mentioned here, there are a great many more which our common acquaintances would like to discuss with you. But I am not sure whether the address may be used or whether it is all right to correspond. I am waiting for *detailed* instructions on this score.

Best regards,
V. Ulyanov

Vl. Oulianoff.
61. Rue des Maraîchers. 61.
Genève, Suisse.

Sent to Russia

First published in part in 1962
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 4

Published in full in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

152
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

21, Tavistock Place. London W.C.

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Comrade Isetsky (Salomon, Rue Goppart 78, Bruxelles) has probably informed you that three Russian comrades, members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, Sarah Ravich, Khojamiryan and Bogdasaryan, arrested several months ago in Munich,[136] are being kept in conditions extremely....*

... that they have gone on hunger strike (Hungerstreike in German, [don't know] what the equivalent is in French).

Their lawyer, the German Socialist Bernheim, writes us that it is absolutely essential to prove that the arrested people are members of the Social-Democratic Party. I have sent him *my official statement* certifying that the arrested

* Here and further several words are illegible.—*Ed.*

persons are members of our Party. But he considers that my statement is not enough and that it is necessary to have the fact confirmed by the International Socialist Bureau.

I hope, dear comrade, that you....

...that the deposition testifying that the three arrested in Munich are members of the Social-Democratic Labour Party is signed by a representative or else the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, and that the signature is witnessed by a notary public. Comrade Isetsky (Salomon) will forward the deposition to Geneva....

Accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

Vl. Ulyanov (*N. Lenin*)

Written August 19, 1908
Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the text of the journal
Translated from the French

153

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

8.IX. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Thank you for your letter of August 31st. I was away for three days and that is why I did not reply earlier.[137] (...)* as for the report we have [now] arranged that matter. (...)**

... [that the Central Committee of our Party was able to hold (after several months] "rest" in prisons) a plenary meeting. The member of the Committee who started to write the report was also arrested; he was only released two weeks ago. Now he is here too. We have decided that it is [impos]sible to continue the preparation of the report

* An illegible word.—*Ed.*
** An illegible line.—*Ed.*

in Russia and [we have] entrusted this [task] to a comrade [in Geneva] (...)* ... that the report will be finished in two months. I deeply regret, dear comrade, that we caused you a good deal of trouble and inconvenience, but you cannot imagine what a large number of militants we have lost and to what extent (...)**
... the crisis of (...)***
... the *Courrier International* (...)****
... I do not know any internationalist of the old guard in Geneva. You have probably written to London and to the committees of the Swiss socialist (...)***** about this matter: if the socialist newspapers in London, Geneva, Zurich, etc.... will print an announcement that the International Socialist Bureau (...)******
... of this *Courrier* (...)*******
My address: Vl. Oulianoff, 61, rue des Maraîchers, Genève.

Vl. Oulianoff

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

Printed from the text of the journal
Translated from the French

154

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

25.IX. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing 600 francs[138] for the International Socialist Bureau.

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* Two illegible lines.—*Ed.*
** Four illegible words.—*Ed.*
*** Three illegible lines.—*Ed.*
**** Three illegible words.—*Ed.*
**** An illegible word.—*Ed.*
****** An illegible line.—*Ed.*
******* Five illegible lines.—*Ed.*

I hope that our Party will soon be able to pay the remainder as well.

Yours,
Vl. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

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Translated from the French

155
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Genève, Rue des Maraîchers, 61
26.X. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

The official proceedings of the conference of the International Socialist Bureau held on October 11, 1908, will probably be published. All the socialist papers which carried a report on this meeting of the Bureau (*Le Peuple*[139] in Brussels, *Vorwärts* in Berlin, *Justice* in London, *l'Humanité* in Paris, and so on) did not quite understand, and in some cases even completely distorted, the meaning of my amendment to the Kautsky resolution. Although I submitted the text of my amendment to the Bureau, it does not figure anywhere. I therefore fear that the same inaccuracies may be repeated in the official report. Will you be so kind, dear comrade, as to see to it that the *original text* of my amendment is printed in the official proceedings. This text ought to be among your papers, for I remember very well that I handed in to the Bureau the text I had written. In the event that this text has been lost, I am enclosing an *exact copy of my amendment* and a translation of it into French (hoping that if the translation is poor you will be kind enough to correct it).

I shall be very much obliged, dear comrade, if you will drop me a couple of lines on this question.[140]

Please accept my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin

Vl. Oulianoff.
Rue des Maraîchers, 61. Genève.

Kautsky's resolution (translation given in the Brussels *Le Peuple*, October 12, 1908):

"In view of the previous decisions of international congresses to admit all organisations which stand for proletarian class struggle and recognise political struggle,

"the International Bureau declares that the British Labour Party shall be admitted to international socialist congresses inasmuch as, while it does not directly recognise proletarian class struggle, it nevertheless wages it in practice, and, by virtue of its very organisation, which is independent of the bourgeois parties, stands for this struggle, and, consequently, shares the viewpoint of international socialism.

Lenin's amendment:

The last paragraph, beginning with the words "inasmuch as, while it does not directly recognise", etc., should be worded as follows:

"inasmuch as this party represents the first step on the part of truly proletarian organisations in Britain towards a conscious class policy and a *socialist* workers' party".

Sent to Brussels

First published April 22, 1960, in the journal *Novoye Vremya* No. 17

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

156

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

November 7, 1908

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Enclosed you will find a *statement* by the Bureau [Abroad]* of the Central Committee of our Party.** We shall

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

** What statement is referred to has not been established.—*Ed.*

be very much obliged to you, dear comrade, if you will circulate this *letter* on behalf of the International Socialist Bureau among all the national parties represented in the Bureau.

Thank you very much for your letter [informing me] that the text of my amendment [will be given accurately].

With fraternal greetings,

N. Lenin

[Vl.] Oulianoff.
[Rue] des Maraîchers. 61. Genève.

Sent to Brussels

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157

TO V. K. TARATUTA

1.XII. 08

Dear Comrade,

In reply to your query with Comrade Tyszka's telegram enclosed I regret to inform you that I must refuse to *pose the question* as Comrade Tyszka would wish, for I believe that such a *presentation* of the question is absolutely incorrect.

The representative of our group in the Central Committee Bureau Abroad, Comrade Victor, informed Comrade Tyszka that our group *could not* agree to the appointment of both a Bolshevik and a Menshevik as *representatives* of the C.C.[141]

Now Comrade Tyszka is appealing from Comrade Victor to me *personally*: "if Lenin *himself* objects to Igor," the telegram says, "we shall give up Igor"!! This is tantamount to appealing *to me personally against a decision of our group*.

I shall not reply to this "if" of Comrade Tyszka's. In my opinion, Comrade Tyszka should *himself* withdraw his motion to appoint Igor.

With comradely greetings,
N. Lenin

Written in Geneva and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a handwritten copy of the original

158
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

13.XII. 08

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Thanks for your letter. As regards the S.D. deputies to the Third Duma, I have done *everything in my power*. I hope to be able to meet some of the deputies personally and then I shall try to repeat once again what I have already written them several times.[142]

As regards the report and the payment of 300 francs, I shall let you know in a few days. Tomorrow I am leaving for Paris where I intend to settle. It is for this reason that I am unable to answer you at the moment. Within three or four days you will receive my address. If you need to communicate with me urgently, write to M-lle Oulianoff (pour N. Lénine), 27, Boulevard [St.-Marcel]. Paris.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva to Brussels

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1909

159
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

19.I. 09

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I hope you will forgive me for delaying my reply so long. I just haven't had a spare moment. Our entire organisation is at present (at last!) in Paris.

I am enclosing 300 francs. This is the sum the Party owes the International Socialist Bureau for 1908.

As regards the report, yesterday I saw the comrade who has been instructed to draw it up. He promised to do everything in his power to prepare the remainder of the report as soon as possible.

My present address: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff.
24. Rue Beaunier, 24. Paris (XIV)

Please accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

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Translated from the French

160
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

February 25, 1909

Dear Comrade,

The tanners of Vilna have sent Comrade *Marzeli* abroad to collect money for the strikers. Comrade Marzeli saw

Comrade Legien, but Comrade Legien treated him with distrust because Marzeli had no identification papers.

I know Comrade Marzeli, and he asks that the International Bureau inform Comrade Legien that Comrade Marzeli has really been authorised by the tanners of Vilna and that the money collected for the strikers be sent to the address Comrade Marzeli indicated to Comrade Legien.

The tanners' union of Vilna will send Comrade Legien in addition a special authorisation. I am enclosing the stamp of this union.

With best wishes,
Yours,
N. Lenin

24. Rue Beaunier.
Wl. Oulianoff. Paris.

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1960 in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

161
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

9.III. 1909

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Many thanks for sending my letter to Comrade Legien. Now that business is finally settled.*

As regards the report, I am happy to inform you that it is not only complete, but that Comrade Roussel (you met her in Brussels at the last session of the International Socialist Bureau which she attended as a delegate from the French section) has already begun to translate it. Please

* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

be so kind as to send me the part you have and I shall then send you the complete report as soon as Comrade Roussel finishes the translation.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Wl. Oulianoff. 24. Rue Beaunier. *Paris*

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

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162

TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

To the Moscow Committee

In reference to the M.C.'s reply to the "Open Letter" on the "Party school"[143] signed NN, the Editorial Board of *Proletary* (enlarged) expresses its full solidarity with the view of the M.C. that a local organisation cannot and should not take the responsibility for any such undertaking. Considering the character of the future school and the range of its activities as planned by its sponsors, and its extreme remoteness from the areas of local activity, effective supervision over such a school could be exercised only by the Party centres.

Further, the editors of *Proletary* consider it necessary to amplify one of the statements contained in the "Open Letter" you have received.

Among other things it says that the matter of "supplying the school with literary and practical workers" (teaching personnel) is "well in hand and proceeding successfully"; that "all the prominent Party theoreticians, mainly Bolsheviks, will take part" in the school.

The addition that should be made to these statements is that both the Editorial Board of *Proletary* and the theoreticians and practical workers of our group who are members of the narrow and enlarged Editorial Board and also of the C.C. of the Party, first learned of the said school from the Moscow Committee, while having had no intimation of it up till now from the organisers and the participants in the school. In the given instance, the Editorial Board cannot but regard the course of isolated action chosen by the organisers of this undertaking as inevitably stemming from deep ideological roots. Here it will suffice to call attention to the open criticism by *Proletary* (see No. 42) of "god-building" and other distortions of Marxism associated with it.

In these organisational conditions and in view of the obvious exceptionally close connection of the future school with elements preaching "god-building" or supporting that preachment, the Editorial Board of *Proletary* considers itself in duty bound to declare that it cannot vouch for the character of the school being either Bolshevik or Marxist in general.

For all that the Editorial Board assumes that the legal right of the projected school to exist within the framework of the Party is at the present time indisputable. The group should not involve itself in an enterprise the Bolshevik and Marxist character of which is not ensured; however, the Party as a whole in its present state, when in some of its very important institutions (e.g., in the collegium of advisers to the Duma group) there are even extreme opportunists of the type of Prokopovich or Kuskova, cannot deny it the right to exist. The Editorial Board therefore considers that the Bolsheviks in the C.C., to which the initiators should apply for endorsement of the school project, should vote *in favour of endorsement*.

Written in April, prior to 11th, 1909, in Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

163
TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY

23/IV. 09

Dear Friend,

Pokrovsky is staying with us. A philistine of the first water. "Of course otzovism is stupid, of course it's syndicalism, but for moral considerations I and probably Stepanov too shall be for Maximov." All sorts of wicked people, don't you see, are bullying the crystal-pure scoundrels! These "moral" philistines begin to show how "moral" they are as soon as you start speaking in their presence about the historical task of uniting the *Marxist* elements in the group to save the group and the Social-Democratic Party!

It was the opposition that invited this sorry moraliser—we didn't invite him, knowing that the general meeting was being postponed.*

The news from Lindov and Orlovsky is so far not encouraging: the former is supposed to be ill, the latter can come only to Petersburg. But my letters addressed direct to them have not yet been answered. We shall wait for their reply.

It looks as if Vlasov is now deciding the future: if he goes with the stupids, the philistines and Machists, then, evidently, there will be a split and a *stubborn* struggle. If he goes with us, then perhaps it will be possible to confine things to the *dropping out* of a couple of philistines who are nil in the Party.

That blackguard Nikitich has gone to the *S.R.s* with a lot of gossip and made mischief! Just like those "moral" parasites: to go to another party to complain and lie about one's own. At the "*trial*" the S.R.s, obviously informed by Nikitich, are behaving insolently, they say.[144] We'll hold this against Nikitich, we won't forget it!

I know nothing about the "Yuri-Nikitich" incident.[145] I thought you would be able to tell me about it. In my opinion, you *yourself* right now ought to *write* to Yuri,

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* A reference to a meeting of the enlarged Editorial Board of *Proletary*.—*Ed*.

respective* *invite* him to come to you, and obtain guarantees from him, or better still have the remainder transferred to a safe place.

Domov+Bogdanov+Marat are now pressing on the B.C. to set the date of the plenary meeting for the end of May or the beginning of June. Actually it can only be held later.

Take your cure seriously, obey the doctors in everything, so as to be a little better by the time of the plenum at least. *Please* give up the idea of running away from the sanatorium: we are terribly short of people, and if you don't recover your health (and have no illusions, that is not easy, it will require curing yourself *seriously*!), we may go under.

Try to start and *keep up* the most regular correspondence with Lyubich: *this is imperative* for we may have to call him out in an emergency. Be sure to arrange *direct* correspondence with him.

Best regards,
N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Davos

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

164

LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PROLETARY*

To B.C. Members, Comrades Maximov, Marat and Domov

...with regard to your proposal to convene the B.C. now, we consider it necessary to state the following:

1) A number of previous meetings of the B.C. have shown that of the more or less important questions raised at these meetings there is a whole group that is obviously connected with the questions of a more general nature which the meeting of the enlarged B.C. is now being called to settle. Deciding this group of questions before the general issue of

* Or.—*Ed.*

the course the entire fundamental and practical policy of the B.C. as the leading organ of the Bolshevik group should take, is under these circumstances either impossible or in effect develops into a squabble and heightens its elements. With the attitude to the decisions of the B.C. which we observe on the part of the "opposition", comradely discussion is reduced to a series of sallies by these comrades against individual members of the B.C., to unwarranted repetition of gossip and slander.

2) In view of this, the B.C., noting that some members of the B.C. have embarked on the path of division, has already resolved to allow decisions on urgent *practical* questions to be taken by means of a *questionnaire* circulated among B.C. members before the plenary meeting. We therefore see no need at present to convene a meeting of the members of the B.C. now in Paris, all the more as the question of the date of the enlarged meeting—the immediate purpose of the proposed meeting—can only be settled by obtaining the opinions of *all* members of the B.C., mainly of those now in Russia. Corresponding inquiries have been sent to all of them and we are now awaiting the replies, of which you will be informed by the secretary.

The question of inviting representatives from the regions does not require special discussion, since their presence is obligatory at enlarged meetings of the B.C.

Comrade N.'s statement concerning the date suitable for him would, of course, have been given the most careful consideration even if he had handed it in himself and not through three other members.

With comradely greetings,

Y. Kamenev
N. Lenin
Grigory
Victor

Written in April, not later than 26th, 1909, in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a copy in an unknown handwriting

165
TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY

29.IV. 09

Dear Friend,

I received your letter today. On no account leave the sanatorium. *On no account* move to a hotel. You must improve your health *radically* before the plenary meeting, and this cannot be done except in the sanatorium. We here have found the struggle against this stupid, petty, underhand, disgusting squabble utterly nerve-racking; refused to go to the B.C. meeting (for things are becoming intolerable), thus evoking triple hysterics on the part of Marat and Domov! No matter! But we need you in perfect health by the time the meeting is due, and so take your cure seriously and *by no means leave* the sanatorium.

I suppose everything is settled now with Y. through the trip, though belated.

Things in Russia are bad: the *whole* Urals organisation has been arrested, the whole conference. Shchur has evidently been taken as well: otherwise his silence is inexplicable. Of Vlasov there is no sign.

Have you read Volsky?[146] Let me know your opinion, and if you don't need the book, send it here.

As regards Rosa I know nothing. Hadn't you better write to her direct?

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to Davos

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

166
TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY

4/V. 09

Dear Friend,

I received your letter and I protest vehemently. Granted we made a mistake with regard to Pokrovsky (I am pre-

pared to admit it and to take the blame wholly upon myself, for it was I who persuaded Grigory), but for you to leave because of that would be the height of absurdity. The Pokrovsky affair cannot be helped now. There's no point in calling out Meshkovsky before Vlasov and the regional delegates (Shchur is safe and he vouches that from Moscow no otzovist will get in, Lyadov and Alexinsky...* —he's on Capri at the present time—won't get in either. From Petrograd, they say, there will be an anti-otzovist). *Now* the thing to do is to wait for the B.C. plenary meeting. Otherwise the squabble will grow—and after all we have *stopped* it. There is no doubt that at a meeting with Pokrovsky present Bogdanov would have produced a dozen *new* grievances and involved Pokrovsky in them, now there has been only one. And this was inevitable: don't exaggerate, please! The "resentment" of Nikitich and Lyadov and Pokrovsky, yesterday's neutrals, is not accidental, it is *inevitable*; the thing has been festering, and now the boil is beginning to burst, and it is not always possible to keep one's temper with this stinking squabble going on all around.

But for you to go would be madness. We will endure it here for another month, without making matters worse, you may rest assured. For you to wear out your nerves (and Paris is extremely nerve-racking) *before the meeting* would be the height of absurdity.

I protest a thousand times; you must stay in the sanatorium *until* the plenary meeting. To economise 200-300 francs is foolish. If you stay in the *sanatorium* we shall have at least one man at the plenary meeting with strong nerves, one man not involved in *petty* squabbles (here *you will be dragged in*, even if you were a Solomon). If you leave, you will augment the number of those with frayed nerves, *without benefit* to the cause.

I protest most vigorously: on no account leave, be sure to stay in the sanatorium *right until* the plenary meeting.

No news from Vlasov yet. Must be patient. There was a letter from Lindov: he agrees in principle to come within one or two months. That will be just right. Orlovsky hasn't

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* One word illegible.—*Ed.*

replied. In exactly a month from now we shall all be assembled and then we shall see. In the meantime get well *properly* and you, at least, keep calm, for heaven's sake.

Received a letter today, dated April 18, saying that my book is ready.* At last! The delay irritated me more than anything else. By April 25-26, old style, they promise to deliver it here.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Paris to Davos

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Printed from the original

167
TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY

5/V. 09

[Dear Friend,]**

Marat arrived yesterday (wholly with the opposition), and also Vlasov (with us). Vlasov *promised to go* to you in a few days. So, stay where you are and on no account *move*, otherwise you may miss him. Vlasov shares your sentiments: is with us in principle, but chides us for being hasty, for Pokrovsky's victory, etc. So you need not *be afraid*: from now on Vlasov will be in charge, and we shan't commit a single misdemeanour.

Vlasov reproaches us with being unable to get along with people (here he is right). So here too you have nothing to fear. From now on Vlasov will smooth everything out nicely.

Meshkovsky and the regional delegates are coming. So we shall get everything done. [So] do not worry, *see to*

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* *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (see present edition, Vol. 14).—*Ed.*

** Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

your health seriously. Under no circumstances must you leave the sanatorium.

If you are not completely recovered in three weeks' time (or thereabouts, for one cannot tell exactly as yet) it will be a disaster for us. Do not stint a few hundred francs—it's absurd. Attend to your health, do a lot of walking, sleeping, eating [this is obligatory], for the [Party] needs healthy property.

The Paris group met today. The Geneva group announced its break with the B.C. and urged the Paris one to follow suit. Marat spoke for Geneva, and Vlasov opposed him. This is good: Geneva *started* the split and Marat incited the group against the B.C. without the B.C.'s knowledge, without raising the question in it.

They start things themselves, and get themselves into a mess.

All [the best]. See to your health, and don't worry!

Yours,
[*Lenin*]

Sent from Paris to Davos

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168

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Paris, May 26, 1909

Dear Comrade,

The press reports that the tsar is going on a trip and intends to visit Sweden, Italy, Britain and France.*

The Swedish socialists have already found it necessary to take action on this score, and our comrade Branting,

* See Lenin's article "The Tsar Visits Europe and Members of the Black-Hundred Duma Visit England" (present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 461-66).—*Ed.*

on their behalf, has voiced in the Swedish parliament—in the form of an interpellation to the government—a strong protest permeated with the spirit of international socialist solidarity.

We are confident that our comrades in other countries share Branting's view that the tsar's visit cannot be regarded as an ordinary official diplomatic act and will on their part protest as the circumstances demand.

It is important, however, to urge them to act without delay. Clearly, the Russian section cannot do so directly. We also believe that the Executive Committee and the Inter-Parliamentary Commission could take the initiative and issue an appeal to affiliated parties and also to their parliamentary groups pointing to the role played by Tsar Nicholas II in the outrages committed by the regime, of which he is not only a representative, but an active and criminal instigator.

The attention of our comrades in the other sections should be especially drawn to the brutality practised in the Russian political prisons, where tens of thousands of our comrades are paying for their striving for freedom and for having fought for the workers' cause and socialism. These facts were the subject of an interpellation made recently by the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, and we are sending you a translation of this interpellation[147] and would ask you to take note of it in drawing up your appeal and if necessary to forward it to the sections with the request that they print it in the press.

With fraternal greetings,

N. Lenin
I. Rubanovich

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1960 in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

Printed from the typewritten text signed by Lenin
Translated from the French

169

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

July 20, 1909

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Please forgive me the delay in replying. A number of circumstances prevented me from writing to you earlier.

The translation of the Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which you sent me is, in my opinion, far from perfect. However, my own knowledge of French is so inadequate that I cannot venture to undertake to correct the translation. Comrade Charles Rappoport (of the journal *Le Socialisme*[148]) has kindly agreed to do this work. He will edit the translation and I hope to be able to send it to you soon.

As regards the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, I vote for November.

My new address: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff
4. Rue Marie Rose. 4.
Paris (XIV).

Accept, dear comrade, my most friendly greetings.

N. Lenin

Sent to Brussels

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170

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

29/VII—09

Dear Comrade,

Here is the list of Social-Democratic deputies to the Third Duma:

Priedkalns
Gegechkori
Kuznetsov
Poletayev
Zakharov
Yegorov
Surkov
Chkheidze
Pokrovsky 2 (There are two deputies of this name in the Duma)
Voiloshnikov
Putyatin
Belousov
Voronin
Shurkanov
Astrakhantsev

As for the deputies' addresses, now that the Duma has recessed I can only give this: "Gosoudarstvennaja Douma. Tavricheskij Dvoretz. *St.-Pétersbourg*. To deputy so-and-so."

Accept, dear comrade, my most friendly greetings.

Vl. Ulyanov

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4. Rue Marie Rose. 4.
Paris (XIV).

Sent to Brussels

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Translated from the French

171

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

30/VII.09

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Allow me to recommend to you the bearer of this letter, Comrade Bogdasaryan, a member of our Party. The rela-

tives of this comrade, who has been released from prison, have refused to support him, and he is unable to continue his studies at the University. He knows French well, and I hope it will not be too much to ask you to find him some intellectual work.

Thanking you in advance.

With fraternal greetings,
N. Lenin

Written in Paris

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172
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

August 26, 1909

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

Your letter of August 23 received, and I thank you very much for the copy of the letter from Gertsik, which you forwarded to me.

This gentleman has long pestered me with his letters; he has even wished to speak to me, but, needless to say, I have refused, for there is a ruling by a revolutionary tribunal consisting of representatives of *all parties* according to which Mr. Gertsik cannot be a member of a *revolutionary party*. This ruling has not been rescinded, and Mr. Gertsik is definitely lying when he avoids mentioning the essential point of that ruling in his letter to you.[149]

He wants the ruling revised? There he is perfectly within his rights. But the gentleman cannot but know that there is a lawful and honest way of going about it, and if he avoids taking this way, if he prefers to turn to the I.S.B., this is further proof (it seems to me) of *his dishonesty*.

The lawful and honest way to ask for a re-examination would be to address the request to the central committees

of the parties whose representatives took part in the tribunal in Geneva. Why doesn't Mr. Gertsik appeal to these committees? Why does he cite the private opinion of Mr. Burtsev instead of applying to the *Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party* of which Burtsev is a member? Why does he turn to the I.S.B. with insinuations against the Bolsheviks, claiming that they are acting "dishonestly", instead of appealing to the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party? The Bolsheviks belong to this Party. They have only five members in the Central Committee, which consists of fifteen members.

You can judge for yourself who it is that is acting dishonestly in this matter.

I never was a member of the Bolshevik group in Geneva which investigated the Gertsik affair. If Mr. Gertsik feels that the members of this investigating commission acted unlawfully, etc., it is his right (and his duty) to appeal to the Central Committee of the Party.

In my opinion, the International Socialist Bureau cannot accept complaints and requests that have not been first examined by the central committees of the parties affiliated with the International. I fully realise that Mr. Gertsik, like any other citizen, has the right to complain to the I.S.B. against a *decision* of the central committees of the parties belonging to the International. But if he does not wish to turn to the central committees of member parties of the International, he has no right, in my opinion, to appeal to the I.S.B. either.

I believe that the only answer the I.S.B. can give to Mr. Gertsik is this: apply to the central committees of *all* the parties whose representatives took part in the tribunal, that is, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the Bund, *and so on*. If these committees give no answer or turn down the request, only then can you turn to the I.S.B. with a request or complaint against one or another decision, against one or another central committee of a party affiliated with the International. This is my opinion, of which, as a member of the I.S.B., as a Bolshevik, and as a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, I am informing you. (There is a special *bureau* of

the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in Paris, and Mr. Gertsik knows very well that he should have applied to this bureau. I myself am not a member of this body.)

I am very sorry, dear Huysmans, that I cannot be in Paris on August 30 and 31, 1909, and therefore will not be able to discuss this matter with you. I hope you will forgive me for tormenting you with the bad French of this letter, which really has stretched out too long.

I am now holidaying out of town (Mr. Wl. Oulianoff. Chez M-me Lecreux. *Bombon*, Seine-et-Marne). I shall return to Paris by September 15.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original
Translated from the French

173

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I received both letters and the article. In my opinion the latter should be shortened. I shall try to make the cuts, though I don't know how successful they will be.

I shall wait for the article on international solidarity of the proletariat (I have a circular letter of the International Socialist Bureau on the subject; I am not sending it, for it is already late). Let Grigory know about it.

What is this that the papers have been saying about Sokolov? It is of great interest to me, for I was going to write about the elections in St. Petersburg. I read in *Rech*[150] that the Social-Democrats are nominating Sokolov. Write in detail what "fables" you have read about, and send the issues over.

I read the reviews in *Vozrozhdeniye* and *Sovremenny Mir*.[151]

About returning to Paris Grigory writes that he will arrive by September 4. I will not be back before September 15. As regards your question whether you should go, I can only say this: if you have had a *proper* rest, it would be good to go, start a *Proletary* club at once, deliver two lectures (popular ones) to workers on Potresov's liquidationism and another about the "Lefts" to Bolsheviks, and then arrange for a lecture tour to groups abroad in late September (roughly). This you must do.

It will be interesting to discuss the Mensheviks and Prokopovich and Kuskova when we meet. It is necessary to hit as hard as possible at Potresov's liquidationism both in articles and lectures. We are a bit late with this.

All the best.

P.S. People write from Russia that things are not so good there. Davydov has been arrested. It will be necessary to push on here with agitation abroad.

Written August 27, 1909
Sent from Bombon to Arcachon
(France)

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

174

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Dear Gr.,

I am sending you *Vorwärts*[152] and Kamenev's article. I believe it *must* be printed and *without delay*, for we are terribly late as it is with this article which is in all respects absolutely necessary for *Proletary*. It will have to be divided into two feuilletons. The first (pp. 1-33) I have marked off and edited. Perhaps you will be able to shorten it a little more? I will try to cut it some more in the proofs; send it immediately to the printers and have them send

me the proofs *at once*. The article is an important one and we should go over it as carefully as possible.

It is a pity that Kamenev works carelessly. The subject is a most rewarding one, but he rambles on and on, beating about the bush, unable to get to the heart of the matter properly.

Perhaps we should send the second half back to him for rewriting from this angle? I think it would be a good thing. Write him on behalf of us both and ask him to *write* the second part *over again* **(saving the first variant as well)**, to revise it along the lines indicated—tell him that this would make it an excellent article, etc.—and send him the second part. I have no great hopes that he will redo it, but we must keep insisting.

He also promised an editorial for *Proletary* shortly. We shall see.

I shall write the articles for *Proletary* and send them straight to the printers* since you want to be in Paris on September 4.

I do not intend to return before September 15.

There is no point in your keeping Kamenev in Arcachon. If he has had a rest, let him return, and *under all circumstances he must be sent out to lecture.*

All the best,
N. Lenin

I shall not undertake to write about the Bund people. But it is *necessary* to hit at their No. 2. You should do it. We'll put out a big, fighting issue. Write an article against No. 2.[153]

Written August 27, 1909
Sent from Bombon to Arcachon

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

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* A reference to Lenin's articles for *Proletary* No. 47-48 entitled: "The Liquidators Exposed", "On the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Regional Committee", "The Election in St. Petersburg", and an article in the supplement to the issue, "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 15-61).—*Ed.*

175
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

11.9. 09

Dear Huysmans,

I am very much surprised that Comrade Charles Rappoport, who promised me that he would translate the Programme and Rules of our Party, has not written to you. He promised to do so several weeks ago.

I shall be in Paris in two or three days and shall ask him about it at once and let you know.

As regards the affair concerning Mr. Gertsik, it is a very good thing that you have retracted the more than unfair accusation against our Party.

You ask for the address of the comrade "to whom Gertsik should apply". I repeat: he must apply to the *committees* of the parties whose representatives participated in the hearing of the Gertsik case. The address of the Bureau Abroad of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is the following: Mr. D. Kotlyarenko (for the Bureau, etc.), 110. Rue d'Orleans 110. Paris. XIV. This address is regularly given in our papers. I also wish to say again that I shall never reply to Gertsik since the scoundrel allows himself to level extremely insulting insinuations at the Russian Social-Democrats. It is as simple as this. If he has the temerity to say that the Russian Social-Democrats are "biased" judges, why does he not apply to the committees of the other parties that passed judgement on him?

Yours,
N. Lenin

Wl. Oulianoff
4. Rue Marie Rose. 4
Paris. XIV.

Sent from Bombon
to Brussels

First published in 1962 in
French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964
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Printed from a photocopy of the original
Translated from the French

176

TO A. I. LYUBIMOV

Dear Mark,

Being busy with an article yesterday I overlooked by mistake in Grigory's draft (reply to the Capri group on behalf of the E.C.*) the point about *inviting a representative*. This nonsense must absolutely be deleted; it is *students* that should be invited to Paris to study, not a representative. Some rabid otzovist, and even Lyadov or Alexinsky, might be elected representative, in which case we would find ourselves the dupes. No, there can be no question of inviting a *representative*.[154]

I still haven't got Plekhanov's *Dnevnik*. I earnestly ask you to arrange for the forwarding office to send it to me at once. Without it I cannot do an article I have been asked to write.**

All the best,
N. Lenin

We sent you a cheque yesterday by registered mail. I trust you have received it.

Written in the first half of September 1909
Sent from Bombon to Paris

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

177

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

In view of the circulation among Social-Democratic groups abroad of a printed leaflet signed "Sasha" (the leaflet is enclosed) containing charges against the Editorial Board

* Executive Commission of the Bolshevik Centre.—*Ed.*
** See "The Liquidators Exposed" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 15-22).—*Ed.*

of *Proletary*,[155] and, further, in view of the fact that some of the opponents of *Proletary* from among both the Bolsheviks "removed" after the recent conference and the Mensheviks are using this leaflet to involve the groups in a discussion of a "sensational affair" which in no way comes within the competence of any local Party groups or is subject to examination by them, the Editorial Board of *Proletary* requests the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to investigate the charges made by "Sasha", to examine the substance of these charges and to hand down an official decision of the Party's highest body.

Written September 17, 1909,
in Paris and mailed to a local
address

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

178
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

17.9. 09

My dear Huysmans,

I received your letter of September 15, 1909, on my arrival in Paris. I have seen the secretary of the Bureau of our Committee. He informed me that he had recently received a letter from Gertsik and the Bund committee showing that Gertsik had at last applied to the committees of the other parties, which he should have done earlier. The Bund is for reviewing the case. The Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party will examine the request for a revision. This, I hope, closes the "Gertsik incident".

As regards Rappoport, he asks you to let him know the *exact date* when you absolutely must have the translation of the Programme and Rules. Kindly write what the *final* date is either to me or to Rappoport, 39 Boulevard Port Royal, 39. Paris. XIII.

Comrade Rappoport says that his position as a literary proletarian compels him to ask to be paid for the translation, at your discretion. He definitely promised me that

he would have the translation ready by the date you set.

As for the historical survey, I have found a Russian comrade who will do it in a few days.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

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Translated from the French

179
TO M. P. TOMSKY

Dear Comrade,

Just got back to our capital here and read your letter on how things are coming along. As regards the school, you are mistaken if you think "we are in a bad way". Nothing of the kind. That workers, once they are given the money, should agree to go down to the glorious South is natural—there is nothing to complain about in this. Only it is necessary to have resolutions adopted that on the way *back* these workers are to come here* for a month—this is the crux of the matter. Unless they drop in here all talk about "supervision", "direction", etc., is sheer "blague"** or hypocrisy. To come here means to learn something more than Alexinsky's whining and Lunacharsky's "socialism". And believe me, this *way****—by bamboozling 20-50 workers with *their* learning—they will not get very far. Oh no, it's good enough for making a noise, for bragging about

* That is, to Paris, where the Bolshevik Centre was located.—*Ed.*

** Humbug.—*Ed.*

*** A reference to the factional, splitting activities of the organisers of the Capri school.—*Ed.*

Kautsky's letter,[156] for putting on a show abroad, but there is nothing serious about this underhand indoctrination. Make no mistake, this is not a "school", but a new Yerogin hostel[157] abroad for surreptitiously filling the heads of dozens of workers with otzovist nonsense. Maximov and Co. will merely make a noise for a while and end up with a fiasco.

The Trotsky business, regrettably, will not work out. We offered him ideal conditions, *sincerely* wishing to enter into a bloc with him: a salary, payment of the *Pravda* deficit, equal rights on the Editorial Board, transfer here; he does not agree, but wants a *majority* on the Editorial Board (two Trotskyites and one Bolshevik!). Clearly we cannot maintain in another city a Trotskyite, not a Party, paper. What Trotsky wants is not to build the Party together with the Bolsheviks, but to create *his own* faction. Very well, let him try! By means of "his" faction he will win over some people from the Mensheviks, a few from us, and in the long run will inevitably lead the workers to Bolshevism.

As for the "slight revision of the agrarian question", as you ironically put it, in the given case, if it is a matter of the role of the peasantry in the revolution, it is necessary to be more cautious. The *beginning* should be made with a discussion in the general Party or general Bolshevik press. I especially wish to warn against hasty rejection of Bolshevism and exaggerated faith in the success of the Stolypin agrarian policy. It unquestionably posed new problems which must be *studied and studied again*; it *opened* the possibility of a non-revolutionary way out, but this is still as remote from complete success as the stars in the heavens.

Lenin

Written in September, prior to 20th, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a
handwritten
copy found in police
records

180

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

30/9. 09

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am sending you today the translation of the Programme and Rules of our Party (by registered book-post). Be so kind as to send me the proof-sheets.

As for the survey, I shall send it to you in a few days.

I have made arrangements for payment to the translator (Rappoport). The expense will be defrayed by our Central Committee.

This is the first time I hear that there is a representative of the parliamentary group in the Bureau. There has been one meeting of the Bureau since Stuttgart and I heard no mention there of any representative of the parliamentary group being in the Bureau. On receipt of your letter I at once wrote to a representative of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma and informed him of this. We cannot expect an answer soon since the deputies are not in St. Petersburg between Duma sessions.

As regards our Party's report to the Copenhagen Congress, I shall do everything I can to see that we are not left without one this time. I have already taken the necessary steps. As for the David plan, I think it is no more than a matter of "good intentions".* Has the *Bureau* approved the plan? Does the "single model" exist as a reality and not as a project?

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a photocopy of the original
Translated from the French

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* What the plan of Eduard David was has not been ascertained.—*Ed.*

181
TO A. I. LYUBIMOV

Dear Mark,

There is indeed beginning to be quite a to-do over the school and you are right when you say that we must give thorough thought to the reply.* I am offering a draft and in the event that it takes time to contact all members of the E.C. (Executive Commission of the Bolshevik Centre)—this I believe should be done through one person, i.e., through you—I would advise the secretary of the B.C. to reply to the "School Council" that the letter has been received and *forwarded* to the members of the Executive Commission and it will take some time before they can answer and take a decision, since they are all away. The reply, however, should be rather caustic: to the effect that I am aware that Gr., Inok and Lenin have already replied on their own behalf to the *Executive Commission* of the school, but that the *School Council* will have to be answered by the entire collegium.

I have a request to make of you. Send me a *letter to the Editorial Board* of *Proletary* signed Mark or any other pseudonym of yours. Contents *approximately* as follows: "In view of Comrade Domov's statement in the press accusing the Editorial Board of *Proletary* of splitting activities, of not putting out popular pamphlets, of betraying Bolshevism, of drawing closer to Plekhanov, of 'Dumaism', and so on and so forth, I deem it advisable to acquaint Party comrades with Comrade Domov's *present* views. In the presence of Comrades Maximov and Lyadov and myself he said: 'There are now two pernicious misconceptions: first—that we have a party, and second, that a revolution is imminent in Russia.' I made this public in a lecture to Paris Bolsheviks in the presence of Comrade Maximov, who could not deny the fact. The comrades should know who it is that is now campaigning against *Proletary*."[158]

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* See next document.—*Ed.*

It is indeed high time to expose this crew! We'll print your letter and answer them *properly*.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in October, not earlier than 2nd, 1909, in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

182

DRAFT REPLY TO A LETTER FROM THE COUNCIL OF THE CAPRI SCHOOL

I suggest the following answer:

"Dear Comrades,

"In view of the obviously insulting nature of your letter of September 28, 1909, in reply to our proposal 'to entrust the *actual organisation* and guidance of a propagandists' school abroad to the Central Committee of the Party or the enlarged Editorial Board of *Proletary*', we do not consider it necessary to reply to it and can only suggest one thing: publish your letter."[159]

Written in October, not earlier than 2nd, 1909, in Paris

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

183

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear K.,

Please let us know what you have decided to do with the library.[160] Is it true that the talks with the students' society are not yet over?

Or is it true that you have finally decided *not* to go?

Was it Victor who dissuaded you? I am a little angry with him for going away alone, depriving us here of the assistance of a most useful administrator, which I consider him to be. He is now "for Geneva". I believe this is a mistake: we shall not go to Geneva.

Do you have a catalogue of the *Bolshevik* (Bonch) library?[161] If so, kindly send it to us.

I am awaiting more definite news about your moving. There is talk here in the Editorial Board about transferring only the Bonch library. We must know *definitely*, and as soon as possible.

Regards to Olga, Nik. Iv. and other friends.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in the first half of October 1909
Sent from Paris to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

184

TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE BOLSHEVIK CENTRE

In order to conduct our business affairs *systematically* and to be able just as systematically to cut down expenses, it is necessary

1) to draw up monthly accounts under *comparable* headings *separating* the most essential items least subject to change from the more incidental and more easily reducible items (publishing the paper from aid; premises of the forwarding office and print-shop expenses from the cost of paper, typesetters' wages, etc.);

2) to try to draw up a *rational* summary account for a considerable period of time (e.g., half a year) indicating average expenditure on each item. (Allowances to Party workers separately; aid separately; incidental and travelling expenses should not be lumped together; expenditure on the newspaper itemised: typesetters—paper—premises—forwarder's wa-

	1909. Months (O. S.)				Σ	Monthly average (roughly) 1/4 Σ
	VI	VII	VIII	IX		
a Allowances to Party workers	2,560	1,055	1,930	1,505	7,050	1,762
b Aid to comrades	359.$_{2}$	553.$_{70}$	208.$_{35}$	653.$_{35}$	1,774.$_{60}$	444
c National organisations . . .	400	475	600	600	2,075	519
d Transport . .	730	1,064.$_{65}$	1,615	1,760	5,169.$_{65}$	1,292
e Inheritance . .	300	265	21,000	1,135	22,740	5,675
a Mailing . . .	1,501	2,705	800	1,080.$_{90}$	6,086.$_{90}$	1,522
a Honorarium .	454.$_{5}$	66.$_{50}$	77.$_{30}$	103.$_{50}$	701.$_{80}$	175
a Incidental . .	207	169.$_{75}$	185.$_{10}$	380	941.$_{85}$	235
a Secretary and postage . . .	26.$_{7}$	47.$_{70}$	118.$_{15}$	136.$_{20}$	328.$_{75}$	82
f Illegal publications (minutes)	1,725	1,545	—	—	3,270	817
g Conference . .	2,258	—	—	—	2,258	566
h To Russia . .	5,947.$_{55}$	4,648.$_{75}$	933.$_{40}$	6,562.$_{70}$	18,092.$_{40}$	4,523
e Payments on old debts . .	—	4,012.$_{40}$	—	300	4,312.$_{40}$	1,078
i Miscellaneous	—	—	1,000	—	1,000	250
Total	16,468.$_{95}$	16,608.$_{45}$	28,467.$_{30}$	14,216.$_{65}$	75,761.$_{35}$	18,940

$$\begin{array}{r|l} -\,240 & 36 \\ \underline{-\,216} & \\ 24 & 6.66\ldots. \end{array}$$

ges—printing shop, etc.) After that it is necessary to consider carefully cuts on each item, not approximately, not by rule of thumb, but on the basis of exact estimates (reduce such-and-such an item by so-and-so much; buy cheaper paper or rent cheaper premises, etc., etc.; reduce expenses on "messengers" and travel, etc.).

	Approximately: possible reductions				
	mini-mum	*maxi-mum*		? *min-imum*	
	in thousands				
a) Expenses for organisations abroad and for paper . .	3,776	2.6	—3.0	2.5	
b) Aid to comrades	444	0.3	0.5	0.2	
c) National organisations . .	519	0.2	—0.3	0.1	(Latvians only)
d) Transport	1.292	0.6	—0.8	0.5	
e) Expenses on obtaining Σ and debts	6,753	—	—	—	
f) Illegal Party publications .	817	0.3	—0.5	—	
g) Conferences	566	0.6	—0.6	0.5	
h) To Russia	4,523	2.5	—3.5	2.5	(C.C. only, excluding local)
i) Miscellaneous	250	0.1	—0.2	—	
	18,940	7.1	—9.4	6.3	

18,940
—6,753
12,187

Written in 1909, not earlier than October, in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original

185

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN

Dear Comrade,

Please print in the next issue of the C.O. my resolution rejected by two votes against two with one abstention and my notice of resignation from the Editorial Board of the

C.O.,[162] and also send me copies of my resolution, Martov's and the one adopted, with the results of the voting.

With S.D. greetings,
N. Lenin

Paris, November 4, 1909

P.S. I would also ask the Editorial Board of the C.O. to let me know whether it will accept for publication in the next issue my discussion article on the methods of consolidating our Party and its unity.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

186

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

The undersigned members of the Central Committee, Bolsheviks, consider it necessary to state that, in their opinion, a plenary meeting of the C.C. should be convened at the earliest date.

Casting our vote for the earliest possible holding of the plenary meeting, we for our part will do our best to ensure that the meeting takes place in the nearest future.

We ask the C.C. Bureau Abroad to bring this statement to the attention of all the members of the C.C. in Russia and abroad.

November 14 (new style), 1909,
Paris.

Members of the C.C.: *Innokentiev*
Grigory
Lenin
V. Sergeyev

First published in 1926 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 11

Printed from the original in G. Y. Zinoviev's handwriting and signed by Lenin

187

REQUEST TO STATISTICIANS OF ZEMSTVO, CITY AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

V. Ilyin, who is working on the continuation of his study on the agrarian question in general and agricultural capitalism in Russia in particular, earnestly requests the statisticians of Zemstvo, city and government institutions to send him statistical data, etc.

Paris. 9/XII *V. Ulyanov*

Written December 9, 1909
Sent to Moscow

First published in 1929
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 11

Printed from the text in
an unknown handwriting

1910

188
TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE

22/I. 1910

Dear Sir,

I am very well aware of the scientific character of the dictionary and would gladly give you all the information you wish concerning the history of Social-Democracy in Russia. But at the moment, unfortunately, I could not possibly write a brief essay on the history of Social-Democracy.[163]

There is some good information up to 1904 in the report to the Amsterdam International Congress of 1904—Lidin, [M.] *Explanatory Material Bearing on the Crisis in Russian Social-Democracy* (Geneva) [1904] and several articles by different authors in *Neue Zeit*.

In August 1910 an international congress will be held in Copenhagen. Presumably the official report of our Party (Social-Democratic Labour Party of Russia) will appear within a few months.

There have been two major trends in the S.D. movement in 1903-09—"Mensheviks" and "Bolsheviks". In *Neue Zeit* you will find articles by representatives of both trends.

Bibliography: Cherevanin (Menshevik), reviews in *Vorwärts* and *Leipziger Volkszeitung*.[164] Trotsky, middle position (Vermittlerstellung) (*Russland in Revolution*, 1910).

I myself belong to the "Bolshevik" trend.

[There are] articles by Trotsky in German also in *Kampf* (Austrian S.D. review).[165]

Please excuse me for not being able to give you a systematic essay.

Respectfully yours,
Vl. Ulyanov
*Lenin**

4. Rue Marie Rose. 4. Paris. XIV.

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

189

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO AUGUST BEBEL

To Comrade August Bebel

On behalf of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, on behalf of all the workers of Russia who are waging a bitter struggle against oppression by tsarism and the bourgeoisie joined in counter-revolution, we send you, vanguard fighter of international and leader of German Social-Democracy, hearty greetings on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

You began your activity in the working-class movement almost half a century ago as a young turner, first a patriot, then a democrat who worked devotedly in workers' educational societies—and the path you have traversed reflects the stride forward which the entire international proletariat has made in that period. At the beginning of that period most class-conscious workers either followed the bourgeois parties or at best sought their own class road to socialism by switching from one socialist or anarchist sect to another. Now the vast majority of class-conscious workers in the civilised world are Social-Democrats, and it is precisely in Germany that the theoretical principles of Marxism have taken deepest root and spread most widely among the masses of the proletariat, illumining with radiant light their struggle for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

* The word "Lenin" was added later in pencil.—*Ed.*

In your person we honour a working-class leader who has shown by his example that the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves. Drawing on the theory of Marxism, the German class-conscious workers, more than the workers of other countries, have been able to safeguard their movement against the mistakes of opportunism and anarchism, they have succeeded in building up powerful mass trade union and political organisations and uniting in a single class force. And at all crucial moments in history—when waves of national chauvinism rose high, or when rampant feudal-monarchist and clerical reaction declared a war of annihilation on socialist organisations—this class force was able to find the right road, to uphold its revolutionary world outlook, its confidence in the inevitability of the coming great socialist revolution, and carry it ever more broadly and deeply into the masses.

In the half-century of your activity the workers of Russia see a guarantee that in the coming decisive battle, the dawn of which is clearly visible in Germany and other advanced countries, the Social-Democratic proletariat will not only fight with the same selfless energy and faith in its strength with which it won many a victory in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions, but will be able also to win and to smash for ever the entire edifice of capitalist exploitation.

Members of the Editorial Board
of the Central Organ
of the Russian Social-Democratic
Labour Party
L. Martov
N. Lenin
*Y. Kamenev**

Written February 22, 1910
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the text
in an unknown
handwriting and signed
by Lenin

* The message was signed also by members of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. —*Ed.*

190
TO A. EKK

23/II. 10

Dear Comrade,

I have read your letter. I recall our joint work in London. I recall that at that time (or a little later) I heard with one ear about the commission on your case.[166]

That such an affair should drag out for nearly three years is in my opinion really outrageous, and I quite appreciate your indignation. What is to be done? As far as I can judge, it is necessary to apply officially to the *C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P.* and specifically to its organ abroad, the Bureau Abroad of the C.C. (address the same; inside—for the *Bureau Abroad* of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.). I think the best thing would be for me to forward your letter to them. If you agree, I can do it.

If you would like first to try to push the matter through members of the Chief Executive, you had best apply to Yuzef (for you do not suspect *him* of any partiality). And that should be done *at once*. Send him a letter (by registered post) addressed **both** to the Chief Executive and to the Polish Social-Democrat member of the Editorial Board of the Central Organ (also care of Kotlyarenko; inside: for member of the Editorial Board of the C.O. from the *P.S.D.*). If this is done *quickly*, I believe you ought to be able to get an answer and advice from Yuzef.

The permanent organ abroad of the C.C., i.e., the C.C. Bureau Abroad, can (and should) put an end to the affair. The Russian C.C. would in my view be physically unable to do so. How the Polish Chief Executive could have dragged it out so long and disobeyed its own Congress is more than I can understand!

With S.D. greetings,

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to London

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TO L. B. KAMENEV

21.III. 10

Dear L. B.,

The article about Koltsov received, read and passed on...*; I liked it very much, I think it turned out quite well[167]..., no doubt it will cause a grand row? but there is a *constant* row there as it is!! The composition of the C.O. has deteriorated[168]—a year before the plenum *not a single* row. Now *not a single issue* [without] some document of protest, threats and hysterics from Martov....

[How do matters stand] with the report?

Don't give me away, for the love of Christ!

I am again being "harried"—that is to say, reminded—by the International Bureau. Write, write that [report] as quickly as possible [for the sake] of all that's holy.... As soon as the report is ready we shall [tackle] a legal Bolshevik [journal].[169]

With best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Rather scurvy behaviour of Trotsky's in No. 10 of *Pravda*,[170] I must say!

Sent from Paris to Vienna

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

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TO THE BUREAU ABROAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, R.S.D.L.P.

Dear Comrades,

Our inquiry as to *how* you understand your competence in matters concerning conflicts in the Central Organ has

* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as suggested by the context and the remaining legible letters.—*Ed.*

not yet been answered. Nevertheless we consider it necessary to offer you some explanation with regard to a number of conflicts that have occurred in the new Editorial Board of the C.O. since the plenum—as we propose to do in the near future for the information of the *whole* Party and *all* Social-Democrats.

We shall begin with the last statement of Comrades Dan and Martov of March 29.

1. It is not true that we decided to publish the article from Tiflis "containing violent attacks on the Caucasian Regional Committee", for it had been decided to omit that section of the article and leave only the polemics on points of principle with the Georgian newspaper which the author, a local functionary, charges with liquidationism. The authors of the statement, moreover, conceal from you the fact that the manuscript of this polemical article was sent to the author of the Georgian article in order to give him an opportunity to reply in the same issue of the C.O. (Later on, at the last meeting of the Editorial Board, we decided to turn over the whole polemic together with the reply to *Diskussionny Listok*.*)

2. The authors of the statement conceal from you why we rejected Comrade Dan's article on the tasks of the Party with regard to the persecution of the trade unions. We rejected it because the "tasks of the Party in this article are reduced to exchanging the struggle to overthrow the autocracy for the petty cash of Cadet 'struggle for legality'".

3. Comrades Dan and Martov consider it "unnatural" for us to have conferred separately on how to rebuff the base attacks on the C.O. and on the unity of the Party, while considering it "perfectly natural" that they themselves, two editors of the C.O., should have met with other editors of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* in order to *launch* a foul attack on the C.O.[171] A conference of like-minded people within a collegium and joint discussion of an article

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* A reference to an article by J. V. Stalin, "Letter from the Caucasus".—*Ed.*

before laying it on the editorial desk for final judgement (moreover, in a case such as the given one), they consider to be a violation of the law. But to be a member of the Editorial Board of the C.O., entrusted by the C.C., among other things, with the task of "explaining the danger of deviations" towards *liquidationism* and otzovism, and at the same time a member of the Editorial Board of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, which shields, encourages and defends liquidationism and with regard to which the C.C. has spoken of the need to terminate its existence—this they do *not* consider incompatible with political integrity. This habit of stabbing the Central Organ and Party unity in the back while at the same time demanding "collegiality" in drafting a reply to the back-stabbing they themselves have dealt, a habit characteristic of underground manipulators, we leave to the authors of the statement. To discuss with them their own attacks against the Central Organ would have been an undignified farce on our part. The only thing we could do was to lay the article on the editorial desk in order to give them a chance to acquaint themselves with its contents and to hear their objections. That is what was done.

4. The authors of the statement write that we "directly deceived" them, for "no mention was made of any intention to publish—and with shocking distortion of the truth to boot—part of the correspondence between members of the C.C. and the C.C. Bureau Abroad". Not only did we not mention this to them, we made no mention of the contents of the article in general, *for the simple reason that we gave the article to them*. Comrade Dan actually looked through the manuscript. This is indeed deception on the part of Dan and Martov, who expected that you would not notice that a few lines earlier they write that *we gave them the article to read in the manuscript*, in other words, had no intention to conceal anything from them. In order to show what our "shocking distortion of the truth" consists in, we are printing in No. 12 of the Central Organ *all* relevant excerpts from the C.C. letter. The reader will be able to judge for himself.

5. The authors of the statement write about the "secrecy aspect of the matter". But they forget to tell you that we

did *not* disclose in the press the place occupied in the Party organisation by the three liquidators, that Dan and Martov themselves published not only their names but also those of other liquidators in Nos. 19-20 of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. As for us, we can only reply to this in the words of Plekhanov that the only thing that "threatens" liquidators of the Party is "an order of merit round the neck".

6. The authors of the statement write that Bolsheviks too refuse to go into the C.C.* But they deliberately forget to tell you that it is not a matter of who wants or does not want to enter the C.C. but of who considers the C.C. and the Party unnecessary and harmful.

7. The authors of the statement complain that their articles have been rejected. But all these complaints have only one object: artificially to create the grounds for the existence of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. For this reason the authors of the statement are *boycotting* "*Diskussionny Listok*", in which their articles could be freely printed. They are deliberately wrecking this Party publication, too, whose purpose it is to obviate the need for factional organs, to enable all trends in the Party freely to express themselves whenever their views differ from those of the Central Organ. For example, we suggested that Comrade Martov's article "On the Right Path" be printed either in the Central Organ *with* an editorial *comment* (since the article challenges C.C. decisions) or in *Diskussionny Listok*. The first of these alternatives was called giving the article a "*gendarme*" escort, and the second, "exiling" it. And we were literally told: "now we shall open hostilities against you."

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* Here the authors of the statement indignantly say that the "readers of the article are likewise not told that the *Polish Social-Democrats to this day have not been able to find anybody who would agree to represent them in the C.C.*" More, they have the temerity to underline these words. This is just as *foul a lie* as the other allegations in the statement. Just as the Polish Social-Democrats had their representative in the C.C. before the plenary meeting, so they have one now, after it, who is waiting for word when to attend the C.C. meeting. Already a week ago the Polish C.C. member received a letter from his colleague in Moscow to the effect that he still has to wait, for the C.C. cannot be convened as yet.

8. The authors of the statement complain that we printed an article about the conference which they allege "compPletely distorts the decisions of the plenary meeting on this question". What lies behind this complaint is this: the article in question *wholly agrees with the C.C. letter* on the conference,[172] and the anti-liquidationist letter of the C.C. about the conference is not to the taste of the extreme liquidator Dan. The article was written by the comrade who wrote the C.C. letter. And Comrade Martov *signed* the C.C. letter. *It was adopted unanimously.* When he sent the proofs to the author of the letter, Comrade Martov wrote: "*I have no objections* to your text of the letter about the conference." But now, before the liquidationist cock has had time to crow thrice, L. Martov hastens (together with Dan) to disavow the letter *he himself accepted*. The statement of ... written by Dan and signed also by Martov naïvely reveals the real cause of the dissatisfaction of the *Golos* people with the C.C. letter on the conference and with our article on the same subject: the plenary meeting, it appears, allegedly decided to "reconcile" the Party with the "so-called liquidationism" and to "fill in the gulf" between the liquidators and the Party. But the Central Organ is not carrying out this task. We confess that we are doing the exact opposite. What is surprising is only this: why did the authors of the statement complaining about the rejection of articles *themselves reject* in *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* an article signed among others by Comrade Martov, namely, the "Letter of the C.C." concerning the conference? Why did they not reprint it *either in full or at least in part*? Probably because the C.C. letter "completely distorts the decisions" of the Central Committee.

9. The authors of the statement have the audacity to turn to you, the *Central Committee* Bureau Abroad, with a demand for "satisfaction" for the unpleasantness caused them by the exposure of the three practical liquidators. They evidently believe that you might agree not to bring into the light of day the monstrous outrage against our Party committed by their associates Mikhail, Roman and Yuri. They evidently ascribe to you the intention of *concealing from the Party* the conspiracy against the Party

which we exposed and *which a member of the C.C. in his letter from Russia asked you to make public*. We of course leave it to you to give all appropriate reply to such an insult to your Party conscience. We on our part believe that no Party body will venture to side with the Romans, Yuris, Mikhails and their accomplices to any extent or in any way, not even indirectly. Such individuals and bodies should be pilloried *without delay* and *openly* in the name of the entire Party. We in the Central Organ of our Party, where we have been placed by the will of the plenum, shall *unswervingly pursue this line*. The same fate will befall anyone who throws in his lot with those who would destroy the Party—*whoever he may be*.

10. The authors end their statement by threatening you that if you do not do as they wish they will set about exposing cases that were closed by the plenary meeting of the C.C. And this they promise to do despite the C.C. decision. But this threat is no longer an instance of the usual fraktioneller Dreck,* as the representative of Latvian Social-Democracy put it at the plenary meeting of the C.C. referring to the way the *Golos* people had seized on these issues for the sake of factional muck; it is downright factional *blackmail* with regard to the C.C. Bureau Abroad. And, of course, we leave it to you, comrades, to deal worthily with these *blackmailers* operating with *factional muck*.

But we refuse to go into all the falsifications, distortions of facts and downright lies amassed against US in the statements, complaints and protests of Martov and Dan. You yourselves, comrades, will unquestionably be able to get to the bottom of all this factional muck, although we do not doubt that it will evoke in you the same natural feeling of revulsion it has aroused in us. Nevertheless we would like in conclusion to draw your attention to two things.

First. We should like to remind you that the present attempt of the *Golos* people to disrupt the C.C. is *not the first*. As far back as the summer of 1908, when the Bolshevik members of the C.C. were arrested, the *Golos* people made

* Factional muck.—*Ed*.

a valiant attempt of this kind which was exposed at the plenary meeting of the C.C. (in August 1908). At that time the *Golos* people proposed to the Bund comrades to join in a conspiracy to disrupt the C.C. But a member of the C.C. of the Bund (Comrade E.) informed of this a Bolshevik member of the C.C. (Comrade G.) who had just been released from prison, and the conspiracy failed. We still have on file the letter from the member of the Bund C.C. in which he writes that the *Golos* leaders deny the C.C. its very "Existenzrecht" (right to exist) and propose replacing it with some sort of information bureau.[173] The fact that the proposal to betray the Party was made by the *Golos* people in the C.C. to the Bund C.C. was confirmed also by other comrades from the Bund at the December (1908) conference (see the minutes of the conference). Add to this the recent exposures by the Menshevik comrades Alexei Moskovsky and G. V. Plekhanov, and also the fact that *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* has not once come out against the liquidators, but, on the contrary, constantly defends them, demanding that they now be recognised on a par with the Party, and even takes up the cudgels for Roman, Mikhail and Yuri, and you will have a pretty clear picture of the prolonged, indefatigable, stubborn and most insidious attempts of all kinds by which the liquidators are seeking to achieve their purpose—to wreck the Party. At the same time the danger of the liquidationist trend and the need to fight it most vigorously will become obvious even to the blind. In view of this we believe that now is the time to publish also the letter of the Bund C.C. member Comrade E. and in general *all the facts* relative to the attempts to liquidate the Party.

Second. If the two *Golos* men—our colleagues on the Central Organ—write you that "a minimum of respect for the Party should have obliged" us "to relinquish our responsible Party positions", we believe that common political decency and a minimum of self-respect should have induced them to abandon the false position they adopt in the Party and in the Central Organ by coming out simultaneously in defence of the liquidators. Incidentally, as distinct from them, we are not at all inclined to ascribe

evil intentions to them as individuals. The lies, the blackmail threats and all their other virtues spring not from their ill will, but from their false position which compels them to breed falsehood at every step. Es ist der Fluch der bösen Tat, *dass sie immer Böses muss gebähren*.* And the curse of their misdeed consists precisely in that they simultaneously occupy seats in the Party organ and in the organ which is out to liquidate the Party, with the result that they assume the contradictory mission of standing both for the Party and against it. For this reason they do not even have the "courage" of the Romans, the Yuris and the Mikhails. This position of theirs is compatible neither with common political decency nor with a minimum of self-respect. This is what creates that false position, that, so to speak, *peculiar brand of Azefism*[174] for liquidationist purposes, which impels them, with the best of intentions, toward the most unworthy actions.

Members of the Editorial Board
of the Central Organ *A. Var*
G. Zinoviev
N. Lenin

April 5, 1910

P.S. For the time being, we are sending a copy of this statement at once only to the Russian collegium of the C.C., the "national" C.C.s and our Party press.

Written in Paris and mailed to a local address

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* The worst thing about evil is *that it inevitably breeds evil* (Schiller, *Wallenstein*. "Die Piccolomini", Act V, Scene 1).—*Ed.*

193
TO L. B. KAMENEV

6.IV. 10

Dear K.,

I received your letter (*at last!* I was about to *kick up a row*). It is too late to send an express message or a wire.

We are in too "great haste", you write. I don't know....* How could Dan and Co. have been allowed to get away with it? And what else ... wait for. But it is a great pity you were not in "greater haste" to write us at once about the "formal doubts" entertained by the *Pravda* liquidators. The proofs were sent to you ten days ago: if you had made haste to reply *at once* that you are not clear on this or that point, you would have had complete copies of the letters from Russia already a *week* ago. Now the C.O., which came out late last night, gives more quotations from the letters.[175]

Is your withdrawal from *Pravda* essential for us?[176] You seem almost ready to say yes—again being "in haste" to write after the very *first* conflict with Trotsky.

I personally do not think that your withdrawal from *Pravda* is essential [to us], *so long* as *Pravda* [is] run so colourlessly. After reading ... [your] item in No. 11, I thought ([and] Grigory also said): this is toothless, colourless, [inconsequential], verbose....

What is the purpose of our policy *now*, at this precise moment? To build the *Party* core not on the cheap *phrases* of Trotsky and Co. but on *genuine* ideological rapprochement between the Plekhanovites and the Bolsheviks. Whether this will *work out* I do not know. If it doesn't, then back to the Bolshevik Centre. If it does, it will be a substantial step forward.

We shall write to the Russian C.C. (insisting that Makar call it together without waiting for the Menshevik scoundrels) that Dan (and Martov) should be *expelled* from

* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further on several words are illegible. Words in square brackets have been inserted as suggested by the context and the remaining legible letters.—*Ed.*

the C.O. and Igor from the C.C. Bureau Abroad and replaced with Plekhanovites. The Plekhanovites printed ... [in an issue] of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (you [ought to receive it] within a few days[177]).

... [53] for the *Golos* people ... against ... 10 .... For the Plekhanovites 11 .. but it isn't so much a matter of numbers as of the *beginning of a break*. The first step is always the hardest.

In a few days the Mensheviks will publish Martynov's reply to Plekhanov and, evidently, a reply to the C.O. Although Plekhanov does *wish* to keep open the possibility of "returning" to the *Golos* people, nothing so far seems to be coming of it.

Your withdrawal from *Pravda*—if it is inevitable—should in my view be arranged with the utmost care (write an article against the liquidators and against *Golos*, let Trotsky turn it down!) with a view to reporting to the C.O. and *drafting* a decision on the publication of a popular newspaper by the Central Organ. Either that, or back to....

The Vienna group will say nothing.

About the report, I am not satisfied. To remind a person does not mean to harass him. *Send the beginning*. The whole thing by May 1 will be too late.

With best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Paris to Vienna

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TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Dear Comrades,

Yesterday's exchange of views with your representatives in the general Party institution* showed us that your

* A reference evidently to a meeting of the C.C. Bureau Abroad.—*Ed.*

delegates are hesitant about waging a resolute struggle for the Party and against the liquidators, embarking on the path of "conciliation" which objectively does a service *only* to the liquidators.

Hesitation at such a crucial moment in Party life is, we are deeply convinced, of advantage only to the enemies of the Party.

We shall be compelled to pursue a policy upholding the Party principle *without* your delegates, or, perhaps, even *against* them. We hereby inform you of this in brief. We shall give you a more detailed explanation within the next few days, in all probability, in the press.

We trust that you will understand why we are turning first of all to you, an organisation so close to us ideologically and politically.

With comradely greetings,
Bolshevik members of the Editorial Board
of the Central Organ *Lenin*
Grigory

10/IV.10

Written in Paris

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original
in G. Y. Zinoviev's
handwriting and signed
by Lenin

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TO A. I. LYUBIMOV

To Comrade Mark

April 10, 1910

Dear Comrade,

Yesterday's conference convinced us finally of something about which we had little doubt even before it, namely, that you in no way represent the Bolshevik trend which you claim to represent in the C.C. Bureau Abroad.

Having every ground for considering ourselves representatives of the Bolshevik trend, on the strength of letters

from like-minded comrades in Russia and of the policy pursued by the Bolsheviks living abroad, we declare that your wavering policy, your willingness to tolerate the presence in the C.C. Bureau Abroad of Igor, a liquidator and plotter against the Party, to cover up the disruption by him of Party unity[178] (instead of exposing Igor, of presenting an ultimatum to the C.C. demanding his removal and resolutely combating the liquidators and upholding the alliance of the Bolsheviks and the *pro-Party* Mensheviks, an alliance which alone could *perhaps* save the cause of unity)—this behaviour of yours convinces us that you, willingly or unwillingly, are a pawn in the hands of the liquidators.

We reserve the right to bring our statement to the attention of the Bolsheviks and, if need be, the entire Party and press.

Bolshevik members of the Central Organ *Lenin**

Written in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

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TO A. I. LYUBIMOV

To Comrade Mark

Dear Comrade,

We retract our letter and regret having unjustly accused you of supporting liquidationism in the C.C. Bureau Abroad.**

10/IV. 10

*Lenin****

Written in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original in G. Y. Zinoviev's handwriting and signed by Lenin

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* The letter was also signed by G. Y. Zinoviev.—*Ed.*

** See previous letter.—*Ed.*

*** The letter was also signed by G. Y. Zinoviev.—*Ed.*

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TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

6. VI. 10

Dear Comrade,

I enclose herewith two appeals concerning the May Day demonstrations published by our Party, one abroad, the other in Russia; the latter was printed in an underground printery. I shall try to get other publications of this kind for you, although this is extremely difficult considering the position of our Party.

Regarding the proposals, resolutions and the report of our Party, I deeply regret to have to inform you that our Central Committee has not yet drafted the resolutions and that the report, unfortunately, is not yet ready.[179]

Accept, dear comrade, my cordial greetings.

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

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Translated from the French

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TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

15. VI. 10

Dear Comrade,

I am very sorry to say that I have been unable to find for you either the documents or information about the Tiflis and Munich affairs.[180] However, as soon as I received your letter I handed it over to a comrade who may be able to find the documents or the information you require. I am sure he will do everything possible, although it will

be extremely difficult to meet your request by Thursday or even Friday.

Accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

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Translated from the French

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TO D. M. KOTLYARENKO

Private, to Comrade *Kotlyarenko*

1. 8. 10

Dear Comrade,

I. Be so kind as to order the following books for the editorial office:

1) *Report of the People's Freedom Group at the Third Session of the Duma* (Pravo bookshop, St. Petersburg, or V. A. Kharlamov, 7. Potyomkinskaya. St. Petersburg, apply to them). Price 50 k.

2) *In Memory of N. G. Chernyshevsky*. Reports and speeches by Annensky, Antonovich, Tugan-Baranovsky, etc. Price 50 k. (Obshchestvennaya Polza, St. Petersburg, 40 Nevsky, Flat 43.)

II. Further. With regard to the report You were *extremely* careless not to have sent it registered. I have given the post office here Rappoport's address. But this is not enough. Send *at once* notifications to the Administration des postes in *Pornic*, asking them as the sender that the package be readdressed to Rappoport, and attach an addressed postcard for their reply.

III. As regards the *Public Movement*—Britman is said to have brought it and left it at the forwarding office for me. If not, I shall send an inquiry to Grigory, and you ask him about it too when you *have a chance*.

IV. As regards *guests* at the Copenhagen Congress I cannot say anything.[181] As far as I know it is customary for people to be admitted freely to the gallery. Take a leaflet from my parcel to the C.C. Bureau Abroad (which I am sending by book-post)—you will find there a printed leaflet with the address of the chairman of the local organizing committee[182]: he is the one to apply to if you want to find out *for sure* in advance.

V. I am enclosing a letter for the C.C. Bureau Abroad.* Please hand it over *as soon as possible*.

VI. What about the report? I beg of you to speed up its publication.

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Pornic (France)
to Paris

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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TO A. I. LYUBIMOV

Dear M.,

Be so kind as to forward the enclosed letter by express to Pyatnitsa.

I have received a letter from the secretary of the C.C. Bureau Abroad quoting Schwarz as saying that Huysmans has forbidden the reports to be more than four pages long. Kindly inform that secretary that if he wishes he can get in touch with Huysmans direct. I only know one thing—*we are printing* the report *ourselves*; who can forbid us to make it long? The important thing is to see to it that the report is ready *in time for the congress*, and *we* shall circulate it among the *delegates ourselves*. That the report is supposed to be printed in three languages I have known for

* The letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

some time, but what if we haven't the money? Will they "forbid" its publication in one language?

I enclose a letter from the bank presenting me with a statement of account and *demanding from me* (as always) a written reply signed by me certifying the correctness of the figures. I am enclosing my written reply,* i.e., a form with my signature (and dated in my handwriting August *4*, so, N.B., don't send it before that). Please check the account and, if correct, send my letter.

With best wishes and regards to O.A.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. About Copenhagen, yesterday I sent a letter to the C.C. Bureau Abroad asking them to notify the Bund C.C. and the Latvians. Did you take into account the expenses for the trip to Copenhagen? They say it will cost 250-300 francs per delegate, of whom there will be eight at the maximum. Will you have enough for that *out of the 75,000*?

Exp. par. Vl. Oulianoff. R. Mon Désir. V. les Roses. *Pornic*.**

Written August 2, 1910
Sent to Paris

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TO M. V. KOBETSKY

August 8 (N.S.), 1910

Dear Comrade,

I have a small personal favour to ask of you. I should like to make use of the opportunity provided by the congress in Copenhagen to work in a Copenhagen library. I should be much obliged if you could inform me:

* Enclosed in two envelopes with the printed address: Comptoir National, etc.

** Return address written on envelope.—*Ed.*

1) Whether the Copenhagen library is open all the time in September (the National or the University, I do not know which is better. I need data on agriculture in Denmark).

2) How much a furnished room in Copenhagen would cost by the week or month, and whether you could help me to find a room, provided *this would not take you away from your work*.

My address until August 23
Mr. Wl. Oulianoff.
Rue Mon Desir. Villa les Roses.
Pornic (Loire-Inférieure).
France.

Forgive me for troubling you. Thanking you in advance and with best regards.

N. Lenin

Sent to Copenhagen

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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TO M. V. KOBETSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am very grateful to you for the information and for your kind offer of assistance. If it is not too much trouble, rent me a simple, inexpensive, small room from the *26th*.

I shall be in Copenhagen by the morning of the 26th (for the Bureau meeting). I shall try to drop in and see you the same morning (I don't know when the train comes in, I shall probably go through Hamburg-Korsör). If you go out, leave a letter for me with the landlady (für Herrn Ulianoff). I shall take the room by the week or for a month, depending on what is more customary in Copenhagen.

I shall be in Copenhagen about ten days from August 26, then *perhaps* I shall go away for a week on personal business[183] and then return to Copenhagen again. Therefore

a cheap room for a month (if you, renting for a longer period, pay 12 kr., I would probably have to pay about 15-18 kr. for a similar room) would be more convenient. *If you have no time*, do not bother, I shall be able to find something myself on August 26 or 27, since the Bureau meeting will only take up the morning.

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written between August 12 and 23, 1910
Sent from Pornic to Copenhagen

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

203
TO MARIA ANDREYEVA

14.VIII. 10

Dear M. F.,

I hasten to inform you that I have received at last the reply concerning Tria's report. The secretary of the Editorial Board writes that "Tria's report has been put to the vote, translated and almost all set up, and will go as a supplement" (i.e., a supplement to the general report of the Party). And so, everything has turned out well.[184]

I have no news to report. On August 23 I am going to Copenhagen. What news have you? What did you learn from that large assembly of people, that "houseful of guests" you wrote about?

Best wishes, from Nadya as well. Greetings to A. M. and all the Capri crowd.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Pornic to Capri

First published in 1958 in the journal *Teatr* No. 4

Printed from the original

204

TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

Copenhagen, September* 2, 1910

Dear Comrades,

The August 28 issue of *Vorwärts* carried an utterly outrageous anonymous article about the state of affairs in the Russian Party.[185] At the height of the work of the International Congress, when everyone is moved by the desire to preserve socialist unity, to discuss with the utmost caution the internal disputes in the parties of the different countries, to avoid if possible interfering in these disputes, to demonstrate the strength, the grandeur and moral prestige of Social-Democracy in all countries—at this very time the Central Organ of the German Party suddenly, without any reason, without the slightest apparent need, prints an article containing incredible attacks on Russian Social-Democracy. The above-mentioned article shamelessly criticises the entire Social-Democratic movement in Russia; it strives to represent Russian Social-Democracy to the foreign public in the darkest colours, as being in a state of decline, impotence and degeneration. Further, it assails and slanders all the existing groups and trends in the Party without exception, from top to bottom; and, finally, it contains crude attacks on official central bodies of the Party—the Central Committee and the Central Organ—accusing them of factional prejudice, etc.; individual members of these central bodies too are slandered in the most outrageous manner.

Such an article in the Central Organ of the German Party, the anonymous author of which was prompted solely by a desire for revenge for some petty personal grievance, will damage the interests of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia; it constitutes an unexampled violation of international solidarity and brotherhood in relation to Russian Social-Democracy. And if the Russian Party, which has many well-known writers, has for several years

* In the original "August", obviously a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

avoided parading its internal affairs on the pages of the German Party press, that is only because it does not consider the foreign press to be a suitable battlefield for settling its disputes. The building of the unity of the Social-Democratic Party of Russia is and remains the paramount and most difficult task for all the comrades in Russia, and primarily for the central bodies of the Party. Clearly, it is essential, in the interests of preserving unity, to avoid anything that is prejudicial to the resolving of internal differences. No one of course should object to the problems of Russian Party life being treated in a calm, objective manner. But we are most emphatically opposed to malevolent, petty and treacherous attacks on the movement, the Party and its central bodies, such as that contained in the above-mentioned article, the more so since the anonymous author who poses as an omniscient outsider is introduced as a correspondent of the Central Organ, the newspaper *Vorwärts*, which lends the article an official editorial character.

Delegates of the Central Organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party *Sotsial-Demokrat*
G. Plekhanov
A. Warski

Delegate of the Central Committee, member of the International Socialist Bureau
N. Lenin (*Vl. Ulyanov*)

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 46

Printed from the original in A. Warski's handwriting and signed by Lenin
Translated from the German

205
TO M. V. KOBETSKY

16. IX. 10

Dear Comrade,

I shall be here until September 25. On the morning of the 26th of September (Monday) I intend to be in Copenha-

gen and would like to spend as little time there as possible. *If* you think it *worth* arranging a public or Party lecture on the Copenhagen Congress, please arrange it for Monday (in the evening, of course, since it is a workday).* I could then leave on Tuesday, for it is time for me to be in Paris, and I must now make haste. Regarding the room, please find out whether I could spend the night there on the 26th. If not, I shall return the keys when and where you say (I have taken them with me). By the way, I left a book on the table (reports and the main report for the Copenhagen Congress in French, in a folder). If the former lodger occupies the room on the morning of the 26th of September I would kindly ask you to go there and pick up the book so that I could get it from you.

My address: Herrn Wl. Ulianoff. Adr. Frk. W. Berg. 17. I. Kaptensgatan. 17. I. Stockholm. Drop me a line when you find out and decide about the lecture.

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent to Copenhagen

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

206

TO I. P. POKROVSKY

Dear Comrade,

Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau Camille Huysmans has asked for a list of the Social-Democratic deputies to the Duma who joined the Commission interparlementaire and reminds us about the annual dues of 15 fr. to be paid by each deputy. Please get in touch with them. Give him the address of the secretary of the group.

I wrote you some two weeks ago, but have had no reply. Bad, very bad.

Written October 5, 1910
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

* Lenin lectured in Copenhagen on September 26, 1910.—*Ed.*

207

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

17. X. 10

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I have notified the treasurer of the Central Committee of our Party that the dues must be paid. I hope we shall soon pay them. The secretary or the treasurer of the Bureau of the Central Committee will let you know.

As for the dues to be paid by the Duma deputies belonging to the Inter-Parliamentary Commission, I shall write to them and ask once more that the secretary of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma notify you of his address.

Respectfully yours,
N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

208

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

6. XI. 10

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

One of my friends, Comrade Petrov, will call on you tomorrow or the day after. Be so kind as to give him one copy each of the reports of the different parties to the Copenhagen Congress. It is extremely difficult for the Russian socialists to obtain these reports. That is why it is

most important for us to "utilise" the travels of private individuals to circulate a few copies of the reports in Russia.

Accept, dear comrade,
my fraternal greetings,

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962
in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*
No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 47

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

209

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING OF THE C.O. EDITORIAL BOARD[186]

Dear Comrade,

Having walked out of today's meeting I consider it my duty to explain to you, in case of any Party (and quasi-Party) rumours and gossip, the significance of my action. I consider it not only my right but my duty to refuse to participate in a so-called "discussion" which serves as a pretext for the liquidationist section of the Editorial Board to indulge in the worst kind of rumours circulated by the worst kind of anti-Party elements. When Martov, for example, refers to the otzovists as a section of the Party, and at the same time openly repeats the gossip noised by the most blackguard elements of the otzovists abroad, alleging that the case of Comrade Victor was closed or hushed up *as a result of bribery*,[187] and at the same time demands that they, Martov and Dan, be protected from such suspicions on the part of "a section of the Party", then anyone can see quite clearly that under cover of "*protection*" from otzovist blackmail we are being offered nothing more nor less than *liquidationist abetting* of otzovist sallies of the worst kind.

Considering it beneath my dignity to participate in a "*discussion*" in which such things are brought up, I declare

that in future too I shall try to walk out of any meeting where there is such a "discussion".

With comradely greetings,
N. Lenin

7.XI.10

Written in Paris and mailed to a local address

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

210
TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Dear V. D.,

I received today more news about the new literary child[188] but, surprisingly, not a word from you. What does this mean? I am extremely worried about the fate of the child. They write, for instance, that they fear the material sent is out of date. This worries me greatly. I insist most categorically that everything sent in should be published (with corrections owing to "unforeseen circumstances" if need be). This is after all a matter of principle, a matter of policy. We have no information as yet on this question, we are depending on you, and you are silent. This is impossible. A few lines from you once or twice a week is the minimum necessary to maintain contact and to feel closer to things. To make matters worse, there are letters from the "discontented" (I received a long letter today from one of them—I daresay you can guess from whom). And so I beg you: write, write more often and in greater detail.

Warmest regards to V. M.

Yours,
Starik

Written November 3, 1910
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

211

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Dear V. D.,

I wrote you the other day.* Am writing again today because I have received some extremely disturbing news, which seems to indicate some dissention at your end. Dissention over what, I cannot understand. What the trouble is I do not know.[189] You really must not leave us here without information—afterwards we are blamed for holding up things. Why shouldn't like-minded people be able to work together on a newspaper, once there is agreement on the main thing, namely, not to allow the Potresovs and similar riffraff from *Nasha Zarya* to come anywhere near it?[190] And such agreement does exist. We shall notify them today of our opinion that a third be included (there was a clear understanding, after all, that the third place belonged to us).[191] I am informing you in order that there should be no misunderstanding. The third has one-third of the decisive say—is that so much? Are you against that? I hope not. I would be very glad if this business could be settled without friction. It is time, high time, to get started on the paper and the journal too. As regards the journal, we are not asking for much: find us an executive secretary and a couple of applicants for permission to publish.[192] Surely that is not so difficult to arrange? Well, I shall wait for word from you.

I hope that the matter of the discontented will now be settled. After all, there is nothing to quarrel about.

Written November 10, 1910
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a
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* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

212

TO N. G. POLETAYEV

Dear Colleague,

We sent a few things off today: 1) a postscript to the article about Muromtsev (it would be wrong not to react, even now), 2) about the reasons and significance of rapprochement between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (the title can be changed), 3) about the political differences in the working-class movement,* 4) about the Octobrists, 5) the industrial congress and the workers, 6) the trade union trend.

Please try to insert them and reply as soon as possible.

Please turn them over to our editor** without delay, urgently. Let me know whether all the friction has been eliminated.

Yours,
Lenin

Written December 4, 1910
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

213

TO THE BUREAU ABROAD OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

To the C.C. Bureau Abroad

5.XII. 10

Dear Comrades,

We have been approached by a member of the S.D. Duma group*** who has stated categorically that without another

* See "Differences in the European Labour Movement" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 347-52).—*Ed.*

** V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich.—*Ed.*

*** N. G. Poletayev.—*Ed.*

thousand the paper cannot be launched.[193] We therefore most insistently urge you to send the other thousand *at once.*

*N. Lenin**

Written in Paris

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

214
TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Dear V. D.,

I received a letter from you some time ago but unfortunately I could not obtain any idea from it concerning the matter of the remittance we are interested in. I have heard you are very displeased about something. What? How? Why? Have things been settled? I don't know anything. It is very, very depressing. And we must make *utmost* haste, for the hostile elements are threatening us from the rear. We have done what we could here to secure what was lacking. A benefactor turned up. We are sending it. Please see to it that we are not left without information. You must let us know at least once a week about the receipt of remittances, etc. For all we hear now are some rumours about dissatisfaction, and nothing else. Some people seem to have invented some sort of distinction between liquidationism and the liquidators. What sophistry! We want neither the one nor the other. But of course you yourselves will give them a rebuff. Greetings to V. M. My wife sends you her very best regards.

Starik

Written December 9, 1910
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

* The letter was also signed by G. Y. Zinoviev.—*Ed.*

215

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRART*[194]

I propose:

1) printing in the Central Organ a translation of this letter at once (perhaps with some slight cuts);

2) approaching the *trade unions* (and also *trade union committees* in the different towns) of transport workers, shipbuilders, workers employed at factories making fire-arms, ammunition, guns, military supplies, etc. (and where there are no trade unions, *groups* of workers), and asking them to send the Central Organ written contributions, information, *descriptions of past strikes*, etc.;

3) publishing *at once* in brief our opinion (α) that what is in question is not an isolated act of "preventing war" (averting), but revolutionary pressure by the *masses* of the proletariat in general, and (β) that with the present state of affairs in Russia we attach the greatest importance to studying the course and conditions of the strikes *of 1905*.

Written December 17, 1910
in Paris

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

1911

216
TO KARL KAUTSKY

31.I. 11

Dear Comrade,

You have probably not forgotten that you promised an article for our journal *Mysl*. The first issue of *Mysl* has already come out (in Moscow) and it has not been confiscated. It contains, among other things, articles by Plekhanov on Tolstoy and on Italian opportunism (compared with our liquidators), my article on statistics on strikes during the Russian revolution,* Rozhkov's article on the new agrarian policy of the Russian counter-revolutionaries, etc. Issue No. 2 will be out shortly. We would be extremely grateful to you if you could write something for us—about neutrality, for instance, and against trade union neutrality. This question has again been coming up for discussion here now and perhaps you will like to dwell in somewhat greater detail on what you wrote about Legien in *Neue Zeit*. Needless to say, we shall be happy to receive any article from you on any subject.[195]

I am sending you by book-post my article against Martov and Trotsky, not for publication, but to ask your advice. Karski has already replied to Martov. You wanted to leave it to me to write the article against Trotsky. But you will see from my article that it is very difficult for me to criticise Trotsky without touching Martov. Perhaps you could advise me how to make the article suitable for *Neue Zeit*.**

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* See "Strike Statistics in Russia" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 393-421).—*Ed*.

** See "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 374-92).—*Ed*.

I should like to offer the editors of *Neue Zeit* two more articles: 1) on Russian strike statistics for 1905-07. This is probably the first time we have statistics on mass strikes (economic and political separately) for the entire period of the revolution. The opportunists (=Menshevik liquidators) are constantly accusing us Russian Bolsheviks of "romanticism" and "Blanquism". The best answer to this perhaps is dry statistics which might be not without interest for the German comrades as well. If you agree in principle, I shall send you either a detailed excerpt from my article or else the complete translation. I am only afraid that my article will be too long for *Neue Zeit*.

2) I have prepared for a Russian journal a summary of German agricultural production statistics for 1907 (the three volumes already out).* I don't know yet whether it will be printed in Russia or not. As can be seen from the German Social-Democratic press, this subject has already been discussed, but regrettably (for instance in *Vorwärts*) solely on the basis of a bourgeois treatment of the material. I have come to the conclusion that the 1907 census bears out the Marxist theory and refutes the bourgeois (including David's theory). The data on female and child labour (employed more by *peasants* owning 5-10 hectares of land than by the capitalists or by proletarian farms), for instance, seem particularly interesting to me. Here the number of working members of the family and of hired workers is given for the first time. It turns out that in the group of owners with 10-20 hectares of land the number of hired workers amounts on the average to 1.7 per farm, and the number of working members of the family, to 3.4. These are already big peasants who cannot do without wage labour.

Extremely instructive, too, is the classification of farms according to total number of workers (I break them up

* See the article "The Capitalist System of Modern Agriculture" and preparatory notes for it, "German Agrarian Statistics (1907)" and "Plan for Processing the Data of the German Agricultural Census of June 12, 1907" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 423-46, and Vol. 40, pp. 297-371, 372-75).—*Ed*.

into three main groups: 1-3, 4-5, 6 and more workers, including hired labour).

Do you think such a treatment would be of interest to German readers? If so, I would gladly write on this subject for *Neue Zeit*—only the work I have prepared is *far too* voluminous!

If the "peasant farms" (5-10, 10-20 hectares) specially prospered in the period 1895-1907, this, in my opinion, is no evidence of the success of "small-scale production". It merely testifies to the success of intensive capitalist farming and *livestock raising* in particular. The reduction in the area of the farms signifies expansion of capitalist and big-peasant livestock farming.

I trust that you are now quite well and that you will answer Quessel and Maslov yourself.

With best wishes,
Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. I am very grateful to your wife for writing to me during your illness. I wanted to write her myself but thought that instead of giving my opinion about Trotsky's article in a letter, it would be better to send my article. I am sending it not only for you, but also for your wife, as an answer to her letter.

My address: Mr. Vl. Oulianoff
4. Rue Marie Rose. 4
Paris. XIV.

Sent to Berlin

First published in part
December 31, 1928, in the
newspaper *Der Abend*

Published in full in 1964
in German in the journal
International Review of Social History, Vol. IX, Part 2

First published in Russian in 1965
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian)
Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original
Translated from the
German

217
TO A. I. RYKOV

For Comrade *Vlasov* (and also, *if he* wishes, for the Poles)

Dear Friends,

After giving thought to the *whole* agreement (resp. the formulation of a common base and line of action for all of us) arrived at in the Bureau between the P.S.D.* and both Bolshevik trends, I cannot but point to the *weakness*, the *shortcomings* of that base.[196]

The essence of the agreement is (a) to lay down a precise, clear-cut anti-*Golos* and anti-*Vperyod* line of principle, i.e., to reiterate and reaffirm struggle against both liquidationism and otzovism in absolutely concrete terms ruling out any misrepresentations and evasions (from which the Party has suffered so much);

(b) a practical "reform", i.e., such a change in the composition of *all centres* (or rather in the "factions" or "trends" represented in them) as would *guarantee* the pursuance of this line of principle.

How does this work out? Both the theoretical "line" and the practical activities are determined by the Central Committee. And its composition? In the event of a simple "ultimatum" (and a cheap, very cheap one to boot) from notorious dodgers, prevaricators, scoundrels and unprincipled bargainers (like the Bund), etc., you are "*prepared*" to set the number of members at 8. And this 8 is equivalent (as is now obvious) to *two* groups of four.

The result: neutralisation, i.e., the *complete* impotence of the C.C.!!

This is exactly what the liquidators want.

No reforms in *our* sense (i.e., as we have *all* agreed) could be *carried out* with such a composition.

It is an absurd situation: we *agree* to give the Party

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* Polish Social-Democracy.—*Ed.*

the money, *Rabochaya Gazeta*[197] and all our energies *conditionally*. On what conditions? The line of principle and the reform. Who carries out the one and the other? The C.C. And what is the guarantee that they will be carried out by the C.C.? A chance *ultimatum* presented by the enemies of Social-Democracy (such as the liquidators from the Bundist intelligentsia)!!

An agreement to *do* what the C.C. *cannot* possibly do with eight members.

That is the result.

That result is a *repetition* of the mistake made by the plenary meeting[198]: good wishes, nice words, excellent ideas—but no power to carry them into effect. Castigation of the liquidators in words and *captivity* to the liquidators in reality.

It is for you practical workers to carry out the "agreement"—you are the ones who introduced the clause concerning the eight. It is my duty, after studying the agreement carefully, to *warn* you: the liquidators will again make fools of you!

It is easy to "call oneself" a Plekhanovite (Adrianov and his ilk would *doubtless* call themselves the devil and satan if only to get *some small concession*: a title is a word, but a concession is reality).

In reality you will be getting with your eight an impotent institution shackled by the liquidators. That is the danger of which I consider it my duty specially to warn you.

If you, as practical workers, *undertake* to establish a C.C. (or rather, an *eight*) capable both of condemning the *Golos* and *Vperyod* people, and of carrying out the reform—*that is up to you*. Heartily desiring peace and accord with you, I am pledged to help you to carry out *your* plan.

But to help does not mean lulling you with "the enchantment of fine words". To help means to point to the *real* dangers which one *must* be able to avoid.

The plenary meeting of January 1910 held up the practical work of the centres *for a year* by *tying* their hands, letting them be *shackled* by the liquidators. In the spring of 1910 Inok *did not succeed* in escaping from that

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

bondage. In the beginning of 1911 you will *not be able* to either, unless you take urgent measures to carry out the agreement.

Best wishes,
N. Lenin

Written February 11, 1911
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

218
TO A. I. RYKOV

Dear Al.,

We are sending you some novelties:

1) Igor's statement (copy) submitted by him today to the Central Committee Bureau Abroad.*[199]

2) The resolution of the San Remo "group" (read Plekhanov "and his household").

Today Lieber told the C.C. Bureau Abroad that Adrianov is near Moscow and that according to his, Lieber's, information the question of whether to call the C.C. in Russia or abroad is being discussed.

In our opinion Mikhail Mironych must be sent to the Samovars** (we are trying to send him to you tomorrow, i.e., to get him to leave tomorrow. I spoke to him today and he agreed). He has a reason for finding it inconvenient to go to Russia just now, but the reason is *unimportant* and he has agreed to go to Russia also. Here is what you should do: send him *at once* with two assignments: (1) to *send* Lyubich abroad immediately; (2) to see the Samovars and persuade them to decide for abroad and leave.

It is unreasonable, absurd, mad to risk failure when in the enclosed *official* paper Igor expresses himself in favour of abroad and even promises to get *not* only Adrianov abroad, but also the "London candidates"[200] (i.e., Roman+

* Return at once *after reading* (and making a copy).

** Samovars—V. P. Nogin and G. D. Leiteisen (Lindov), members of the Russia Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee residing at the time in Tula.—*Ed.*

Adrianov, in any case two: hence the obvious and **imperative** need for Lyubich, otherwise our three will not make the majority).

Tomorrow we are sending the theses for the declaration on the liquidators and otzovists.

With best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written February 17, 1911
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

219
TO N. G. POLETAYEV

Dear Colleague,

I received your letter of February 10 about the betrayal of the person you call—Y.—.

You ask me to "announce this" to the 58 Mensheviks.[201] You must forgive me but I cannot comply with the request. I do not intend to announce anything or to have anything to do with such individuals. If you do not understand why, I shall tell you once again.

You close your letter with the words: "Don't you people in Paris realise how your squabbles affect us?"

The liquidators in Paris understand full well what they are doing. It is a pity that among you in St. Petersburg there are people who *do not understand* what they are doing and what they read. A great pity! Such people are fated always to be led by the nose. The liquidators here, i.e., the *Golos* people, put out leaflets, such as the leaflet of the 58, specially to provoke squabbles and confuse the struggle over issues of principle. We have declared (in every issue of the Central Organ and every issue of other publications* known to you and *closer* to you spatially) that we shall not tolerate the group of Mr. *Potresov*

* The newspaper *Zvezda* and the journal *Mysl*.—*Ed*.

and Co., the ideas of *Nasha Zarya*, etc., that we cannot tolerate them, but are fighting them and shall continue to fight them unrelentingly. This is a company of liquidators, enemies of Social-Democracy, and their ideas are the ideas of traitors.

The *Golos* people are unable to wage a principled struggle against this and hence the *Martovs*, *Dans*, *Axelrods* and *Martynovs* reply with scandals and blackmail. Is the leaflet of the 58 not an instance of blackmail? The leaflet of the 58 contains *false* accusations (insinuations)...,* for instance, although the Bolsheviks *absolutely* loyally liquidated after the January 1910 plenary meeting ... *everything* connected with them. Why make these accusations in the form of dark hints? The answer is: a leaflet, also printed, also put out in Paris, also originating in the *Golos* camp, only signed not by the 58 but by the "Editorial Board of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*". What is the content of this leaflet? It amounts to this: equality in the Editorial Board of the C.O. and there will be peace.[202]

One comrade writes: is this not despicable? To level criminal charges today and to write tomorrow: "Let in one more man into the Editorial Board and there will be peace." Why, that is *blackmail*!

Can people with any political experience fail to see dozens of such examples everywhere (especially in the Third Duma)? Has not the history of Menshevism given a mass of examples of such blackmail? How often "crimes" have been charged and then *forgotten* after equality or the *majority* has been gained.

As for me, I called the blackmailers blackmailers in print in May 1910 and in *Diskussionny Listok*.** If there were some who did not heed the warning, *so much the worse for them*.

—Y.— called the paper "foul".—Y.— was right. I do not know—Y.—. I do not know what sort of retraction in press he seeks, I have no idea of his views, his understanding, what he is doing. To sum up: until you learn to fight

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* Here and further, blank spaces in the text.—*Ed.*

** See "Notes of a Publicist" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 195-259). —*Ed.*

the blackmailers they will continue to frustrate your efforts with scandals, to spit in your face. If you do not like it, learn to fight and not complain.

Needless to say, we answered the blackmailers properly and will not agree to any equality with them. We completely exposed the Potresov gang for the *liquidators* they are. More, this gang is now flirting with the group that violated *after* the January 1910 plenary meeting the resolution on....* The *Golos* people are covering up ... who are "against" *Lenin-Plekhanov*. This too *we will expose*, I can assure you.

You cannot sit between two stools—either you are with the liquidators or against them. I reserve the right to publish this letter. How are things in the Editorial Board?** You must see to it that we should be represented, by yourself, if there is no one else. At any rate you are obliged to find us a representative. Why don't you return rejected articles? *Rappoport* has sent two articles but has received no reply.

A young man, short, thick-set (Jewish), with a recommendation from me, will shortly come to see you. Help him in any way you can.

As for the paper, in my opinion, you should join it yourself for the time being, so that our trend should not be left without a representative, for that would be disgraceful. For we hope they will not give up under the first pressure but will try to carry on despite the closures. All the more necessary, then, is it for you to be there. Send us *at once* the text of the platform worked out by the group for the Moscow elections.[203] Will you come here to see us at Easter? There is much to talk about. Do you know what has happened to Os. Petr.?

Written March 7 or 8, 1911

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

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* A reference evidently to the resolution adopted by the plenary meeting, "On Factional Centres" (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh i reshe-niyakh syezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK* [The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee], Part I, 1954, pp. 241-43).—*Ed.*

** Editorial Board of the newspaper *Zvezda*.—*Ed.*

220
TO A. I. RYKOV

10/III. 11

Dear Vlasov,

We are sending you (and Grigory) a copy of a letter written today by Semashko (a member of the Central Committee Bureau Abroad) to Grigory.

From this letter you will see of course that the crisis is coming to a head. The Bundists have shown their hand[204] (whether it was Makar who made them do so or the arrests in Petersburg[205] that are to blame, God only knows).

It is perfectly clear that the Bundists have understood full well the simple truth that now *everything* depends on the votes: whether the Poles+the Bundists will have one vote more or not.

The Bundists are fighting desperately to have that extra vote in the Central Committee.

So much is clear. The Bundists are *stopping at nothing* to gain that extra vote in the Central Committee by hook or by crook.

Of the *Golos* Mensheviks there already are two that are certain, the Londoners Kostrov and *Pyotr*, who was recently released (we have been informed to that effect).

The enemies, then, have fully united. The only way to save the day is to get Makar, Lindov, **Lyubich** (and if possible Vadim) out of the country at all costs, and without delay.

Somebody must be sent over for this purpose. For God's sake can't you see that by delaying the dispatch of a person you are risking *every day* the arrest of Makar, the failure of *everything*. Send Mikhail Mironych (and if he refuses, Chasovnikov from Liége, or Pyatnitsa's wife, she has the proper papers and already went once) to both Lyubich and Makar at once, without fail.

If you don't do this, you are risking throwing away the *last* chance of convening a plenary meeting and restoring the C.C. in general.

If Yudin is at loggerheads with Makar, it is possible that Makar too has seen through the manoeuvres and trickery

of the Bundists; but to see is not enough, one must know how to fight.

If Lindov *cannot* travel abroad, let Makar come *alone* (after obtaining authorisation to act for the Bureau); with Makar here we shall find a way out of the situation together with him.

Reply at once.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

221
TO A. I. RYKOV

Dear Vlasov,

It is a strange thing you are suggesting! *Such* a telegram *must not* be sent, we cannot take the risk. If you want to chance it, you could send it from Leipzig, but we do not advise you to do so.

Can money really be the hitch? Could they not have borrowed enough for a ticket to Berlin??

The delay is obviously not because of money.

The Bundist scoundrel and liquidator (Lieber) goes around saying here that he knows of some sort of hitch and some sort of trip to the Caucasus(!!?).[206]

Some more news: Kostrov and *Pyotr* have been released. Both call themselves Plekhanovites.

But we know *for certain from the plenary meeting* that both are liquidators.

You made a colossal mistake by not getting a proxy from the Samovars and now are making things worse by not sending anybody to them. Don't you see what's happening? Time is running out (the *Pravda* crowd are already electing delegates in Moscow for the conference[207]—a split is imminent). You're losing your patience. A sheer comedy.

Clearly, what we insisted on should have been done: somebody should have been sent *at once* to the Samovars.

Do so without delay, otherwise an absurd situation will develop.

After all that has happened and after what you have said we too cannot trust the Samovars and *wait*, wait for months and months. We will be *compelled* by such procrastination to break off everything, to tell the Germans *that there is no C.C.* and demand the money back *at once*.

There is nothing else left to do, and your passivity ("maybe the Samovar will budge") is to blame for everything.

All the best,
Lenin

Written in the first half of March 1911
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

222
TO A. I. RYKOV

Received your letter with the news about the call sent to M. M.

You are doing right in sending it. So far the *non*-conciliators have sent 4 (if not 6). This makes a big difference. That's one thing. Secondly, it is time to issue an ultimatum; you yourself are aware of this when you say: "one must lose all respect for the Party to drag things out endlessly." True! Right! Correct!

Only there must be no threat to withdraw from the C.C., as you propose. That would be a mistake. Don't do that.* Threaten to protest publicly against the Bureau and to show them up for a nil or even worse if they, after having placed their confidence in you and offered you their authorisation, do not go abroad *at once*.

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* If you withdraw from the C.C., it will he tantamount to deserting the field of battle, betrayal of Bolshevism at a difficult moment. You must not withdraw but send an ultimatum to Makar and, if he does not show up and yield, *fight as a member of the C.C. to get* the money *returned*.

You should invite Lyubich. It will be a mistake not to. It is ridiculous to grudge 200-300 extra rubles when it is a matter of the *finale* of the entire C.C. Lyubich is needed *precisely* so as not to be dependent on a "philistine and coward".[208] Only from your letter did I see how *base* this "philistine and coward" is. People like that should be pinned to the wall, and if they don't submit, trampled in the mud. I shall do that publicly by printing the record of our relations with the Bureau when my patience has been exhausted.

There is full clarity now. Line-up against line-up. It's either ½+1 for us and the P.S.D.*[209] or a Menshevik victory in the C.C., our withdrawal and a disgraceful split. But even if only Makar and Lyubich are brought over the situation could be saved: Plekhanov and the group *will be* for us, and we can nip the Menshevik split *in the bud*. The scoundrels would not dare in that case.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I received from a worker in Bologna. He *understood* the *Vperyod* "platform"!! But look at those *Golos* scoundrels: *Golos* agent *Volontyor*, a member of the *Party* School Commission, goes *against its* decision and carries on *agitation* against it *among the ex-ists*!![210] Now I'll expose them in the *press*.

Semashko was sent from the School Commission to Bologna. The blackguards have been caught red-handed, they won't wriggle out of it!

Return the copy of the letter.

I am enclosing a letter from Finikov (return *immediately* after reading). Tell me, am I not right in saying that a Bolshevik like this is *stronger* than a hundred "conciliators", for he has *understood* the situation whereas the latter do not want to understand it?

With a few such we shall defeat hundreds of "conciliators".

Greetings!

N. Lenin

Written in March 1911
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*

Printed from the original

* It is impossible to win in the seven. Therefore, it is necessary to hold a plenary meeting abroad; call over Makar and Lyubich and explain things to them.

223

TO NN*

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you two letters.** The first from Poletayev, the second from Negorev (Jordansky).

They are the actual editors of *Zvezda*.

They must be helped.

There is only one source—the Germans. Apply to the Vorstand*** through Pfannkuch. Ask for 5,000 marks (they'll give you 3,000). Tyszka once received money from them for *Trybuna*[211] and now is asking for the *second* time—which means he probably considers you a "competitor". Bear this in mind, try to find a *fully* reliable interpreter (we have some we know, but they are very "colonial" people) and do not fail to get some money from the Vorstand for *Zvezda*.

Tyszka goes about it this way: he asks the Vorstand through Karski. The Vorstand sends an inquiry to the Central Committee Bureau Abroad and issues the money if there are no objections. If you do not wish the Bureau Abroad to know that you are in Berlin, you must take some steps.

I am enclosing a "credential",**** in case you need it.

All the best,
Lenin

Did you get the letter with Alexandrov's letter enclosed about Lieber's report in the Central Committee Bureau Abroad?[212]

Reply as soon as you can. The matter must be cleared up finally.

Written in March 1911
Sent from Paris to Berlin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

* This letter was evidently addressed to A. I. Rykov.—*Ed.*
** Save these letters and return them to me without *fail as soon as* you are through with them.
*** Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party.—*Ed.*
**** for the Germans; I certify that you are a member of the C.C.

224

TO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE THIRD DUMA

Comrade Poletayev has forwarded to us through Lenin the plan for the publication of the report of the Social-Democratic group which the group discussed before Poletayev's departure for Berlin.

We on our part are fully in favour of the group's plan and suggest agreement on the following final terms.

We shall set up an Editorial Committee to publish the report consisting of Steklov+Semashko+Zinoviev (or Kamenev).

The committee shall undertake (1) to draft a plan for the report and to negotiate with the group for its approval; (2) to apply to the Party for money, with the group contributing *no less* than 500 rubles; (3) to do the final editing of the report (20 signatures) by (such-and-such) time.

The answer to this suggestion should come from the group as a whole.

(Signatures of Pokrovsky+Gegechkori)[213]

Written prior to April 19, 1911
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

225

TO THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU ABROAD

Dear Comrade,

The enclosed letter* is the formal result of the talks with Poletayev which I began in Berlin, on instructions from the Duma group.

With the agreement of the group, I have formed an Editorial Committee consisting of Comrades Grigory (alter-

* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

nate—Kamenev), Steklov and Alexandrov to publish the report.

Since the group has undertaken to contribute *no less than 500* rubles to cover the expenses, and the total cost of publishing the report has been estimated by us to run to 2,100-2,200 rubles, we propose that the remaining 1,600 rubles be issued from the Party ("trust") funds[214] (and placed at the disposal of the Editorial Committee), to which representatives of the Bolshevik trend are agreed.

Lenin

April 30, 1911

Written in Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from a handwritten copy

226

TO A. I. LYUBIMOV AND M. K. VLADIMIROV

Dear Comrades,

Your speeches in the Second Group on July 1, 1911, which we have already qualified as the worst repetition of the worst speeches of the Economists,[215] and your "bloc" with the Poles (the worst of the Poles) with a view to a new "*play of intrigue*", and with the *Golos* group (Leder's "withdrawal"),[216] and with Trotsky ("ten invitations"), and with the *Vperyod* group, and with the liquidators (violation of the agreement which was accepted even by Igorev) —all this has made it fully and finally clear to us that *no political and moral unity* is possible between us. Since we have hitherto consulted with you on all cardinal steps, we consider it our duty to inform you of this.

At the last meeting Mark saw fit to say: "We 'conciliators' shall withdraw from the Technical Commission and the Organising Commission if you Bolsheviks persist in pursuing a 'factional' policy."

We declare that *we shall withdraw* from the T.C. and the O.C. if you continue your policy, which we consider extremely harmful for the Party.

We shall wait for your reply—if such is necessary—until 11 a.m. on Wednesday, July 5, 1911, at Kamenev's, after which we will submit our statement to the T.C. and the O.C. and will come out against you before the Party.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

*N. Lenin**

Written July 3, 1911
in Paris

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

227

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending you the proof-sheets.**

In § "Two Parties" (especially in the end, page 86 in fine***—see separate sheet) changes are *necessary*. (1) We must not call for a break *with the conciliators*. This is quite uncalled for and incorrect. A "persuasive" tone should be adopted towards them, by no means should they be antagonised. (2) The split should be discussed with *more tact*, *always* choosing formulations to the effect that the liquidators have broken away, created and proclaimed a "complete break", and that the Party ought not to tolerate them ("and the conciliators ought not to confuse issues"), and so on.

That's how you put it mostly. But not always. Look through § "Two Parties" once again.

We shall tone down the reply to the Germans. You are right in saying it sounds rather sharp.

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* The letter was also signed by G. Y. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, N. Alexandrov (N. A. Semashko) and Kamsky (M. F. Vladimirsky).—*Ed.*

** A reference to L. B. Kamenev's pamphlet *Two Parties*. For Lenin's introduction to it see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 225-28.—*Ed.*

*** At the end.—*Ed.*

Do not fail to send in the proofs of the § on the conciliators.

All the best,
Yours,
N. Lenin

Written prior to August 2, 1911, in Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

228
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS*

September 5, 1911

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing the table showing the composition of the Duma. I have corrected it according to the official Year Book (reference book) issued by the Duma (1910, Part 2).

With fraternal greetings, dear comrade.

V. Ulyanov

Composition of the Duma (1910)

Rights		**51
Nationalists	99	**89
Octobrists		135
Group of Poles, Lithuanians, etc.		7
Polish group (Kolo)	18	**11
Progressists		39
Mohammedans		9
Constitutional-Democrats (known as Cadets)		52

* Answer to a letter from Camille Huysmans asking Lenin to correct the table showing the composition of the Third Duma.—*Ed.*
** Figure crossed out in the original.—Ed.

Trudovik group (Trudoviks)	15	*14
Social-Democrats	14	*15
Non-partisan		18
	Total	440 members

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original Translated from the French

229

TO I. FRIMOU

Dear Comrade,

Two political emigrants, Nikita Pashev and Ivan Demidovsky, worked at an airdrome in Kitil for a Mr. Cherkez. Mr. Cherkez dismissed his workers without paying them the money due them. But with Nikita Pashev things proved more complicated since he had been working on contract. Cherkez wanted to get rid of N. Pashev, knowing that Nikita and Ivan, being political emigrants, had to remain silent. He trumped up charges against Nikita Pashev, claiming that he had removed some bolts from an airplane. Nikita was detained, and Ivan probably as well. I know very well that both (Nikita Pashev and Ivan Demidovsky), being political emigrants, are incapable of anything of the kind. I would therefore ask you, dear comrade, to intercede in the case, which may lead to the extradition of our comrades. Please accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin (*Vl. Ulyanov*),
Representative of Russian Social-Democracy
in the International Socialist Bureau

Written November 4, 1911
Sent from Paris to Bucharest

First published in 1924 in the journal *Kommunist* (Odessa) No. 33

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

* Figure crossed out in the original.—*Ed.*

230

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Mr. Vl. Oulianoff. 6.
Oakley Square. London. N. W.

Cher camarade,

I am sitting in the British Museum and reading with interest Schweitzer's pamphlets of the 60s; it is wonderful how they bear out the opinion of him as an opportunist in the question of ways to unity!

I obviously will *not have the time* to do everything needed to write about this. I would therefore ask you to go (or send a *reliable* person) to the Bibliothèque Nationale without a day's delay to find out what socialist literature of the 60s they have there. The way to go about it is this: write down *all* the most important titles (exact dates and places of publication are *important*) and let them tell you what they haven't got.

Add to the enclosed list (from Bebel and Mehring and Gust. Mayer) and reply **as soon as possible.**

Yours,
N. Lenin

J. B. von Schweitzer: *Der Zeitgeist und das Christentum*. Leipzig, 1861.

Same author: *Die österreichische Spitze*. Leipzig, 1863.

Same author: *Der einzige Weg zur Einheit*. Frankfurt a/M., 1860.

Same author: *Zur deutschen Frage*. Frkf. a/M., 1862.

Written November 10, 1911
Sent to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

231

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

7/XII. 11

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing a telegram which I received today.[217] We shall publish the news in our Central Organ. I hope you will do everything possible to bring the contents of this telegram to the notice of all the parties affiliated with the International.

Yours faithfully,

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in part in 1961 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

First published in 1962 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 4

First published in full in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

1912

232
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing a letter concerning the conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

I shall be very grateful to you if you print this letter in your next circular so as to inform all the parties about our conference. I hope nothing will prevent you from doing so, all the more as the circular has not carried any official information about Russia for a long time now. I shall be much obliged if you let me know when the circular is due to come out.

The Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has elected me representative of the R.S.D.L.P. in the International Socialist Bureau.

Yours,
N. Lenin

I am enclosing a copy of an official publication of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.**

Written in March, prior to 10th, 1912
Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1963
in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

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* See V. I. Lenin, "Report to the International Socialist Bureau on the All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P." (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 503-05).—*Ed.*

** The pamphlet *All-Russia Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, 1912*, C.C. Publication, Paris.—*Ed.*

233

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

5.4. 12

Dear Citizen,

I have received your Circular No. 5. I am enclosing an official communication* which I would ask you to forward to the secretaries of all the parties duly affiliated with the International Association.

I also have, dear citizen, a request to make in regard to your introduction to Circular No. 5: would you be so kind as to explain to me a point on which I am not quite clear. The thing is this. In the second sentence of your introduction you put forward what I think is a fine principle; you say that the secretariat is duty bound to pass on (to all organisations) documents *submitted by organisations duly affiliated with the International Association*, and by members of the Bureau.... This is perfectly correct. But, dear citizen, do you not think that the first sentence of your introduction, in which you say that you are communicating to the parties affiliated with the Association a protest resolution sent, as you so kindly informed me, by Citizen Babin, clearly contradicts this principle? Does Babin represent an organisation duly affiliated with the Association, and if so, what organisation? Or perhaps Babin is a member of the Bureau? If he is, what organisation does he represent? And what organisation affiliated with the Association is responsible to the Bureau for the Paris resolution? I shall be boundlessly grateful to you, dear citizen, if you dispel my doubts.

With fraternal greetings,

N. Lenin

Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

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Translated from the French

* See "A Letter to Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau" (present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 547-50).—*Ed.*

234
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Citizen Huysmans,

I fully agree with you, and, like yourself, believe that the Bureau cannot act as a go-between in polemics. I also believe that the best and only way to prevent this is to circulate only those documents which you receive from the highest bodies of the parties represented in the Bureau and which concern these parties. I was bound to inform you of the decisions of our Party conference which reconstituted the Central Committee, which our Party did not have at the moment, and I would not of course have protested against the passing on of information emanating from another Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, but I considered it my duty to protest against the circulation of polemics between groups abroad.

You also ask what I think of your draft appeal urging the convocation of a joint conference. In my view this would not be advisable at the moment, and since I do not pretend to be impartial, I take the liberty to cite the opinion of the Poles (see *Vorwärts*). The Poles refused to take part in our conference, but they also refused to participate in the conference the Bund wants to call, declaring that it would be a conference of liquidators. It is better to wait; let us see whether the liquidators' conference will take place and what it will do.

I shall send you shortly some rather interesting documents which will give you a better idea of the state of affairs in the Russian S.D.L.P.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written in April, prior to 19th, 1912
Sent from Paris to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from a typewritten copy
Translated from the French

235
TO V. A. TER-IOANNISYAN

5/V. 12

Werte Genossin,

I do not know whether you have heard the sad news about our mutual friend who introduced me to you in Berlin—Suren Spandaryan. He has been arrested in Baku. His wife has written to his father that there is nobody to help him; she says he has nothing, not even bedding. Nobody to take him milk, etc. The father told me that he has many acquaintances in Baku and that he had written to *one* of them. Why only to one, I do not know.

Spandaryan's father lives here (Hotel Nicole, 19. Rue Pierre Nicole, 19. Paris). He looks very sick and old. His son had promised to do his best to send money to him from Baku—but couldn't do it because of the arrest. The father is now penniless and is threatened with eviction. His situation is most grievous, I would say desperate.

We helped him with a small loan. But I nevertheless decided to write to you. You probably know some of Spandaryan's friends and acquaintances in Baku and Paris. His father has on more than one occasion forgotten to address letters he has mailed. Because of this I am very much afraid that his letters will not reach Baku. Do you know anybody in Baku whom one could write to about Suren and ask to take care of him?

Furthermore, if you have mutual friends, it would be very necessary to take care of the father as well. I have heard it said that he has a rich son in Yekaterinodar. It would be a good thing if you were to write and *impress* on him that he should send enough money to enable the old man to pay his debts and leave from here.

I hope you will do whatever you can for both Spandaryans and drop me a line about it.

How are you getting on? I have been hoping to hear from you. Have you managed to look into Social-Democratic

literature? Have you become a Social-Democrat and a Bolshevik?

I wish you everything of the best.

Yours,
Lenin

Vl. Oulianoff.
4. Rue Marie Rose. *Paris*. XIV.

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

236

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

...* I am surprised not to have had a single letter from you. It is essential for us to correspond more regularly and especially for you to write more often. "Paris will run to seed," everybody used to say. This is now your responsibility, in other words, you must not allow that to happen. Get the people together at least once a week, talk to them, organise them, see Alexei daily and put some spirit into the group through him. You cannot "abandon your own" to the mercy of fate. It will not do to disorganise what has been (so far) the main centre. Remember, then, this is your responsibility!! Convene the Committee of the Organisations Abroad, instil new energy into it; while in Leipzig I heard complaints that the C.O.A. (unlike the C.B.G.A.**) was doing nothing. And it is expected to supply leaflets (*all* those put out in Paris), bulletins, letters.... Attend to this....

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in June, prior to 28th, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed*.

** Central Bureau of Groups Abroad.—*Ed*.

237

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*[218]

Dear Colleague,

Received your parcel with files of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*.* Will you please follow it up with the issues of the old *Zvezda* which I am missing (you should have a list of these issues). If you do not have the list of missing issues, let me know, and I shall send it at once.

I also received your detailed letter* concerning our co-operation. We shall try to carry out as much as we can of this extremely broad programme. But it must be underscored once again that it is absolutely impossible to carry on without:

(1) money. The office already owes 200 rubles, of which 100 rubles should have been sent by June 1, old style, and 100 rubles by June 15. The debt must be paid without delay and the money sent punctually by the stipulated dates, as agreed;

(2) it is necessary to send new *books*, works of reference, etc. Without new books it is *impossible* to carry out even one-tenth of your co-operation programme. In my previous letter I gave you a list of books and would ask you to let me know whether you can send them all.

Further, you ask in your letter "what other newspapers we should send". The list was sent you with the previous letter and I can only repeat my request that you inform me by telegram: "papers ordered"; otherwise there will be an *interruption* in the sending of articles.

We are making inquiries about Sinclair's novel in Leipzig. But that is a translation of the English. Or do you want to translate from the German *translation*?

At your service,
V. Ulyanov

---

* Your letter was postmarked June 18. But we have *not yet* received *Nevskaya Zvezda* for June *17*!! Please see to it that the papers are mailed **regularly**.

P.S. As regards the *agrarian question* in particular, we especially need *current* publications—*government* and *Zemstvo*. Print a notice without fail in the next issue that the paper would like to receive *all* publications of the kind, *promising* to publish a list of them as well as *reviews* of the most important ones.

Vl. Ulijanow. Zwierzyniec. L. 218. Oesterreich. Krakau.

P.S. The newspaper *Nevsky Golos*[219] is also badly needed (we do not have *No. 4* or *later issues*), as are *all* trade union publications. Otherwise the section you want about the struggle between labour and capital *cannot* be started.

P.P.S. I cannot but draw your attention to some most unpleasant misprints in the articles. I have just received (not from the editorial office or from St. Petersburg at all) *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 13. In the article by a "Non-Liberal Sceptic"* the word "ispolzovat"** became "ispovedovat"***!!

Yet the handwriting of the author of the article is by no means difficult to make out. More, it cannot but be familiar to the compositors and the proof-reader. Lastly, the proof-reader should have easily caught the mistake from the meaning.

It is desirable to see to it that there should be fewer errors of *this kind*.

Pravda No. 43 has just been received in five copies as promised. But I haven't got *Nos. 41* and 42. Please send five copies of each.

Written in July, not later than 6th, 1912
Sent to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

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* See V. I. Lenin, "Capitalism and 'Parliament'" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 129-31).—*Ed.*

** Use.—*Ed.*

*** Confess.—*Ed.*

238
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

We sent you *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 16 yesterday.

We too were exasperated in the extreme by No. 6 of *Nevsky Golos* and have already sent a letter of protest to *Pravda*. We are writing some more today for No. 17 of *Nevskaya Zvezda*....*

"Party candidates" *must not* be mentioned in the legal press; we can speak about them in C.C. leaflets and *Rabochaya Gazeta*.

Moving here has given us *so far*: 1) a gain of one day (closer); 2) the arrival of Abramchik (this is a secret). He is already here. It seems he will help us at the frontier. And perhaps (this is still open to question) *also* with the St. Petersburg elections; 3) the hope of arranging a *number* of meetings. For this *two*** are already on their way. If they are not arrested, this will be useful. But everything moves slowly and with one arrest after another.

As for the newspaper, this is what should be done: subscribe to *Russkiye Vedomosti*[220] for yourself (you take the *R.V.* anyway) and send it to us 4-5 days later, a couple of times a week. We shall pay for it. You can't get more out of *Pravda*, for its circulation, they say, has fallen to 30,000 and things are hard....

Send by post ... the *Vperyod* [leaflet] (I haven't got it) and all those put out in Paris. You must arrange without fail for the publication of the [C.O.A.] bulletins (modest ones for the time being) listing the Paris [leaflets] and giving a brief review of each.

You promised to get something from Yuri about Plekhanov's party report. Nothing has been received so far. Send it!!

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

** A reference evidently to Inessa Armand and G. I. Safarov.—*Ed.*

And what did Plekhanov have to say about T. and Ger—n?

Yours,
Lenin

Written July 24, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

239
TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleague,

I am sending you the article "Some Results of Six Months' Work".* You will see from the contents *why* I have sent this huge article to *Pravda*. You could run it in four successive feuilletons set up in small type. Each of the four articles could have a separate heading (for example: I. Workers' collections for the newspaper by months in 1912. II. Workers' collections for the newspaper by districts. III. Workers' collections for liquidationist and *non*-liquidationist newspapers. IV. The worker's kopek for the workers' newspaper).

I would very much like these articles, which are written exclusively for *Pravda* and **addressed to its readers,** to be published in *Pravda*. I don't think there could be any censorship trouble. I agree of course to make changes required by the censors, *but not to omit Chapter III*.

If by any chance you should reject the article for *Pravda*, and if your colleagues reject it for *Nevskaya Zvezda* (for which it is far less suited), I shall get it published in one of the journals, however much I should dislike to. At any rate, please reply as soon as possible or send the article back to me here.

Gylka sent me a letter the other day *refusing* to contribute to *Zvezda* and *Pravda* in view of the "harmful", if you please, tendencies he discerned in No. 6 of *Nevsky Golos* and Plekhanov's "withdrawal". This is not the first

* See V. I. Lenin, "The Results of Six Months' Work" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 187-202).—*Ed.*

time that this Gylka is switching over. If he should take it into his head to raise a fuss about the publication of his article (although I couldn't very well wire you his refusal!!), don't bother to answer him.

Many thanks for the separate issues of "Right" newspapers. It is extremely important for us to get such separate packages of interesting papers, which we are altogether unable to obtain except through you.

I was very glad to see in *Pravda* Y. K.'s item about *Sovremennik*.[221] You ask for a greater variety of subjects. In this respect Y. K. is valuable. The paper has no literary criticism—reviews, essays or small paragraphs. In my opinion every contributor should be valued for his own specific subject matter. Given a slightly more attentive attitude on your part, Y. K. could no doubt contribute a bigger variety of items which would greatly enliven the workers' newspaper.

Why did you kill my article on the Italian congress?* In general it wouldn't be a bad thing to inform authors about rejected articles. This is not an excessive request. To write "for the waste-paper basket", i.e., articles to be thrown out, is not very pleasant. Unpublished articles should be returned. *Any* contributor, even to a bourgeois newspaper, would demand this.

With comradely greetings,

Vl. Ulyanov

Please write *Wiener* "*Arbeiter-Zeitung*"[222] to send the exchange copy to *me* (give them my address). You wouldn't be allowed to get it anyhow. Don't forget to write!!

Written July 28 or 29, 1912
Sent from Salvator (near Cracow)
to St. Petersburg

First published in part in 1930
in *Collected Works*, Second and Third
(Russian) Ed., Vol. XVI

Published in full in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* See V. I. Lenin, "The Italian Socialist Congress" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 170-72).—*Ed*.

240
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

First of all hearty greetings to all friends, thanks for the telegram and heaps of best wishes! (Never mind the blot.) Salut, salut à vous.. Ah, I'd give a lot to hear Montégus now.

But I've gone off the "serious" key.

And there's "business" to discuss.

(1) I am enclosing our reply to the German Vorstand.* Show it to a narrow circle+the Committee of the Organisations Abroad and return.

(2) A letter from Zaks *for you*. Read it, *go into it*, reply and *return*....

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

Morozov is talking nonsense....** A young man without allegiances, at loose ends.

Ryazanov in Vienna snaps and sulks—found himself looking foolish after Plekhanov's article in *Pravda*. (I wrote a long, heart-melting letter to *Kiselyov*. I don't think anything will come of it.)

Lunacharsky writes in *Kievskaya Mysl*[223] about "scientific mysticism". Get hold of it and give him a public fatherly trouncing.

Why don't you write something *for Prosveshcheniye*?[224]

Written July 30, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* Reply "To the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party" (see present edition, Vol. 18, p. 204).—*Ed.*

** Manuscript partly damaged. Here several words are illegible.—*Ed.*

241
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

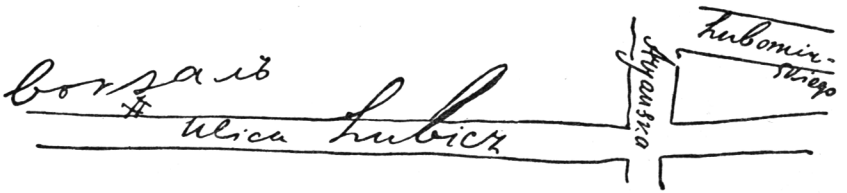
I am sending you a letter from Vera. You will see from it why we decided to *print* the reply to the Germans for Chemnitz and to print it in Leipzig.[225] The Paris order must therefore be cancelled. I hope work on it has not yet been started and the cancellation will not cause any great inconvenience.

You must get *without fail* to Chemnitz a day *or two* in advance. We shall give a credential from *Rabochaya Gazeta* to a Bolshevik here who will go there from Zakopane. He speaks German.

\# See plan

There's a serious war ahead of you in Chemnitz.

We shall move to a new flat on September 2. The new address: Ulica Lubomirskiego. 47, au premier, à gauche. (Grigory is at No. 35 in the same street.)



Write whether you are *sure* to be in Chemnitz on the 12th or 13th of September. The reply to the Germans will have to be sent to your name postlagernd* in Chemnitz.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

Peuple (Brussels) reprints from *Russkoye Slovo*[226] that a conference will soon take place *in Vienna* (sic!) of Social-Democratic organisations+the Bund+the Letts+the Poles, etc.!!!

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* Poste restante.—*Ed.*

[Drop in at the Paris group a couple of times and give them a talk. For they have been *left to their own devices*....]

P.S. If an announcement of the liquidators' conference comes out, send it over *express*.

Written in August, prior to 25th, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

242

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I received today from Trotsky an invitation to "their" conference (on August 25).[227]

So they have organised it after all!

We, of course, are not going.

We want to have the Central Organ two-thirds ready, so as to issue a reply ...* *as soon as* their announcement comes out.

We shall begin sending in copy to the C.O. tomorrow.

See to it that the material is set up quickly and proofs corrected properly.

Why doesn't Antonov (Britman) answer me? Is he in Paris? In good health?

Write when you propose to set out for Chemnitz. A paper should be prepared for the Germans in advance.

Why do you return the letters ... and don't give us an answer about the Pannekoek article....

Yours,
Lenin

Written in August, prior to 25th, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

243

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

Can you get *Neue Zeit*, the latest issues, with the Pannekoek and Kautsky articles? If not, write, and we'll send them over. It is necessary to read them before going to Chemnitz and there to look up Pannekoek and make closer contact with him: Kautsky replied to him on some cardinal issues in an extremely *opportunist* way. It is very desirable to make closer contact with the Left (especially Pannekoek, who now lends a hand in the cheap "game" played by Tyszka) and to carry on agitation among them for a *principled* rebuff to Kautsky. It'll be disgraceful if they do not revolt against *such* opportunism! Unfortunately they are short of people: Radek is practically a luminary among them....*

You ought to write *popular* articles (in the tone of *Rabochaya Gazeta*), literary criticism, for *Pravda*. If you write in the *Rabochaya Gazeta* tone ... they'll print them. Otherwise ... a bad job! Dnevnitsky has left and we are now without a literary criticism section in *Zvezda*!! and *Pravda* also needs one.

Have you got *Zavety*?[228] Can you send me Ropshin for a time? I should like to write about him for the C.O.

Are you writing for *Prosveshcheniye*? Make haste!

(I read in a German paper that there is a housing shortage in Chemnitz and that one has to apply in advance to the Wohnungsausschuß**—(Faites attention!***).)

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. And so, *after* Chemnitz, you must come to us. C'est entendu,**** *unless* ... circumstances compel us to invite

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

** Housing board.—*Ed.*

*** Take notice!—*Ed.*

**** It is decided.—*Ed.*

you here before Chemnitz. Let us know in advance whether you are going to Switzerland, when, where, and for how long.

P.P.S. I am sending Gorky's letter, part of which is of general interest. *Return it.*

Written prior to September 6, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

244

A NOTE TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE C.O.

For your information. The report of a Lettish delegate passed on by a Lett, a student in the Lettish group. The general impression, it appears, *even* of all the conciliators, is—a complete *fiasco* for the liquidators.

Write whether you received the pamphlet and what the *beginning* of the congress was like.

Yours,
Lenin

Written after September 6, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

245

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending you a copy of our reply to Müller (Albert will send the reply from Leipzig tomorrow).

Albert will also send you our reply in the form of a printed leaflet. (Postskriptum to the pamphlet *Zur gegenwärtigen Sachlage*, etc.*) *Circulate* this leaflet, as well as the

* See V. I. Lenin, "Postscript to the Pamphlet *The Present Situation in the R.S.D.L.P.*" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 219-20).—*Ed.*

pamphlet, as widely as possible. It must be impressed upon the Germans that *before* any materials (of the liquidators' conference) appear in the press and *before verification* in *open* discussion in the press, *not a single word* can be believed.

We hear from Berlin that the liquidators have met with a *fiasco*. Incidentally, Alexinsky *left* their conference and threatens *exposures*.

Write as soon as possible how things are going.

Yours,
Lenin

Postskriptum zu der Schrift *Zur gegenwärtigen Sachlage*, etc.

Vertraulich ...* *an die Delegierte des ... zum Chemnitzer Parteitag.***

Today, September 15, we received through Paris the following letter from the Vorstand which shows the German comrades most strikingly how right we were in protesting against private, unauthorised "informants" who *fear to come out openly*. The Vorstand writes on September 10:

. . . . . .

We replied to the Vorstand.

It goes without saying that the Vorstand's information is false, that it is a sheer invention by the liquidators.

We can say with certainty that this fable was given to the Vorstand by the Letts, Bundists or the Trotzky-Leute who recently held "their own" conference, which they call a Party conference, but which in reality was a conference of liquidators.

So as not to make unsubstantiated statements, so as not to quote our organisational correspondence, we shall

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

** Confidentially ... to the delegates ... to the Chemnitz Party Congress.—*Ed.*

confine ourselves to adducing only one printed document openly published in St. Petersburg. (The Vorstand would do well to cease once and for all to take things on faith.)

The St. Petersburg Marxist daily *Pravda* printed in its issue No. 102, August 28 (September 10, new style), a letter from one of the biggest factories in Kharkov specifically about the elections. The letter states clearly and plainly that the "liquidator candidates" were "not announced" and that they, the liquidators, "*deny the need for a workers' party*" (*Pravda* No. 102, p. 4, col. 1).

From this alone the German comrades can see how shamelessly the Letts, the Bund, Trotsky and sundry private "informants" are deceiving them.

It is clearly a matter of enabling the same Trotsky, the Bund, the Letts or the Caucasians to lay hands on the money on behalf of angeblichen* "organisations", whose existence neither the Vorstand nor anyone else can prove or verify.

Surely the German party with its 90 Social-Democratic newspapers can—if it does not want to put itself in an awkward position by blundering in serious matters—open a discussion on the question of the Social-Democratic Party in Russia and induce all the ... informants to come out into the open with documents bearing their signature. Russia is after all not central Africa, and the German Social-Democratic workers would be able without much difficulty to grasp the truth and at the same time certain members of the Vorstand would be relieved of the necessity of listening to private and *unverifiable* tales.

Im Auftrage des Zentralkomitees,**

Lenin

Written September 15, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Chemnitz

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* Fictitious.—*Ed.*

** On behalf of the Central Committee.—*Ed.*

246

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

Congratulations on your speech.*

Dash it all, it's disgusting: the Vorstand will give *permission* to "circulate"....**

I am sending the article I wrote for *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* with Malecki's translation.[229] I decided to send it to you when I learned that you had met Pannekoek. It would be best if you *personally* gave him the article and discussed it with him. I give you the right to make cuts and changes but bear in mind that *I do not agree to being simply* "*for Radek*".[230] If they do not want to hear out my whole statement (against Rosa and *for our Party*), then to hell with them.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Write details about Axelrod and all the rest. (We published in Leipzig a leaflet with our answer to the Vorstand. Wire or telephone Albert to let you have it all immediately if you haven't received it yet.)

The Vorstand of course will forbid it. Arrange it privately and circulate it without fail.

Written after September 17, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* Kamenev's speech at the German Social-Democratic Party Congress in Chemnitz on September 16, 1912.—*Ed.*

** Manuscript partly damaged. Several words illegible.—*Ed.*

247

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing a short article from *Leipziger Volkszeitung** No. 235 (9. X. 1912) concerning the *liquidators*' conference.

This brief article written by the Central Committee of our Party will give you an idea of that pseudo-Social-Democratic conference.

With fraternal greetings,

V. Ulyanov

Written after October 9, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Brussels

First published April 21, 1963, in *Pravda* No. 111

Printed from a typewritten copy
Translated from the French

248

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing the German translation of the manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party (Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) against war.** Be so kind as to convey the text of this manifesto to the secretaries of the parties represented in the Bureau and to the socialist press.

Accept, dear comrade, my fraternal greetings.

N. Lenin

Written in October, prior to 23rd, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

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* See "Reply to the Article of the Liquidators in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*" (*Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 54, pp. 366-68). —*Ed.*

** Appeal of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. "To All the Citizens of Russia" (see *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 22, pp. 135-39). The German translation of this document has not been found.—*Ed.*

249

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am enclosing a communication from the Warsaw Committee of the Polish Social-Democratic Party. This committee has asked me to forward to you the communication which conclusively proves that the charges against the Warsaw Committee lodged with the International Socialist Bureau by the Central Committee of the Polish Social-Democratic Party are completely false.

I would be very grateful, dear comrade, if you would bring this important document to the attention of the secretaries of all the parties represented in the Bureau.

With fraternal greetings,

N. Lenin

Written in October prior to 24th, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from a typewritten copy
Translated from the French

250

TO N. G. POLETAYEV

Dear Colleague,

I was very happy to receive one of your rare letters. Many, many thanks for the subscriptions to the journals. I can send you the book by Litvinov whenever you want it. I do not recall a book by Chistyakov. What is it about, what sort of a book is it?[231] Your hopes that I am sufficiently well informed are, alas, entirely unfounded. In fact, to me it sounds almost like mockery.... Of course I quite understand your reference to the "hurry-scurry", but a political hurry-scurry, you know, seldom takes the form of silence or reserve. As a contributor to *Pravda* on political questions I too experience the "hurry-scurry" and that is why I can-

not remain silent even when the circumstances are not at all conducive to conversation (owing to the silence of the interlocutor). In my view it would be extremely important before the elections on October 17[232] to set forth still more clearly and resolutely the basic principles of the anti-liquidationist platform, to print our own list once more in full, to warn against vacillation à la Sudakov[233] (strange, very strange that you say nothing on this score). I am sending article after article about this. Knock and it shall be opened unto you.... Is this applicable to your newspaper? It would be advisable to put out an extra sheet on these questions on Wednesday. It would cost some 100-200 rubles—but even that sum would be repaid tenfold by the success of the election campaign, for what we need are reliable and lasting friends, do not forget that. Don't stint 100-200 rubles at the decisive moment, you will economise far more in the long run.... As regards the technicalities, it is important to give some attention to curbing the chairman of the congress of representatives. I would advise consulting lawyers by telephone and writing an article about the rights of members of the congress of representatives vis-à-vis the chairman. I do not have the law at the moment (Legal Code, Vol. II, 1892 edition, articles 179-91, general gubernia institutions), in any case the lawyers ought to know and will give clear practical advice on how to file complaints against the chairman and secure one's rights. Don't grudge the expense of wiring me the election results.

N. L.

Written October 25, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a
typewritten copy
found in police records

251

TO MAXIM GORKY[234]

I had hardly posted my previous letter when I received yours about the library. The plan to collect material on the history of the revolution is magnificent. I welcome it with all my heart and wish it success.

As for Bebutov, he told me when I met him in May in Berlin that he had given the library to the Vorstand (the C.C. of the German Social-Democrats) *in such a way* that *he could not take it back*. I have his letter saying that this library was to be donated to the Social-Democratic Party when it was united, etc. I'm afraid that means there's nothing to be done. But all the same *you* ought to try to get in touch with Bebutov.

Vl. Ilyin

Written in the second half of October 1912
Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published April 21, 1960, in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 95

Printed from a typewritten copy certified by Maxim Gorky

252

TO L. B. KAMENEV

To Kamenev

Friday

Dear L. B.,

Please *hurry up* and put out the C.O.

We are annoyed with you for your silence. You didn't write from Vienna. You didn't convey a message of greetings to the Austrian congress.[235] That's no good. You didn't write from Zurich!!

In Warsaw Jagiello got in.[236] We don't know yet about Moscow.

All the best,

Yours,

*Lenin**

. . . . . .

Written November 8, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

* Manuscript partly damaged. Several words illegible.—*Ed.*

253

TO L. B. KAMENEV

10. XI.

Dear L. B.,

I have just learned that the congress in Basle will take place, *in all probability*, on *November* 24.[237] For the resolutions committee we are appointing one delegate (+one each from France, Germany, Austria and Britain+Chairman Vandervelde, 4. Rue...* XIV. Bruxelles). Keep the address.

It is possible that I shall not go and that **we shall appoint you.** So begin to prepare *at once*: collect *all* the manifestos against war, get the last issue of *Neue Zeit* (No. 6, 8. XI) where Kautsky advances purely opportunistic arguments; etc. ...[238]

Leave on receipt *of a wire* (to be in Basle one or two days before the congress opens, i.e., on 22 or 23. XI).

Put out the C.O. (8 pages) **at once**.

Write what and how much is left for the next issue (4 pages) which we shall put out *shortly*. Malinovsky got in in Moscow Gubernia.

Saluts et félicitations!

Bien à vous,

Vl. Lenin

. . . . . .

Written November 10, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

10. XI.

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

I am very grateful to you for your communication.[239] We shall try to take steps to appoint delegates to the Basle Congress.

* Manuscript partly damaged. Several words illegible.—*Ed.*

Our Party's representative in the committee to edit the draft resolution will be named at the earliest possible date.

With fraternal greetings,
N. Lenin

P.S. I must submit to the C.C. of our Party a report on the last session of the Bureau. To draw up the report I need some information. I know very well that you are extremely busy, dear comrade, and would ask you to give five or ten minutes of your time to Comrade Popov, who will call on you. The French and German newspapers (*Le Peuple*, Wiener *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung*, *Leipziger Volkszeitung* and *Vorwärts*) published very contradictory information on the last session of the I.S.B.[240]

P.P.S. I received the news of the election of deputies to the Fourth Duma from Moscow Gubernia only today. I can now report that *all the deputies* from the workers' curia (Arbeiterkurie) are *Social-Democrats*! Twelve Social-Democrats have already been elected despite the most outrageous rigging of the elections.

With fraternal greetings,
N. Lenin

Written November 10, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1963
in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian
in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
verified against the text
of the journal
Translated from the French

255

TO L. B. KAMENEV

The committee has been appointed for Saturday, 26.XI at 10 a.m. in the Burgvogtenhalle. Be there at 9.45 so as to see *Huysmans* and *Plekhanov* (I *have written* to both about

you*). No later! Better earlier so as to arrange everything.

You are the national secretary. No one but *you and Plekhanov has the right* to receive admission cards.

Since I wrote about you to Huysmans (I gave him your official name—*Kameneff*—and also your address and real name), there is no need to show your mandate.

Get Malecki at least to come as your suppléant,** but let him not take the floor *when you are there* and speak *only* on Polish questions. Mention this only to Huysmans.

I am sending two mandates for the delegation—take your choice.

A detailed letter on the tasks of the delegation, votes, and the rest has been sent to Troyanovsky for forwarding to Yuri (Bekzadian. Bolleystraße. 4. Zurich).

We cursed you roundly for your silence, but now peace!

Ask Rubanovich when you have a chance whether Plekhanov spoke about uniting with the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Yours,
Lenin

For the trip: 40 frs. per lecture+50. The Committee of the Organisations Abroad is defraying the expense.

Written November 17 in 23, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

256

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

...*** Two of our latest documents are to be sent to you in Basle from Brussels (by Popov) [and from Leipzig] (by Zagorsky): my Rapport [to the I.S.B.] on the elections

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* For letter to G. V. Plekhanov (see present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 202-03).—*Ed.*

** *Aide.—Ed.*

*** Manuscript badly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

to the Fourth Duma and "Russian Workers Against War"*... strikes and the resolution of the representatives. All this should be *circulated* in [the I.S.B. This] is important....

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. ...Prepare *in a businesslike way*. This makes an ... on all of them. Say that the *whole world* measures the strength of Social-Democracy by three tokens: 1) the number ... of votants** (in Russia, *not*; a couple of words against the legalists); 2) the socialist press; 3) socialist deputies. [Should we go by the] legal press?

How many times stronger have we (*Pravda*) been than *Luch*[241] *throughout 1912* (ten months, January-October)? (*Ad. 3*. Begin with the Third Duma) "Der Anonymus aus dem *Vorwärts*" u.s.w.*** The **worker curia** in the Fourth Duma (two words about it) is ours.

Written prior to November 20, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

257

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am furious with you for your carelessness: you did not arrange for letters from the congress!! But of that another time. You made Koba lose *most* precious time.

---

* Lenin's report, "Elections to the Fourth Duma", to the International Socialist Bureau, previously believed to be missing, was published in *Le Peuple* No. 325 on November 20, 1912. It was reprinted in 1963 in *Correspondance entre Lénine et Camille Huysmans. 1905-1914*, Paris.

"Russian Workers Against War"—evidently the appeal "To All the Citizens of Russia" issued by the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. (see *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 22, pp. 135-39).—*Ed.*

** Voters.—*Ed.*

*** A reference to Lenin's "The Anonymous Writer in *Vorwärts* and the State of Affairs in the R.S.D.L.P." (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 533-46).—*Ed.*

Now to the point. In my opinion you handled things in Basle—under the circumstances—superbly. It couldn't have been done better. There couldn't have been a *better* occasion to unmask the liquidators. (I gathered—for you "haven't finished" your letter yet!—that the I.S.B. *did not* examine *at all* the division of votes). The outcome was a tie, and this was the *best* outcome with the present balance of strength....* The question of the "nationals" was, in my opinion, *in place*, like all the three questions. In a word, as regards the main thing—félicitations les plus chaleureuses!

Why was Muranov's signature missing? For the telegram was **on Sunday!!**[242]

So far we have seen two of the six: Malinovsky and Muranov. Impression excellent.... The soil is rich, but a *great deal* of work is needed....

P.S. In my opinion, parity can be agreed to, but you must put forward one condition: *rejection* of Haase because of bias and insulting behaviour in the Bureau.

It is our legitimate right and moral duty to reject his candidacy. And politically it is clear ... hatching a malicious intrigue against us....

Written after November 25, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

258

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

Shame—shame—shame!

Not a word for *Pravda* about Basle!! What's the matter??

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*Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

You had five aides and not a single letter *from* Basle to us!!—not a single dispatch to *Pravda*!!

And why didn't you give *mandates* to the "girls" (all those who were in Basle) when you had my blank mandate?

Yours,
Lenin

Written after December 3, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

259
TO DEMYAN BEDNY

Dear Comrade,

I hasten to inform you that I received your letter of November 15, 1912. The address evidently functions well—you can continue to use it. We were greatly upset by your temporary withdrawal from *Pravda* and are very glad that you have returned. Communication with *Pravda* staff has been very unsatisfactory lately, especially after the unfortunate developments of the past few days.[243] This is very painful. We would be very pleased if, now that you have tested the address and seen that your letter has reached us, you would write more about yourself, about the present Editorial Board of *Pravda*, about how *Pravda* is run, about its opponents, about *Luch*, and so on.

What is the need for confirmation through the Editorial Board of *Pravda*? I do not understand.

Greetings and best wishes from myself and my colleague.

V. Ilyin

Written December 5, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960 in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

260
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I shall reply point by point.

1) About Haase's letter to Ryazanov. This "document" is private. We do not have it. We *cannot* refer to it. For *us* to ask Haase (if only through the I.S.B.) for an "explanation" is awkward, very awkward.

Your question whether "he (Haase) was given (by whom?) an opportunity to 'explain things'" is irrelevant.

He always had and *still has* an opportunity. He has even been *told* as much by Ryazanov. Ergo, he does not want to. And to the devil with him! But we will corner him and *all the Germans*, because now we have a document stating that the Vorstand gave money to the Letts+the Bund+the Caucasian region.

2) Your question if we "have someone better in view" is, forgive me, very strange. And stranger still: "he (Haase) at least knows something"(??) (le préjugé est plus éloigné de la vérité que l'ignorance!*) and "he is capable (?) of understanding (??) the price (???) of ideological (????) differences".... Really, this is strange. He *cannot* understand who does not *want to*. And the German Vorstand (with Haase, its head) has *demonstrated* that it does not want to.

We are not looking for anyone "better", we cannot and are not obliged to look. That is not the point. It is only necessary to reject what is deliberately "partial". The rest does not matter.

3) What is this about the "endorsement of the mandates of the opposition" in Basle? Aren't you ashamed of yourself for not having written a word about this *to this day*??

Who "endorsed"? The Russians? The Social-Democrats +the Socialist-Revolutionaries?? Who permitted them to interfere? How could the Russians interfere *without* getting the *whole* Polish delegation to cast its vote as laid down in the rules of the International? Did the *whole* Polish delegation vote or not? If it did, we *need* at any rate (be-

* Prejudice is farther from the truth than ignorance!—*Ed.*

sides your account) a *document* signed by *all* the delegates who did the "endorsing". How could you, who have been here and know how acute the problem of the opposition is, have failed to realise the importance of such a document in a matter of this kind in general, and that for us in Cracow it is doubly important??

4) If Muranov's signature was there, drop a line [please]* to Huysmans saying that there was a misprint or an omission in the reports and that you kindly ask him to make a correction in the official report, to insert Muranov, that you are referring to such-and-such a document, reminding him, etc.

5) You are going to write for the C.O. on the elections and on Basle, aren't you? As regards the elections, read Steklov's vile article in *Neue Zeit* and bear it in mind, without, of course, replying to him.

Hand in the article about Basle to the printers as quickly as you can and send us the proofs as soon as possible; for we *have to discuss the matter*: there are a number of important questions (how to write about Plekhanov? and about the Polish opposition?). In my opinion, you should make it sharply-worded. But there is no collective decision on this as yet, nor can there be without our article.

6) Honestly, L. B., I simply cannot understand you—although we have been working together so long—when you now begin making "domestic scenes" about (a) the trip to Basle, (b) delegating you (as was proposed) to the meeting.

Why such a tone!? How can you take such an attitude?? Aren't you ashamed to raise questions?

What was so bad *for the cause* about your trip to Basle? Explain, for God's sake!

How *you* can repeat the pointless whining of Yuri and the Kiev people is in-com-pre-hensible!

What was so bad *for you*? Explain!

Now, about the meeting. I must (a) drop my *daily* work for *Pravda*; (b) spend twice or three times as much time as you would; (c) spend twice or three times as much money

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* Manuscript partly damaged. The word in square brackets has been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

—*and there is no money*; (d) walk into the trap prepared by our enemies who want to make the most of my *maximum* (how else could it be the way the war is going) *irritation*??

Tell me, for God's sake, what's come over you?? Why, if *you* wrote the pamphlet, should *I* have to go??

..."It will at once make the whole thing look ridiculous"!? What does this mean?? Why did Martynov's being with you in Basle *not* make things "look *ridiculous*"?? Why do you *allow* yourself to be taken in by the old wives' tales of the Paris scandalmongers??

..."It will at once tip the scales in favour of the O.C." ...Now, really, that is being a little too naïve. *Since* the Germans are against us (and that is a fact) the "scales" have *already* tipped in favour of the O.C. How can you fail to see this?? My presence would only make things *ten times* worse, for I am *incapable* of talking peaceably (like you) either with Haase or about Haase. You know this perfectly well!

The point however is that it is *not* these "scales", i.e., in the Bureau, at the meeting, that are **seriously** decisive, it is the *real* alignment of forces that counts. We **have** 6 curia workers in the Social-Democratic Duma group on the Jagiello question—6 and 6; Malinovsky writes me today: "we have 6 curia deputies+4 liquidators+2 wavering. The Siberians have *not yet* arrived."

We shall mobilise the six representing the *proletariat of Petersburg*, *Moscow* and *the South* and *fight* the gossip and intrigues of Tyszka+Rosa+Ryazanov and others.... There you have the *serious* "scales"! And you know it! Why stage these "domestic scenes" when the fight is hard enough as it is??

"The Germans will take offence ... get angry".... This has *already* happened. And we shall *send* a protest about the Germans giving the money to the O.C. Let them get angry. They are already *involved*. We *must* inevitably fight with the Germans and *began* to do so with (a) the "Anonymus" +(b) Chemnitz. *Haase* "replied" in Chemnitz. The war *is on*, and you wax naïve: they'll get angry, they'll take offence. I don't understand you!

I am thinking of replying to the Bureau's proposals thus: (a) we shall *turn down* all the Germans for handing

the money to the Bund and the Caucasus; (b) we shall *go* to the meeting only with the expelled group of liquidators *without* the nationals; (c) preliminary condition—formal disavowal by them of the vile slander in *Luch* about the provocation in Warsaw. The motives are clear. Your opinion?

Reply more precisely, more directly, more resolutely. I shall go *nowhere*; if you carry the "scenes" to the point of refusal, I shall get Semashko delegated or....* Is *that* what you want? Once again: were you right with your "apprehensions" about Basle? or was I right that no harm was done to the *cause*, but that both the *cause* and the pocket benefited?

7) The money crisis is *serious*. We had a meeting of the C.C. with Koba.[244] It was decided to warn you *urgently*: *look* for earnings! You can count on 100 frs. monthly for about three months+from *Pravda* for what you write, but after that nothing.

Think this over and let us have your answer as soon as possible.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. From *Pravda* they write us: Alexinsky and Co. (sic!) have offered articles on condition that their articles the editors do not agree with be published.

They replied: we would be glad to have your contributions, but cannot accept such a condition, for our task now is to concentrate the forces of the anti-liquidators to combat the liquidators.

A splendid answer and perfectly correct, in my opinion.

Bear this in mind! What do Alexinsky and Co. want? (What Co.? Lunacharsky alone, or someone *else*? And who?) Is it *just* an intrigue, as I think (*Luch*, you see, is kinder, while *Pravda* turned me down, etc.), or an overture, as Grigory believes? You meet ... or see..., check up, find out what you can, and write.

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* One word illegible.—*Ed.*

About the Duma group: there is a letter (not to us, but a reliable letter) saying that the voting on cultural-national autonomy *went against* the liquidators+Chkheidze. This is the only *fact* we know of pointing to the emergence of our majority among the 12. That is all we know *so far*. As soon as we know more we shall write.

Written December 8, 1912
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

261
TO J. V. STALIN

To Vasilyev

14/XII.

Dear Friend,

We learned today that the board of the co-operative[245] is to be dissolved within a week. There is therefore very little time left. We earnestly ask you to take all steps to: 1) transfer *Dyen*[246] in good time to No. 5,[247] or at any rate make certain, concretely and with full guarantees, that the funds are in his hands. The financial crisis is terribly acute. Subscription money is now all we have. To leave this in unreliable hands would be a crime! 2) It is necessary at once to prepare (or to take those already prepared by us and sent long ago) articles and statements by the six co-operators for *Dyen* and publish them without delay. If we do not launch an energetic campaign for subscriptions, for donations, for support, we are lost. 3) Get Misha's collegium[248] to pass a resolution against No. 16,* to counteract the liquidators' resolutions. 4) See to it that the gathering of all (without exception) which has been finally decided upon is held—this is now trebly important. We are dragging Spitsa in too. 5) Get Vasilyev out as soon as possible, otherwise you won't be able to save him, and he is needed and has already accomplished the main thing.

* No. 16—Y. I. Jagiello.—*Ed.*

Please reply to this letter as soon as possible and especially about *Pravda*.* You wrote that "it smacks of a criminal act".[249] We shall be finished if we do not turn over the whole business (i.e., the publishing and the funds) to No. 5.

Best regards,
Yours,**

P.S. The trip is possible only if undertaken immediately, if passports are obtained for everybody at once, without delay, if you see to it that there should be action, not promises. If it is postponed, they will all scatter and nothing will come of it. It is extremely important to get everyone to take part simultaneously, for otherwise again there will be no decisions, no organisation, only promises, only talk.

P.P.S. You must do your best to put off the question of No. 16 until 1913, many after all do not know the *Party* documents, and without them it would be wrong for people to decide such a question.

Written December 14, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960 in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

262

TO J. V. STALIN[250]

To Vasilyev

16/XII.

Dear Friend,

We received all your letters (the last about the "tractability" of your compatriot*** regarding No. 16.... Questionable, though!) and are replying. Is it possible that our letters go astray?

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* This word is crossed out in the original and replaced with *Luch* for reasons of secrecy.—*Ed.*

** Signature illegible.—*Ed.*

*** A reference to N. S. Chkheidze.—*Ed.*

1) For goodness' sake, take the most energetic steps to get W.* away from Krass and turn it over legally to Muranov, No. 5, and particularly to take the funds and the subscription money. Without this we are lost. Besides to allow the abuses to go on would be criminal.

2) Arrange a meeting over there of all six before they have time to scatter. There is plenty of time now; they will manage to do everything after the meeting as well.

3) Be sure to get the six to publish a statement in W. (even the five, at a pinch; we cannot delay any longer and wait).

4) Impress it finally and seriously upon Shibayev** and all his colleagues that they must write here twice a week and correspond conscientiously. Without this *it is impossible* to work together.

5) The same applies to Vetrov. He has not written once, and he could easily have sent even the text of the liquidators' declaration. This is inexcusable.

6) Did you get the draft resolutions for Misha's collegium? Do your level best to get them adopted.

The letters were sent mainly to the bank address. The draft leaflet, to the other, Shibayev address. Reply at once, if only in a few words, to acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Greetings

P.S. Just learned of the defeat.

You must get Misha's collegium to adopt a resolution *against* (the one No. 3 had), with the addition that the decision of the Duma group is a decision of seven semi-Party people, and circulate it in the districts. If even the base resolution of the 7 Mensheviks for Jagiello (and for the Bund) does not finally impel No. 6 to join us, the five must speak out in W. and speak out very *sharply*.

If the resolution about Jagiello was adopted under such circumstances as Rusanov's not yet having arrived or there

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* A reference to *Pravda*.—*Ed*.

** Evidently a reference to A. Y. Badayev.—*Ed*.

being no certainty about his not being a Social-Democrat, then the 7 simply fooled the 6, picked their pockets. In Rusanov's place, on arriving later, I would not have joined the Social-Democratic Duma group and would have raised a terrific row.

But if it was known that Rusanov was not a Social-Democrat, then it was wrong to accept the base resolution without a protest.

At *any rate* I would advise the Petersburg Committee to adopt a resolution on approximately these lines (repeat the resolution which No. 3 has):

The Petersburg Committee strongly condemns the resolution of the 7 members of the Duma group who: a) did not obtain exact information about the Social-Democratic workers in Warsaw; b) made no mention in the resolution of the *protest* of all the Polish Social-Democrats against Jagiello; c) made no mention of the two (out of three) electors from the Warsaw workers; d) represented the bourgeois vote for the P.P.S. as evidence of "the growth of political consciousness among the bourgeoisie", whereas it could only be a matter of an honest man gaining by two thieves falling out; e) deduced Jagiello's Social-Democratism from his "statement" and from the bloc of a section of the Social-Democrats with a *non*-Social-Democratic party *against* the Polish Social-Democrats; f) and what is most important —drew an *incredible distinction* between "questions of the internal life of Social-Democracy" and "questions of political activity in the Duma, thereby *encouraging* the *separation* of the latter from the former".

The Petersburg Committee condemns those who have taken such an anti-Party step and thereby divorced themselves from the "internal life of Russian Social-Democracy".

Written December 16, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960 in
Istorichesky Arkhiv No. 2

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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from a
copy in Krupskaya's
handwriting

263

TO THE BOLSHEVIK DEPUTIES OF THE FOURTH DUMA*

17/XII.

Dear Friends,

We are distressed not so much by the defeat over No. 16 as by the inexcusable silence of friends (of the six or at least the five) on the matter, and the light-hearted attitude to things. For this means killing the cause, ruining everything. There is no declaration yet from the five or the six, because they have not yet broken away from the grip of dishonest people. (No. 3 says himself: it smacks of a criminal act!) Remember, for heaven's sake, that we shall all be responsible if this terrible assumption proves correct. But the cheque must, at all costs, be made out in the name of No. 3 or No. 5, the funds placed in charge of our own man** at once, or No. 5 should take over control.** A subscription campaign should be launched immediately everywhere and letters from the co-operators printed every day about this.

We still have no Duma materials, neither statistical reports (1), nor (2) the Duma bulletins, nor (3) the Cadet interpellation, (4) nor Kokovtsov's memorandum, (5) nor the Cadet or any other bills. Please exert every effort to obtain this before the Duma adjourns and send it to us as soon as possible.

Reply if only in a few words, but without delay.

Written December 17, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

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* This letter was addressed to N. I. Podvoisky.—*Ed.*

** There is an omission in the typewritten copy after this word and a note: "Words illegible."—*Ed.*

264

TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA

19/XII.

Dear Friends,

The news of the inclusion by the liquidators of the point about "cultural-national autonomy" filled us with indignation! There are limits to everything! The people who have broken up the Party now want completely to destroy the Programme as well. Even where the arch-conciliator Plekhanov draws the line, they do not. This is impossible. It cannot be tolerated, and....* Resistance and protest must be organised at all costs. We must present an ultimatum: let us speak up, [let] *them* read out this bilge, this cultural-national autonomy, etc.! Exert every effort to do this, if only through the five (better five with the Party policy than six wavering between the Party and its liquidators).

The base resolution about No. 16, the vile insertion of the cultural-national autonomy point, and the pretensions to "poke" into the newspaper question clearly show that there can be no illusions about "peace" with such people.[251] They *started* the war by these moves. It is necessary to give considered thought to this war and to wage it energetically. For this, besides the above, two steps are essential: (1) to submit written protests signed by the five threatening to appeal to the Party organisations—on all the above-mentioned and similar questions; (2) arrange a meeting here of the live or the six (this is imperative!) and finally decide on a line of action.

Approximate text...: "We, the undersigned, hereby declare that the decision of the Duma group regarding Jagiello, the resolution about him, the decision to insert the cultural-national [autonomy] point, run counter to *all* the resolutions of Party congresses to such an extent that we disclaim responsibility for these decisions, declare them

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

to be anti-Party, reserve the right to appeal to the Party organisations, and warn that by taking decisions such as these the Duma group is departing completely from the Party road."

It is clear that the seven will pursue the liquidationist path *further*.

We must make haste with the organisation; write in detail about *Dyen*. How are the finances? What about the editorial end? We wrote specially asking No. 1 or No. 3 (or both, which would be best) to bring us the books listed.

We earnestly beg you to do this. We shall cover the expenses ... pass on Falinsky's book, and we are being scolded.

2. Did No. 3 receive the money from Vienna? It is for Vetrov.

3. Is it possible somehow to find out whether Vetrov received our letters? We have written him many times at the editorial office, but have had no reply. Is it really impossible to obtain addresses for letters?

P.S. I am asked to add this: you have the right to take books from the library.... For two weeks.

Written December 19, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

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Printed from a copy in Krupskaya's handwriting

265

TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA

For Vasilyev and No. 3. Dear friends, we received your news today that the majority of the co-operative has again restored the national-cultural autonomy clause to please the Jewish nationalists and the rest of that company. What is this—a mockery of the six? Do these gentry not understand that by interpreting the Programme to please this company they are thereby releasing the minority from

submission? Why, it is a public disgrace that they should gain the upper hand by making use of one chance vote of a muddled Menshevik, or perhaps relying in this case on No. 16. We do not know what the six have done on this question

But how can we silently submit, how can No. 3 agree to read such bilge publicly (and thereby assume responsibility), how could the six (or at any rate No. 3 alone) not come out at once with a statement in *Dyen* that these gentry are making a mockery of the Programme and heading for a split—this we cannot possibly understand. For if nothing is said, the Jewish Marxists* will walk all over us tomorrow. After all, there must be some limit. And if these gentlemen think that the minority is obliged to submit even when the Programme is obviously being torn to bits, they are badly mistaken.

We sent in one general article on cultural-national autonomy before your letter came (we quoted Plekhanov: the Caucasians and the Bund are adapting socialism to nationalism). Today we are sending articles directly against the co-operative. We would ask you to see that they are printed as soon as possible, and we believe that if it is not too late you should take resolute measures to prevent changes in the Programme. It is necessary to fight, since the others are taking such steps. As regards the merging of *Vechernaya Pochta*** and *Dyen* you will all doubtless adopt the resolution, with the exception of the pro-liquidators. This of course was trickery on their part, and we shall not agree to join them in anything. Why are only four coming? We earnestly beg you to get all six to come. This is extremely important.

Written December 20, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1923 in the book *Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy" (1911-1914)*, Vol. III

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

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* The Bund.—*Ed.*

** Code name for *Luch*.—*Ed.*

266

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Cracow, December 22, 1912

Dear Citizen,

I could not understand your letter of 5. XII. 1912.[252] Either there is some misunderstanding or else there exists a resolution of the Bureau unknown to me.

Le Peuple (Brussels) wrote: "As regards representation of the Russian socialist parties in the Bureau, the situation remains unchanged" (*Le Peuple*, 30. XI. 1912). Is there *another* resolution of the Bureau? If so, I trust you will be kind enough to inform me of it.

If not, the Central Committee of our Party has the right to appoint its own representative.

Why is this "only temporary"? Of course a *new* decision of the Bureau is always possible, but in this sense *any* representation is "temporary".

Is there a Bureau resolution to the effect that both Russian Social-Democratic "factions" (?) (the January and August conferences of 1912?) are requested to come to an agreement *on the question of representation in the Bureau*?

I shall be much obliged if you would inform me of that resolution and the documents (if any) received from the "Organising Committee" of the liquidators.

With fraternal greetings,

*N. Lenin**

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

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* The original contains the following crossed-out test, written by Lenin and addressed, evidently, to I. F. Popov:

"Return after reading (and give me your opinion; incidentally, the Frenchman will perhaps correct the language) *as soon as possible* and be sure to return Huysmans's letter.

"H—s wants to arrange everything *informally*. We shall not permit him to do it."—*Ed.*

1913

267
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I received your letter and will *try* to fulfil your requests, although I can promise no success as yet.

The people are practically all here....*

The first impression (sous toutes rèserves) is *most* favourable. No "mincing" whatever. We are starting to confer today and hope to make good progress. When we have finished I shall write to you again.

They have brought a letter from Alexinsky. I am enclosing it. When you have read it (and made a copy for yourself) *be sure to return it* without delay.

Yesterday an extremely friendly letter arrived from Gorky, who appears to be utterly "charmed" at the *Vperyod* people joining *Pravda*.

He writes that he and Tikhonov will take the literary section of *Pravda*, ... and that "Machism, god-building and all that nonsense have faded out for good". Splendid!

It was a mistake of yours to undertake to write a review on Steklov. It won't ring true....

They promise to put out *Prosveshcheniye* in the middle of January.

Plekhanov wrote to *Pravda* (through Dnevnitsky), offering to write an answer to Mayevsky, "provided there is no double censorship". They replied consenting. They are await-

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed*.

ing the article. Buryanov has come to see Plekhanov. Plekhanov wrote him opposing Jagiello's admission.

An invitation has been received from the Vorstand to a Unity conference: C.C.+O.C.+Plekhanov+Duma group+P.S.D. We'll send them to the devil. Entre nous!

I'm in a hurry. Must wind up. Everyone sends you best regards, especially Malinovsky and Koba. We are terribly sorry you are not here. On the whole things seem to be *on the upgrade*. Financially *Pravda* is hard up, but we pin our hopes now on Gorky.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written January 8, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

268
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am taking advantage of a free minute to drop you a line in answer to your letter. The meeting here is in full swing—11 people are sitting in.[253] Things are going better. If I can manage it, I shall enclose the first resolution adopted today. Meanwhile, of course, show it to no one....* Party workers ... not bad: 3—St. Petersburg, 2—Moscow, 2—the South, a number of prominent legal functionaries, and so on. It is working out well. There have been conciliatory vacillations in the six, but *so far* we are coming to terms better and better with the chief conciliator among them Petrovsky. The main issue will be that of "unification". We shall settle it *probably* this way: workers from below—welcome; to the group of liquidators in *Luch*—

* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

war. At least, as regards revolutionary strikes, *such* a resolution has been adopted (unanimously).

The German Vorstand has sent in a paper....

The position is this: they make an *experiment* in the *legal* field. We're glad. But we are *extremely* cautious. *No* unification *whatever* with the group: **enter** the organisations and we shall *make an experiment*. For God's sake, keep the organisation abroad from taking *any* steps. Read the letter (better relate this part of it) to 2-3 *silent* and *serious* people: to Kamsky, Nik. Vas., but *not to everybody*, *not widely*. For God's sake hurry with the C.O. and send at least the proofs immediately!

Yours,
Lenin

Written January 10, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

269

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am writing at the meeting. It's going wonderfully. It will be no less significant than the 1912 January Conference. There will be resolutions on *all* important issues, unity *included*.

We are all terribly sorry you are not here and have not been able to come.

I am sending the 1st resolution. *For the time being* keep it a secret; only get the backing ...* some of the Bolsheviks, who can *hold their tongues*.

A happy New Year,
Yours,
Lenin

* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed*.

All the resolutions are being adopted *unanimously*.... Gigantic success!
We shall be through in 2-3 days.

Written January 12, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

270

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending you the remaining resolutions....

It has been strictly resolved that they be kept *secret* until published in the press....*

Your letter has been handed to Malinovsky.

The answer you sent to Huysmans is excellent.

Our general impression of the meeting is an excellent one. I hope yours will be the same. Let *intimates* into this, for the time being *confidentially* (Kamsky, Albert...).

Petrovsky is now ours completely—so are the six—a couple of good non-legalists have returned to Russia. A single "cloud" (*a black one*)—there is still *no* money. Complete bankruptcy.

A thousand greetings,

Yours,
Lenin

The telegram of the 30 Bolsheviks has been received. A thousand greetings and best wishes for the New Year!! From myself and from all our friends here.

Yours,
Lenin

Written not earlier than January 14, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible.—*Ed.*

271

TO I. A. PYATNITSKY

Dear Comrade Albert,

I would like to have a talk with you about the resolution of the meeting on the non-Russian organisations.* You regard it as "diplomacy"—and that is a great mistake.

In what do you see diplomacy?

First of all in the fact that we raise a hue and cry against the Executive of the P.S.D.—"and all information comes from the members of the opposition".

This is glaringly incorrect!

That *Tyszka* in the Executive evokes opposition and discontent among the P.S.D. we have known *for years*. *Everyone* who has worked with the Executive knows this.

The development of this opposition since 1910 has been in plain sight.

In the spring of 1912 Tyszka and Co. dismiss the Warsaw Committee, which they announce to be dependent on the secret political police, and set up a committee of "their own".

In the autumn elections take place. And what happens? *All* the worker-electors of Warsaw belonging to the Social-Democratic Party are found to be on the side of the *opposition*!

I checked this fact.

The names of the electors are Zalewski and Bronowski. Malinovsky saw them and verified the fact himself.

Isn't this proof enough??

On the side of the opposition we find also both the *organisations abroad* and *Lodz*.

Tyszka's policy of manoeuvring has long been heading for a fall. It is inevitable. The 1912 *January* Conference (which did not touch at all on the subject of Tyszka's (=the Executive's) split with the opposition) had pointed

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* A reference to the resolution of the Cracow meeting on the "Non-Russian Social-Democratic Organisations" (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 465-66).—*Ed*.

to this course of events which it appraised *in principle*.

The *federation of the worst type*[254] is breaking up.

A comeback (to 1907-11) is *impossible*.

This has got to be understood.

There was a similar period in Austria: a separate C.C. of the nationals; no separate C.C. of the Germans.

In Austria this did not last: from here the road leads *either* to complete federation, *or* to complete unity.

With us, too, semi-federation (1907-11) *cannot last*; no effort must be spared to make the Party workers grasp this thoroughly.

We are out for *complete* unity—*from below*—in the national question as well.

This is possible. We had and have it in the Caucasus (4 nations). We had it in 1907 in Riga (the Letts, Lithuanians and Russians) and in Vilna (Lithuanians, Letts, Poles, [Russians],* Jews)—in both *these* cities *against* the separatism of the Bund.

In Austria federation ended in separatism and breakdown of the united party.[255] With us *it would be criminal* to countenance *separatism* of the Bund and cover it up.

You see "diplomacy" (2°) in the fact that we blame the Bund and "grant almost an amnesty to the Lettish C.C., which is following the Bund".

No. You are mistaken. This is not diplomacy. The Lettish Social-Democratic workers have *always* stood for unity from below, have *always* been for *territorial* autonomy, i.e., have taken an anti-separatist, anti-nationalist stand.

This is a fact.

You cannot deny it.

The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from this is: the Lettish C.C. is a *deviation* from the *true* path on the part of one of the bodies of the revolutionary proletariat among the Lettish Social-Democrats.

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

In the Bund, on the other hand, there is no such true path, there is no proletariat, no mass organisations—nothing but a circle of intellectuals (Lieber+Movich+Vinitsky—out-and-out opportunists and *long-standing* "bosses" of the Bund) and circles of artisans.

It would be a glaring untruth to confuse the Bund with the Letts.

The "national" question in the R.S.D.L.P. has *come up for discussion*. [This is inescapable.] The breakup of the non-Russian organisations is *no* accident. And we should exert *every* effort towards explaining the matter, towards renewing the struggle of the old *Iskra*.

We are against federation in principle. We are for utilising the deplorable experience of semi-federation (1907-11). We are in favour of a campaign for unity *from below*.

The comrades who used to work among the Jewish Social-Democratic workers of Russia or who are generally familiar with the conditions, should collect [information on] the harm of Bund separatism. The Bund *wrecked* the Stockholm [resolution] (1906).[256] It united *nowhere* locally itself (the Letts never did anything like it).

Does anyone really believe that we shall forget this and allow ourselves again to be fed with empty promises??

Never! Unite in Warsaw, Lodz, Vilna, and so on, gentlemen "uniters" of the Bund!

[I would be glad] if you would show this letter to the Bolsheviks interested [in the national question and if] *work* could be started everywhere on a serious study of the question and the collection of material (*Russia*'s experience) against the Bund "separatists".

Beste Grüße,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after January 14, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

272

TO THE EDITOR OF *BREMER BÜRGER-ZEITUNG*

Dear Comrade,

I would be much obliged if you could send me the two issues of *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* in which you published a review on Rosa Luxemburg's book.* I enclose a reply coupon for 20 pfennigs.

I am very pleased to see that on the main point you come to the same conclusion as I did in the polemic with Tugan-Baranovsky and *Volkstümler* 14 years ago, namely, that the realisation of surplus-value is possible also in a "*purely* capitalist" society.** I have not yet seen Rosa Luxemburg's book, but *theoretically* you are quite correct on this point. It seems to me, though, that you have placed insufficient emphasis on a very important passage in Marx (*Capital*, Vol. II, p. 442),[257] namely, where Marx says that in analysing annually produced value, foreign trade should be entirely *discarded* (I am quoting from the Russian translation). The "dialectics" of Luxemburg seem to me (judging also from the article in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*) to be *eclecticism*. Has any other organ of the press reviewed Rosa Luxemburg's book? *Hamburger Echo*?[258] Bourgeois organs?

One more question. *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* (1912, No. 256) incorrectly reported the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in October. Either the Luxemburg clique, or a liquidator, or a scoundrel sympathising with the liquidators, misled the editors and attributed to Haase the words: "Lenin has simply misled the International."

The liquidators, naturally, repeated this lie in their newspaper (*Luch* in St. Petersburg) and added a vicious comment. The Central Committee of our Party (the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Russia) wrote to Haase. Haase

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* A reference to Rosa Luxemburg's book *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals. Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Erklärung des Imperialismus*, Berlin, 1913.—*Ed.*

** See V. I. Lenin, "A Note on the Question of Market Theory (Apropos of the Polemic of Messrs. Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov)" (present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 55-64).—*Ed.*

replied that his statement was misinterpreted. Haase's letter has now been published in our newspaper (*Pravda* in St. Petersburg).*

At the moment I would like to know whether the editors of *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* intend to withdraw or rectify the erroneous statement they have published. In this case I could send you a copy of *Haase*'s letter.

With Party greetings,
N. Lenin

My address is: Wl. Ulijanow. *47. Lubomirskiego*. Krakau.

Written in the first half of January 1913
Sent to Bremen (Germany)

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

273

TO MAXIM GORKY

21/I. 13

Dear A. M.,

The comrade who will forward this letter on to you is Troyanovsky, who now lives in Vienna. He and his wife have now energetically taken in hand *Prosveshcheniye*. He has raised a little money, and we hope that thanks to their energy and assistance we shall succeed in putting up a small Marxist journal against the renegade liquidators. I think you, too, will not refuse help for *Prosveshcheniye*.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I hope you received my long letter concerning the *Vperyod* people.** How on earth did you get yourself into

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* See Lenin's article "Better Late Than Never" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 469-70).—*Ed.*

** See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 69-72.—*Ed.*

Luch??? Not in the wake of the deputies, surely? But they simply got caught in the trap and will probably soon leave it.

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

274

TO G. M. VYAZMENSKY

Dear Comrade,

I shall try to fulfil your request and send you the Russian sheets.[259] This is rather difficult now, though, and one cannot count on too much: publishing in Russia is very poor and they are *very reluctant* to send us publications from there, although we always ask for them. There were 2-3 sheets in St. Petersburg before 9. I. 1913.

As regards Polish literature, you are mistaken in thinking that I am well placed. I have no means of approach to the P.P.S. Get them through the O.C. and the liquidators. I have no contacts with the Social-Democratic "Zarzadists"* (Rosa and Tyszka) either.

Please send me for a week or so *Izvestia* of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., 1907, both numbers—I need them badly.[260] I shall return them in due time.

I enclose the letter to Comrade Kuznetsov which you asked for.[261]

With comradely greetings,

N. Lenin

Written after January 22, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from a typewritten copy

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* Supporters of the Executive of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.—*Ed.*

275

TO THE BOLSHEVIK DEPUTIES OF THE FOURTH DUMA*

We have received a stupid and insolent letter from the editors. We are not replying. They should be kicked out.

We have not received *Luch* No. 4. Will you please send it!![262]

The absence of news about the plan for reorganising the Editorial Board is causing us great concern. What has been done for this reorganisation?[263] Why don't Vera, Fram, Andrei or Alexei write a single word? We earnestly ask them to write as quickly as possible. Reorganisation, or better still the complete expulsion of all the old ones, is absolutely essential. Absurdly conducted. They lavish praise on the Bund and *Zeit*: it's simply disgusting. They can't take the right line against *Luch*. Disgraceful the way they handle articles. Sheer stupidity about *Rabochy Golos*.[264] Simply exasperating.... We are waiting impatiently for news about all this....

What has been done about the control of funds? Who has received the subscription money? In whose hands is it? How much is it?

Written after January 25, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1924 in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 1

Printed from the original

276

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am returning the proofs. Further proofs, i.e., the resolutions, need not be sent. Issue *immediately* in the cheapest possible form (no money), i.e., *in three columns*, of a

* This letter was added to that of G. Y. Zinoviev and was addressed to N. I. Podvoisky.—*Ed.*

newspaper page size (½ or ¾ of a page), printed *on both sides*, without margins.

Title: "Meeting of the C.C. [with] ...* Party [Functionaries]"...** *to avoid a single day's delay.*

Print *3,000* copies. Ask Miron to see to it personally that the proofs be *corrected in actual practice* (they usually don't do it, and leave them uncorrected!) and generally see that it is put out quickly.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in early February 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

277
TO N. OSINSKY***

Dear Comrade,

I was very glad to get your letter of 21/I. These days there is no end of disarray and organisational chaos. All the more pleasant is it to get in touch with a comrade-in-idea. Please don't give up your intention of sending in an article in February, and in general, be sure to write from time to time. I hope you see from our newspapers and journals the general line we now have to take—against the enemy and (probably still more) against those who are vacillating. Your contributions, seeing that we share the same views, are doubly valuable in that you are close to the capitals. Please try to obtain the local manuals of

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests. Several words illegible.—*Ed.*

** See *KPSS v rezolutstyakh* ..., Part I, 1954, pp. 288-300.—*Ed.*

*** This letter is a postscript to that of Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

Zemstvo and factory statistics and similar publications. We are extremely badly off for these.

All the best....

Written February 13, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy
found in police records

278

TO N. G. POLETAYEV

For Krass

Dear Friend,

I was very glad to get your letter of February 2 and exceedingly regret that we have so far not been able to establish regular correspondence, despite a number of attempts on our part. The lack of such a correspondence gives rise to misunderstandings. I welcome your criticism of the withdrawal from *Luch*, as I welcome all criticism from Russia: the absence of criticism makes a dead thing of it all. In this case, however, your criticism is incorrect, and I simply don't know from what side to start dealing with it.[265] I shall wait until the next letter. As regards "reforms" in a certain newspaper, I must say that your absence is very regrettable. Frankly, I consider the organisation of this business by you to be a historic service, and your closing down of the "big sister"* and your "semi-absence" in the summer to be a great mistake.[266] But the past is gone and done with. We must make use of its lessons for the future. The plan for a big newspaper is excellent. I am convinced that two newspapers are needed—a big one for 5 kopeks and a small one for 1 kopek, and the present paper should be worked into "a small one". Publication of pamphlets and books of 5-10 sheets is another good idea. We are taking this up, too, energetically. We would be very, very glad if you would take this in hand and we could succeed in co-operating more systematically and effectively

* *Nevskaya Zvezda.—Ed.*

than in the spring and summer of 1912. An indispensable condition for this is a personal meeting and regular correspondence. Gorky has now started very energetically to assist *Prosveshcheniye* and turn it into a big magazine. The publication of a big newspaper and books has every chance of becoming a tremendous job of tremendous importance and usefulness. All the more important is it to have proper organisation from the outset. Experience has convinced us most fully that any attempt to reach an agreement (as you suggest) with Plekhanov, Rozhkov, etc., is hopeless. We are beginning at the other end. And we are getting better results. You know, of course, that Alexinsky and Dnevnitsky came without any agreement with us. Given correct and firm tactics, this will hold true still more in the case of a big newspaper and the publication of books. We are fully convinced of this. Firm tactics—keeping the leadership by the former group—enlistment not by contract, but as contributors—all these conditions are categorical for us. We shall find quite enough contributors, I am sure, both for a big newspaper and for books and for a big magazine. As for Bogdanov, for instance, even co-operation with him is impossible: this is clear from his new writings.[267] With Alexinsky and Dnevnitsky (Plekhanov) it is possible, and remuneration will widen this circle of contributors fivefold. I await an immediate reply: 1) whether you agree to the above or not; 2) if not, what your plan is; 3) how much money is needed; 4) how much you can raise; 5) how you define or plan your participation in the business as regards sphere of competence, etc. Answer as precisely as possible. We must act quickly. Time presses. The Moscow paper too....* A good friend of mine will call on you—you know him too. Talk things over in a businesslike, precise manner.

Written February 25, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

* This refers to the newspaper *Nash Put*.—*Ed.*

279

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

Hanecki is with me just now. He is arranging for a general protest in regard to the Basle delegation.[268]

Sign it (you and **all** the Basle *delegates*) and send it to

1) Schklowsky. Falkenweg. 9. *Bern*

2) Yuri—Bekzadian. Bolleystr. 4. Zürich

3) the Troyanovskys, and have him sign all the papers and return them here.

Yours,
Lenin

All the delegates should sign.

Written March 8, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in part in 1960 in the journal *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoria* No. 3

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

280

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending you the proofs. Question marks *galore*: I have forgotten a great deal (not surprising in ten odd years). Take this into consideration and write a *very careful* and very tactful editorial note.

You *should not* have asked Plekhanov's and Martov's consent for disclosing the names of the anonymous writers. If they refuse to give it (which they certainly will), you will be in a fix, yet *we are entitled* and **obliged** to disclose the names of the anonymous writers in the old *Iskra*; this should be done at all costs. It *should have been done* without asking consent.

Grigory and I agree to have the names disclosed in *Proletary* and *Sotsial-Demokrat*.[269]

I am sending you a page of remarks.

And so, we shall be seeing each other in the summer. Welcome. We have rented a summer place at Zakopane (4-6 hours from Cracow, Poronin station) from 1. V to 1.X; there is a room for you. The Zinovievs are near neighbours.

Bring as many books as you can, especially magazines, of which we have none here. I am enclosing a *list of what is needed*. We shall arrange by further letters for you to bring from Paris *whatever* you can manage to lay hands on.

Au revoir,

Yours,

L.

P.S.... Get together the whole polemic between Alexinsky and Lunacharsky ...* and bring it with you. What do you think about the possibility of inviting Alexinsky to the "school"**? Gr. is for, I am against. Think it over. Could you arrange a *tactful* tête-à-tête with Alexinsky for a *general* talk, *without mentioning the school for the time being*? Let us know what Lozovsky has hatched up about the strikes.

Sovremenny Mir
with Plekhanov's article on Ropshin's novel
" " " on Bogucharsky (book [on] hist. of N. Volya)
" Lyubov Axelrod's review ...
on V. Ilyin's book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and other interesting articles....

Articles on the system of land tenure and the Stolypin agrarian policy.

in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* for 1910-**1911**-1912
in *Sovremenny Mir*
in *Zavety*
Severniye Zapiski[270] } for the same years.

Written April 17, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

* Manuscript partly damaged. Here and further several words illegible. The word in square brackets has been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

** A reference to the Party school which the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. planned to organise at Poronin.—*Ed.*

281

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending you the *set* of *Proletary* (Nos. 1-20) which you asked for.

I have reread some of them. Do not forget to insert a whole chapter on the Popular Socialist liquidators (from *Two Parties*)[271] in your legal pamphlet. (*Peshekhonov*, Nos. 7 and 8 of *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, 1906—cf. *Proletary* No. 4, "Socialist-Revolutionary Mensheviks".*)

People now have forgotten *everything*. The novices know *nothing*.

Begin at the *beginning* and tell all about liquidationism (and the "**legal party**") among the Popular Socialists.

Yours,
Lenin

Written April 17, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

282

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am sending a cheque. Once it's repayable, it can't be helped, no matter how badly off we are. Arrange the lectures *immediately*, old chap, on your way down here. I got back from Leipzig today[272]: *64 marks* is money, after all! Several cities will make it much more.

Today I shall send you the Duma materials. The deputies (6) have got to be helped to *write their speeches*. Definitely. Sit down to it yourself (the Duma is opening 24.IV, *O.S.*, you must *hurry*) and put *Alexinsky* on the job. A good excuse for you—write him pneu**, as to a *Pravda*

* See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 197-206.—*Ed.*
** By pneumatic post.—*Ed.*

contributor, and arrange to meet. It is desirable (but *not obligatory*) that the speeches be sent via Cracow.

I am sending the subjects.

See to this as *quickly* and energetically as possible. Get in touch with Alexinsky....

A thousand greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

Written April 26, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

283

TO I. E. HERMAN

Dear Comrade,

We shall be living at *Poronin* till October 1 (Galizien, address: Herrn Ulianow), 4-6 hours from Cracow by the Zakopane line. Write to the new address.

Thanks for the leaflet of your C.C. which you sent me.[273] Discuss as quickly as you can and when decided let me know whether, for the purpose of *general agitation before* the congress, you wish to issue a *platform* of the Lettish Bolsheviks (or *partyists*, or *anti-liquidators*).

I think it ought to be done. If you haven't the money, it could be hectographed.

I think that special emphasis in the platform should be made on three points:

(1) The liquidators' renunciation of *revolutionary* tactics. Their appraisal of the moment is a (veiled) liberal one. This should be made clear.

(2) About the liquidators; reprint (or quote in detail *Luch* No. 101, editorial) and tell the Lettish workers the truth.

(3) The national question. Separatism and federalism of the Bundists, which have "won" the liquidators. The harm of cultural-national autonomy.

Would it not be better if your group moved *resolutions* on these questions? Or would it be better to write a *platform*? What would be more convenient for pre-congress agitation and for the election of congress delegates?

Write your opinion (and that of your friends). If a resolution or a platform is needed we could help write it. What is the time limit? When is the congress?[274]

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to May 6, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1935
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 5

Printed from the original

284
TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Sh.,

Please note my change of address. We have come out here into the country near Zakopane for a mountain air cure (we are at a height of about 700 metres) for Nad. Konst.'s goitre. I had been warned: if you neglect it it will be irreparable; take her *at once* to see Kocher in Berne, he's first-class, a celebrity.... On the one hand Kocher's a surgeon. Surgeons like to use the knife, and an operation here, I daresay, is extremely dangerous and extremely doubtful.... On the other hand people are treated with mountain air and *rest*. A "rest" is hardly practicable with us, owing to the nervous lives we lead. And this illness is caused by nerves. We tried an electricity cure for 3 weeks. Results—nil. Nothing has changed—the same bulging eyes, and swollen neck, and palpitations of the heart—all the symptoms of goitre.

Could you make inquiries concerning Kocher? I don't know *how* to go about it, and I want advice. Couldn't you go with somebody, a student or a doctor, to consult Kocher? Or do you think he would not want to talk without

seeing the patient? Or could one have a talk with him on presentation of a letter from the doctor in attendance here (that is, in Cracow)? If inquiries of a serious nature can be made at all in Berne *concerning* Kocher or *with* Kocher personally (the latter would be best of all, of course) I would be much obliged to you. Should inquiries point to the *need* of a journey to Berne, drop me a line as to Kocher's reception arrangements, when he goes away for the summer, and how we are to fix up in Berne, in some hospital (is it very expensive?) or otherwise.

All the best, and thanking you in advance for the trouble you are taking.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Absender: Wl. Ulianow. *Poronin* (Galizien).

Written May 8, 1913
Sent to Berne

First published in 1925 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 8

Printed from the original

285

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I am forwarding you Troyanovsky's letter.[275]

In my opinion, that scoundrel Semkovsky (Grigory is sending you *Kampf*) deserves an answer in a full voice *only*, *not like that* given to Steklov in *Neue Zeit*.

Write briefly but firmly and strongly about the traitors to both socialism and democracy, about the blacklegging newspaper *Luch*, about the bulk of the workers who are following the lead of *Pravda*. If the opportunist Austrians refuse to print it, we shall publish it in the report to the Vienna congress of 1914.[276] I am strongly against any writing "keyed to the meanness" of the opportunists of *Neue Zeit* or *Kampf*.

What is your opinion?

Yours,
Lenin

I am for writing to *Kampf apart from* Ryazanov. That "honest broker" will mess the thing up, complicate it by outward courtesy and inward meanness. Better go direct and get a direct reply. If Ryazanov wants to "help" (h'm, h'm), let him do so on the side....*

Written prior to May 20, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

286

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Comrade Huysmans,

For some time now Muranov has been treasurer of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. He publishes accounts of the moneys received by the group in the Social-Democratic newspapers of St. Petersburg. According to the newspapers the Russian workers, since the beginning of the general strike in Belgium, have been making collections "for the Belgian workers".[277] For instance, Nos. 101, 102, 109 and 116 of *Pravda* publish accounts over the signature of Muranov, who has received about 500 rubles for the Belgian workers collected among Russian workers all over Russia. I have no doubt that the 800+700 francs received by you were donated by the Russian workers for the Belgian workers. I shall write to Muranov, and if these sums are of a different designation (which is most unlikely) I shall let you know.

[Variant of the letter**]

Most likely the 1,500 francs referred to were collected by the Russian workers *for the Belgian workers*. Such collections have been made since the beginning of the general strike in Belgium. The lists are published in our Social-

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* Manuscript partly damaged. Several words illegible.—*Ed.*

** The text printed below was written in the margin of the letter.—*Ed.*

Democratic newspapers over the signature of *Muranov*, who is at present treasurer of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. I shall write to Muranov and ask him to clear up this point.

[*Record of donations for the Belgian workers**]

Collections for the Belgians.

1.500 frs. = about 600 rubles.

Pravda	No. 116	36.30	42.10
		5.80	
	No. 109	24.60	136.99
		18	
		1.60	
		16.45	
		53.24	
		1.40	
		7.25	
		6.30	
		8.15	
	No. 102	132.16	291.99
(Sat. 4.V.1913)	No. 101	159.83	
			471.08

Written after June 4, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Brussels

First published in 1960
in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

287

TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS

Dear Comrade,

I sent the draft platform to Herman in Berlin yesterday.**

The extract from Berzin's article,[278] which you have sent me, shows that he is a very stupid conciliator. You must rally around you people who are steadfast and who

* This is written in Russian on the back of the letter.—*Ed.*

** See V. I. Lenin, "Draft Platform for the Fourth Congress of Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area" (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 110-18).—*Ed.*

understand what's what, but men like Berzin *virtually* help *the liquidators*. They are servants of the liquidators.

Send me a translation (into Russian or German, whichever you find easiest) of Berzin's *whole* article.

Berzin should be given a *detailed* and *sharp* reply.

Regards!

Yours,

Lenin

Having only a short excerpt from you, all I can say against Berzin for the time being is this:

Berzin tries to present the matter as if the "Bolsheviks", or rather the 1912 January Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., are effecting a split by ignoring the Stockholm decision. Berzin shows by this that he is simply an *ignoramus*. He *does not know* what the Stockholm decision is about.

The Stockholm Congress did *not* accept federation. It accepted *an agreement* with the non-Russians (that is, the Poles, Letts and the Bund).[279]

That agreement called for union of non-Russians locally. Why does Berzin side-step this? Through ignorance or to cover up the liquidators?

Proof—the decision of the *Party* at the *1908* December Conference (i.e., two and a half years after Stockholm).

This decision reads (see p. 46 of the pamphlet *All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. of December 1908*):

(§1) "The Conference directs the C.C. to take steps towards effecting union of the *local* organisations ... wherever this, *despite the decision of the Stockholm Congress*, has not yet been done",

(§2) "amalgamation should be based on the principle of *unity*". The Conference "*strongly* declares *against* amalgamation being based on the principle of *federalism*".[280]

And Berzin, after this, has the impudence to assure us that the Stockholm Congress accepted federation!!

Berzin is distorting the facts!

It is the Bundists who did *not* carry out the decision of the Congress and the Party, since they *did not effect unity*, but effected federation *against the decision of the Party*.

The January Conference condemns the Bundists and con-

demns federation.[281] If the Lettish C.C. did not attend the January Conference (*against* the will of the Conference that *invited* it) it is *its own* fault.

Berzin defends liquidator splitters and Bundists, he defends *federation* **against the Party.**

Written prior to June 7, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1935
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 5

Printed from the original

288
TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS

7/VI. 1913

Dear Comrade,

I have received and read the translation of Berzin's *whole* article.

It is a *good* article. The only bad thing about it is that passage that roused my ire. But I asked you *right away* to send me the *whole* article, thus showing that I considered it necessary to read it *as a whole*. While scolding Berzin for part of his article, I asked you to send me the *whole* article. It follows from this that you were rather *hasty* in forwarding to Berzin my angry comment on this part of his article.

Berzin has written me a letter in which he says that I was probably ill-informed. (Naturally, one *cannot* be well informed of a *whole* article from just *one* part of it!)

Berzin's whole article convinces me that *he cannot be put on a par with Braun*. Berzin's article, I repeat, is a *good* article; it leads one to think that the difference of opinion between us (concerning appraisal of the Stockholm decision, etc.) does not involve any basic principles. It is hardly worth beginning an immediate discussion of this difference in the press. It looks as if Berzin is coming with us.

If you have already sent a reply (for the press) to Berzin, I would advise you to *hold it up* and send it to me: we shall talk it over.

Let me know as soon as you can what you have done with my draft of a platform.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

289

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

I forgot to add that I have not written and am not writing to *Prosveshcheniye* about the meeting with the liberals.

Write something on this subject. Play it up properly. Something well-documented, with a slogan. Try your best!

Yours,
V. U.

Written June 8, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

290

TO THE GROUP OF BOLSHEVIK MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE METALWORKERS' TRADE UNION

Dear Friends,

We received both letters, thanks. We shall gladly give whatever help we can. It is not worth writing special instructions. In a day or two we shall publish a series of articles on this subject by Gr. Try and get it reprinted in *Metallist*. We shall write for *Metallist*, too, as and when

we can: You must get them to pay author's fees—we shall then widen the circle of contributors at once. Apparently, in a day or two, there will be another decisive meeting. We learn from letters from our people that the liquidators are gathering all their forces to give decisive battle; our people, of course, are not dawdling and are leaving nothing to chance. The matter is extremely important and grave. You must fight hard to keep all you have won. We are with you in this struggle heart and soul. Why did you allow a liquidator to get in as secretary?[282] And what's that affair about the insurance committee? We await your letters. Let us know always what we have to write about there. Keep us informed. We earnestly wish you success.

Written June 16, 1913
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

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TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleagues,

I received the issues of the enlarged *Pravda* only today, 16.VI. 1913, and hasten to congratulate the editorial staff and contributors. I wish you every success. The important thing now, in my opinion, is not to forget that we must *fight to win 100,000* readers. For this we must (1) have a small, one-kopek, extremely popular Sunday supplement. Write without fail, giving your opinion on this, and also *information* on the estimates: i.e., how much extra money the enlarged format has *taken*. And what the monthly expenses *now* are, *how much* more than previously. The *great* (and sole) danger for *Pravda* now is the loss of the *broad* readership, loss of a position to fight for it.

This is the first business point, and I would ask you earnestly to acquaint the publisher with *all* the business points and kindly let me have your answer.

(2) On the question of the 7-hour day for postal employees, etc., the editors have made an obvious mistake. We

are all prone to make mistakes, and there is nothing particularly wrong in that. But, *in persisting* in their mistake, the editors, for a *long time to come*, if not for always, are "leaving a thorn", marring their reputation and position both in Russia and in Europe. I was very pleased to see from the secretary's letter that *not* all the members of the Editorial Board stood by the mistake. I earnestly advise you to re-examine the question and take a different stand *in print* (by publishing article by G. Z. unsigned, *in the name of the editors*). Two lines would suffice: "Having re-examined the matter, the editors have come to this conclusion"—followed by G. Z.'s article. Or: "Having re-examined the matter at a fuller meeting of the Editorial Board and contributors". This is worse *than simply* "**having re-examined**".[283]

Let the liars from *Luch* dance a cancan for *once* over this rectification—only *false* shame can prevent it being made. It would be 1,000 times worse if *Luch* were *forever* able to point to this error. An error rectified is an error no more. Unrectified it becomes a festering sore. In such cases one must have the courage to have it operated on at once. It won't be very pleasant, failing this, to have a number of *Pravda* friends—both individual writers and *organs of the press*—dissociating themselves from *Pravda*'s stand.

Will you please discuss all this and drop me a line without delay.

(3) As regards Y. K. I have already written once. His article on Alexeyenko is excellent. The author, of course, can give such articles regularly. But you do not pay him—it's a disgrace!! He writes me that he is going to stop writing. You couldn't imagine, I trust, that the enlarged format would involve *extra* expenses on paper and printing *alone*. Naturally, you calculated on an unavoidable increase of expenditure *on the literary side* too. Y. K. should top the list. He has nothing else to live on now. We *cannot afford* to lose such a contributor to both *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*. I therefore advise you most strongly to immediately adopt a decision to pay Y. K—v 75 (seventy-five) rubles a month. This is the minimum for a regular contributor to both newspaper and journal; don't forget the literary criticism section, too, which always

leaves much to be desired and without which a "big" newspaper is impossible.

Will you please give me your reply on this immediately. I have a letter from Y. K. in the tone of an ultimatum, and I consider it my duty to warn the editors and publisher of *Pravda* that to run an enlarged paper without the services of such a contributor is a thing I don't know who can think of.

(4) Vitimsky's article in No. 123 is a very felicitous one in my opinion. I congratulate the author. As for *Stal*, I think it ought to be reprinted: it's good![284]

[I am enclosing a reply to Vitimsky,* which, I think, you ought to read (I am not sure whether Vitimsky's letter is a *personal* one; I don't think it is).]

(5) Alexinsky's letter concerning "Controversial Issues"** has been lying in the editorial office for a *month*, we have been told. I cannot understand this attitude!! The editors, apparently, *do not know* the position, *do not know* the history of the *Vperyod* group, and have fallen *into an error* with Mr. *Bogdanov* (about this separately). Why could not Alexinsky's letter have been forwarded to us here?? This is necessary in order to discuss the *one and only* Vperyodist who had the sense to revolt against the vile empirio-monism and similar abominations which disgrace the proletarian party. In publishing Bogdanov's mendacious letters,[285] the editors have *made it difficult* to arrange a general discussion regarding Alexinsky: his letter, too, may be worthless, but we *have to talk it over*. For that purpose we ask you to send his letter on to us as quickly as possible, and generally send such things to us.

(6) In regard to the Bogdanov incident I am sending a separate letter to the editors and publisher of *Pravda*.*** This question is extremely serious. I am loath to come out against the editors of *Pravda* in print—we have worked together too long—but for me to support otzovism is a sin *a 100* times worse than supporting liquidationism—not

* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 170-72.—*Ed.*

** Ibid., pp. 147-69.—*Ed.*

*** See V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Mr. Bogdanov and the *Vperyod* Group (For the Editors of *Pravda*)" (present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 173-74).—*Ed.*

only worse, but more dishonest. Frankly, I would be obliged to come out in print too against such support, which has become clear through publication of Mr. Bogdanov's letter. If this is a slip, let's rectify it. If it is not, we shall fight.

Send us Alexinsky's letter. Very important. Alexinsky is talking friendly, and you ... respond with Bogdanov!!

(7) I have received the money for April. That for *May* should be sent. Please do not delay it. (I need money badly for my wife's treatment, for an operation.)

At your service,
V. I.

I am very much afraid that you may have alienated Plekhanov!! Potresov lies and flings mud. To silence Plekhanov?? This would be an irretrievable error.[286]

Thanks very much for the promise to send the missing Nos. of *Pravda* and *Luch*. Only you mistakenly mentioned once a different number instead of *No. 8* (number eight) for 1912 (nineteen twelve). Will you please send me this No. 8. It was *returned* from under arrest to the editorial office in 180 copies.

Written June 16, 1913
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

292
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear L. B.,

Before we quarrel (which I hope we shall not)———I am joking—over "a special and unpleasant" cause, let us chat about something else.

I am enclosing a letter from the I.S.B. Will the C.O.A. undertake it or not? If they do, let them inform me in a *formal way*. If not, return the letter.

Tell the C.O.A.: a gendarmes' report has been stolen (or otherwise obtained), saying that a man named *Polonsky*, who left Russia legally, is to be arrested on his return.

If possible, let the C.O.A. notify everybody and try to find Polonsky. I know nothing more.

I wrote to *Pravda* about Alexinsky and asked them to send me his letter.* In regard to Bogdanov's lie, I wrote a furious letter with an ultimatum that it be published. We shall see. Otherwise I shall go to *Prosveshcheniye*. ((I wrote to *Prosveshcheniye* about your article too: *I am wholly for it*—re the meeting of liberals and *Pravda* with *Luch*.))

With regard to Alexinsky I advise putting the question straightforwardly and honestly, in a comradely way. You are going to consult *against* Lunacharsky? Bon! Mais alors de deux choses une**: *either* you revolt in print **both** against the philosophical (c'est déjà fait***) and the **otzovist** wing of *Vperyod* and you declare that there were both a philosophically reactionary and a politically *anarchistic* tendency in this group. I (Alexinsky) am glad to be rid of both.

In that case we can accept an honest bloc. With old squabbles forgotten, we shall *welcome* a contributor (a 100 times *less* valuable than Plekhanov) to both *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*.

Or you are shuffling? In that case go alone. You will be a *casual* contributor, and we wash our hands.

No diplomacy. Speak straight out. That is essential.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Some time after the 20th I am going to *Berne* with N. K. I shall be there on 27.VI. There will probably be an operation.

P.S. Huysmans named the Polish delegates of the opposition without mentioning that they were Poles!!! And

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* See previous letter.—*Ed*.

** Good! But then either the one or the other.—*Ed*.

*** That has already been done.—*Ed*.

he has listed you (+me+Plekhanov!!) as representatives on the I.S.B. (The latest *Bulletin*![287])

P.P.S. I had already written to *Pravda* about your fee.* Today I am writing about the 75 rubles, as per Grigory's letter.

Written June 16, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

293

TO MAXIM GORKY

Dear A. M.,

I wrote you from Cracow ever so long ago, but no reply.

A letter has arrived today from Russia, from Odessa, saying that *Stark* (?) (from Capri) is surprised I did not tell the man from Odessa what I had learned from Stark and *from you* (!) about the Odessa Bolshevik newspaper!!

What is this misunderstanding, where does it come from?? I told the man from Odessa that *you* had been writing me about a Bolshevik Odessa paper of which I knew *nothing*.** I still know nothing. The man from Odessa writes that "Malyantovich junior" is a participant there. This is the first I hear of it. What Malyantovich is that? Nikitich's?[288] (personally I don't know a single Malyantovich). The lawyer in Moscow or somebody else?

Write what you know about it. This misunderstanding has to be cleared up.

I have moved to *Poronin* (near Zakopane) for the summer for my wife's health. I am going to Berne with her round about 27.VI. 1913 for an operation. My address is: *Poronin* (Galizien). Austria.

I shall be in Berne for 2-3 weeks. You can address your letters to me there: Herrn Schklowsky. 9. Falkenweg. 9. *Bern* (for Lenin).

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* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

** The name of the newspaper has not been established.—*Ed.*

How are you getting on? Has your health improved since the spring? I wish you with all my heart to get better and have a good rest.

Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to June 22, 1913
Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Printed from the original

294
TO THE EDITORS OF *PRAVDA*

Dear Colleagues,

Will you please send me here, to Berne, my fee for May (also for June) (100 r.) to the following address:

Herrn *Ulianow*. 4. Gesellschaftsstraße. 4. *Switzerland*. *Bern*. Schweiz.

I shall have to stay here for about a month, as my wife is going to have an operation. I need the money badly.

I hope in a few days to arrange contributions to *Pravda* from here too.

As regards my article against Bogdanov, I am very much surprised that the editors evade the *real* issue: Bogdanov has misled *them*, and through them, 40,000 readers! How can one put up with this?? I agree to throw out the word "mister", and leave *simply* "Bogdanov".* This ought to satisfy you.

Regards,
V. Ilyin

Written in June, not earlier than 25th, 1913
Sent to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 173-74.—*Ed.*

295

TO L. B. KAMENEV

29/VI. 1913

Dear L. B.,

I received the C.O. and letter. Thanks very much.

Kocher is a great bother—capricious. He still hasn't received us. We shall have to wait.

Redouble your efforts in regard to *Pravda* if possible. *Miron has been taken. We're short-handed.* I cannot write now.

Good news from St. Petersburg about the P.C. and the Metalworkers' Union, also about prospects for the school: *promised* by the six. Samoilov is due in Zakopane in 10 days. Plekhanov is in Paris, they say. See him if you can, it's extremely important. I wrote to him (in strictest secrecy—*only* to him personally) about the school and invited him to come.* He keeps silent, the slyboots, Ignatius Loyola, the master shuffler. All the worse for him. We shall have a school. Gorky has as good as consented.

Au revoir!

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Best regards is to all our Paris friends.

P.S. We pin great hopes on Tulyakov. Less on the others (of his group). They thirst for "learning" and demand Plekhanov. He'd be a fool not to go.

There are rumours here that Plekhanov is going to Beatenberg round about the 10th of July. Have you heard anything about this in Paris?

There's *no need* to tell Alexinsky about the school for the time being. We still have time to do that *if* need be. It will not be until August.

Sent from Berne to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 103-04.—*Ed.*

296

TO LYDIA KNIPOVICH

Dear Lydia Mikhailovna,

I am sending you a postcard I have bought for you with a plan of Berne and a note of the necessary addresses.

I strongly advise you to go to Berne: you must receive treatment, and *Kocher is the only one* who can cure you. I have made inquiries of every kind, looked up medical literature (a big book by the son, Albert Kocher, on goitre), consulted physicians in Berne, and I speak from experience.

Write to Professor Kocher in September asking him to make a definite appointment (and mentioning that you dispose *only* of such-and-such a sum, otherwise you'll have to face the unpleasant prospect of haggling with the tight-fisted Frau Professor). He will answer, fixing a *date* when he can receive you. Then you can start out. Life in Berne is cheap. We'll give you introductions to Shklovsky and Shenderovich—they will help you. In a few months you will forget that you were an invalid.

All the best. We shall be seeing you soon.

Yours,
V. I.

Written between August 5 and 7, 1913
Sent from Munich to Simferopol

First published in 1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 2

Printed from the original

297

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Comrade,

You have written the wrong thing to Shklovsky. What was needed was **how** to find the person, and not a biography. And you did not give Shklovsky your address. In executing an important assignment you should be more care-

ful, otherwise you will be a 100 times to blame for failure to find an important person to assist the cause.

Please rectify the mistake *at once*.[289]

Yours,
Lenin

Written August 21, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

298

TO THE EDITORS OF *SEVERNAYA PRAVDA*[290]

Dear Colleagues,

Yesterday I sent to *Prosveshcheniye* a long article "How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism".* If *Severnaya Pravda* is still coming out I suggest publishing this article in six feuilletons, one section per feuilleton, the manuscript, however, to be preserved and returned immediately to *Prosveshcheniye*.

I repeat, I cannot work without seeing the newspapers. A thousand requests—and still you do not send either *Rabochaya Pravda*[291] and *Zhivaya Zhizn*[292] (sets), or *Severnaya Pravda* and *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*.[293] This used to be done before.

Why publish daily, I don't understand. I advise changing over to a weekly issue. What is the daily loss? What is the circulation?

Greetings and best wishes!

Yours,
Lenin

The promised and *long-earned* fee from *Pravda* has *not* been received! This is becoming insulting!!

Written after August 21, 1913
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

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* See present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 394-416.—*Ed.*

299
TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Comrade,

Please send me *immediately all* the issues of *Severnaya Pravda* (except No. 1) and *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*.

I have not seen *anything*!!!

Ask Avel to send them to me daily by book-post from St. Petersburg, wrapped up in a couple of bourgeois newspapers of a discreetly moderate and exceedingly quiet trend. Pending a reply from Avel, send me, *please* (when done with), *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Severnaya Pravda*, and *Nash Put*, Moscow issue.[294]

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. A slight misunderstanding: you have not given Shklovsky *your* address for corresponding with you and getting information from you.

Abs.: Ulianow. Poronin (Galizien).

Sent to Stuttgart

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

300
TO JOHANN DIETZ

Poronin (Galizien), October 3, 1913

Dear Comrade,

As a member of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*, which, ten years ago, you rendered such valuable service, and as a representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which will never forget the fraternal assistance you gave it during this vital period of its upbuilding, I hasten to congratulate you most heartily on my own behalf and on behalf of the Central Committee of the

Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, on the occasion of your seventieth birthday.

I wish you long years of work for the benefit of international Marxism.

With Party greetings,
N. Lenin (*Vl. Ulyanov*)

Wl. Ulianow. Poronin (Galizien).

Sent to Stuttgart
First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*
Printed from the original

301

TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDA*[295]

Dear Colleagues,

I have just read No. 8 and cannot help expressing my surprise at your publishing *such* an article as "A Meeting of Marxists",[296] etc.!! To my mind this was extremely unwise, and if the author, for obvious reasons, was "carried away", you, on the spot, should have realised the impossibility of printing this article. For God's sake avoid such carelessness: in this way you are giving the *very devil* of assistance to all our enemies.

It is *necessary to reprint* (gradually) from No. 8 the articles of Petrovsky and of the former conciliator.[297]

Best regards,
V. I.

I earnestly request you to change my address: I have written and asked, but it doesn't help!!

Ulianow. 51. Ulica Lubomirskiego. *Kraków*.

Written in October, not earlier than 27th, 1913
Sent to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*
Printed from the original

302

TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*

A letter to the Editors

Dear Comrade Editors,

Allow me, in the columns of your newspaper, to announce our reply to the many people from the Far North, the West, East and other places, who have written to us for information about the liquidators' "campaign" against the "insurance" expert, Comrade **X**.

The liquidators accused him of duplicity, of serving both the employers and the workers.[298]

What does the *organisation* do in the case of such accusations?

It calls together representatives of different bodies serving the labour movement and authorises them to investigate the matter. That is what it did. The *findings* of the committee of representatives from *five* bodies (1. the Editorial Board of *Pravda*; 2. the Editorial Board of *Prosveshcheniye*; 3. the Editorial Board of the Polish Marxist organ; 4. the six Social-Democratic deputies in the Duma; 5. the Chairman of the Metalworkers' Union) were published in No. 12 of *Za Pravdu* for October 17.*

The committee found.

— — that *the allegation of the liquidators* "*is untrue*";

— — that X., *having given up working for the employers*, thereby fulfilled his duty.

In the previous issue (No. 11 of *Za Pravdu* for October 16) A. Vitimsky made it amply clear that X. was "guilty" only of leaving the employers to serve the labour movement. Vitimsky added that he had communicated to the secretary of *Za Pravdu* the *names of the liquidators* working as *secretaries of employers' bodies*.**

And what did the liquidators reply? They made no attempt to deny either Vitimsky's statement or the fact that X. had given up working for the employers.

Nor did they attempt to form any kind of committee

* This refers to the article (unsigned) "Liars!"—*Ed*.

** This refers to the article "On 'Criminals'" by A. Vitimsky (M. S. Olminsky).—*Ed*.

from among "*their own*" seven deputies, or from any trade union, or from any "leading body" of Letts, Jews or Caucasians.

They did nothing of the kind!

People devoted to the organisation set up a committee, investigate the matter and adopt a decision.

The liberal hacks of *Novaya Rabochaya*(??) *Gazeta*, who are independent of the workers' organisations, are continuing their campaign of vicious lies and slander!! They are trying to fool simpletons and ignoramuses by accusing X. of "duplicity" on the grounds that he secretly *began*, under a pseudonym, to help the workers, though he *had not yet given up* his job for the employers!!*

Clearly! the workers are turning away with disgust from these contemptible anonymous slanderers from the liquidators' rag of a newspaper, which is supported by the bourgeoisie.

But that is not enough. Turning away is not enough. A shameless smear campaign against a person is an *old* device of the liquidators, who are out to *destroy* the organisations of the workers.

No organisation *is possible* without an *organisational* rebuff to such a method of political "struggle". What should such an organisational rebuff consist in?

Every worker must demand that the liquidators, from whom Marxists have turned away with contempt, should set up a committee of "their own" from "their" seven members, their "own" "leading body" of Jews, Letts, Caucasians, *etc*. Let them try to arrive at "their own" decision and communicate it to the International. Then we shall brand these slanderous rascals before the whole world.

While these scoundrels, these dirty characters, are hiding behind anonymous articles in the liquidators' newspaper, let *every union* of workers charge its executive with the investigation of this matter, by collecting all documents and information from everywhere, by *checking* the decision of the *Marxist committee* of *five bodies* and adopting a decision *of their own*.

Universal condemnation of the slanderers, a universal

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* Articles in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*: "Call Them to Account" (in Nos. 55 and 56) and "To the Pillory!" (in No. 60).—*Ed*.

demand: "Retract your base slander, or we shall not let you enter a single organisation"—that should be the reply of the working class, the organisational reply to the wreckers of the organisation.

*V. Ilyin**

This question of principle should be raised in the Duma.

P.S. If *Za Pravdu* is closed down, you *must* tone down *fivefold*, become more legal and tamer. This can and should be done. Write the way they do in *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*[299] and establish *your own* censorship. For God's sake, do this, otherwise you will just ruin the business.

Written not earlier than
November 1, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

303

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Dear Citizen Huysmans,

You remember, of course, that the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P., after the conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January 1912, which restored our Party, appointed me the Party's representative on the I.S.B.

Owing to my departure from Paris, I was obliged to ask Comrade Kamenev, who lives in Paris, to take my place. Cracow is too far away from Brussels, and I would ask you to enter Kamenev's name and the official address of our Bureau in Paris in the *Bulletin*. Mr. Kouznetzoff (pour Kameneff). 102. Rue Bobillot. 102. Paris. XIII. Kamenev will spend some time here, but I would ask you not to indicate his address in Cracow. It would be imprudent for secrecy reasons.

In urgent cases I would ask you to write to my present address.

* This letter was signed also by L. B. Kamenev and G. Y. Zinoviev. —*Ed.*

It being All Saints' Day, your letter was delivered a little late.

Written November 3, 1913
Sent from Cracow to Brussels

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

304

TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU* *

P.S. Rodzyanko is demanding of M. a new name for the Duma group? Wonderful! Here are four to choose from, in the order of desirability: 1) the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group; 2) the Russian S.D. Group; 3) the Group of the Russian Workers' Social-Democracy; 4) the Group of Russian Social-Democracy. Let me know which you have chosen: I recommend No. 1.

Greetings and best wishes.

Written between November 11 and 28, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from the original

305

TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*

What should have been written is: "Mr. Koltsov, you are a blackmailer, like Gamma is. I am not answering you." I am angry, almost furious at the "conversation" with Koltsov!! Fancy calling such a scoundrel "dear comrade". What is this? What do you call it??[300]

Written December 8 or 9, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1962 in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 1

Printed from the original

* This letter is a postscript to an unidentified article.—*Ed.*

306

TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*

...* Our representative's telegram, which I received yesterday, says on this question only: "unification entrusted to executive."

And so the question is not clear.[301]

Just in case, and subject to the extremely important reservation that there should be no haste in publishing it, I suggest the following text of an editorial statement (seeing that the "storm" has already been raised in the dirty tea-cup of the Burenin-Gamma newspaper).

The decision of the International Socialist Bureau to call a conference of Russia's Social-Democrats—those working in Russia, of course, and not the shadows of them abroad—fully meets with our approval. Such a conference will help most clearly to expose the treachery to the Party on the part of the liquidator gentry and the Burenin methods of fellows like Gamma, of whom it is high time that Social-Democracy rid itself.

Tomorrow (or the day after, at the latest) I shall probably receive a detailed report from London. I shall then write to you immediately again, and if it is *necessary* not to publish the statement I am sending you (i.e., the one on the preceding page 3**) I *shall wire* hold it up. This will mean, consequently, that page 3 is not to be published.

Written December 16, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in part in 1961
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* The beginning of the letter is missing.—*Ed.*
** This refers to the previous paragraph.—*Ed.*

307

TELEGRAM TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*

Six presented no demand whatever owing to rules. Bureau voted no condemnation whatever. Repudiate barefaced lie of liquidators.[302]

Ilyin

Written December 18, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1962 in the book *V. I. Lenin i "Pravda". 1912-1962*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form

308

TO V. S. VOITINSKY

20/XII. 1913

Re the article *you recommended* for publication.

Dear Colleague,

I received the article "For a Common Banner"* and in all honesty I must say that it is no good at all. Frankness and candour above all—don't you agree?

The author has absolutely failed to understand the state of affairs in Russia and has let himself be carried away—to put it more mildly—by a spirit of, let us say, excessive amicability towards the Gothamite Mensheviks.

Russia is going through a process of restoration and consolidation of the Marxist workers' party. The discussions and resolutions, which raise in the author such a short-sighted sneer, are of tremendous educative and organisational significance. The author's ironical reference to the "Hurray shouting" is sheer *liberal* irony, the irony of an intellectual who is completely out of touch with the working-class movement. How is it that in no other opposition

* This article was sent in by Voitinsky for publication in the journal *Prosveshcheniye*.—*Ed*.

party in Russia do the local groups of party members openly discuss the party's internal differences?? Eh??

The author adheres to a sort of sentimentally hysterical point of view. The resolutions represent an all-important process of consolidation of the *workers*' party, for no one in the world can *make* the workers *choose* between two hurrahs (that of the partyists and that of the liquidators) other than *conscious* sympathy and a sorting out of trends. To allow the somewhat rude form of proletarian "brawl" to screen the tremendous ideological and organisational significance of the working class's struggle over two trends, is phenomenal blindness. I can think of no better explanation of this blindness than the fact that the author is completely out of touch and has "fallen under the spell" of the vile Menshevik gang.

The author has absolutely failed to understand the reference to the worker curia. 47%-50%-67% in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Dumas.* Is that a fact or *not*?? What has the "reactionary nature of the curias" (about which the crooks and the Burenins shout from the columns of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, drawing a red herring across the path) got to do with it?? Did not the same reactionary law, meaning the same curia law, apply in all three cases? Even an infant would understand that the reactionary nature of the curias has nothing to do with it. The fact remains that the intelligentsia have cleared off (and good riddance to the whores) and the workers have found their own feet against the liquidators. A new historical period. A new epoch. Yet the author invents a "middle line"—it would be funny were it not so sad. The author has not understood one-hundredth of the depth of the struggle against the liquidators. The Party *cannot* be restored unless it is restored *against* the liquidators. The workers have grasped this now themselves.

For a month, from 20.X to 2.XI—4,800 *signatures* (N.B.) for the six and 2,500 for **the seven** (including 1,000 Bundist signatures. N.B.! N.B.!). Is that a fact or not?? This is a fact, sir, and not intellectualist whining! It is not a party, if you please, since they have no "common" organ-

* Consecutive growth in the number of Bolsheviks in the worker curias in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Dumas.—*Ed.*

isation, no "congress"!!! Ha-ha!! *Nor will there be* anything in common with the liquidators and Bundists—it is time to understand this instead of contemplating the old that is gone and done with. A congress is extremely difficult to call (hence the *wreckers* of the Party refer things "to a congress", sort of ad kalendas graecas!). These *signatures*, as it happens, represent the *new* form of the old party. Fancy not being able to understand this!

The old national "federation of the worst type" *has gone for good*. This is another thing the author does not understand.

The author has a wrong idea of equality between the 6 and 7 (he is wrong to talk about the 8, since the Party *does not* recognise the eighth as a Social-Democrat*). Why shouldn't the Party grant equality to the *near-Party group in the Duma*??** The author has not understood the serious significance of the conception "near-Party people".

Our journal is not a literary miscellany, but a militant organ. There can be no question, therefore, of publishing the article. I would be very glad, however, to see the author's retort to my criticism, as I would generally welcome any exchange of opinions with old friends. If I have come it too strong with this criticism and expressed myself sometimes none too politely, I beg his pardon. I can assure him I had no intention of being offensive, but simply, for old friendship's sake, unburdened myself and said what I thought with open-hearted candour.

How splendidly the campaign for the six against the seven is going! What a wonderful rallying and education of the workers against the liberal labour politicians! What an excellent example, the first in Russia, of the workers' party actually *deciding* the fate of *its own* representation in the Duma! This is no longer a crowd "who have done a little reading", but an organised force. The conference decided—the six acted—the organised thousands approved by discussing and signing—that is called a *party* against that rag of a paper, the new edition of the old *Tovarishch*,

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* This refers to Y. I. Jagiello.—*Ed.*

** This does not bind the Party in any way; and it *can* educate the near-Party people.

Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta, which is fouling and poisoning the working-class movement with its intellectualist muck. And how splendidly the workers' Duma group has developed its activities! Right away a step forward not only in name, but in all its work! What an excellent speech, that of Badayev's, on the freedom of coalition, compared with the iteration of shoddy liberal ideas by Tulyakov!

Au revoir, dear comrade. Spit on the Mensheviks more often, study the *facts* of the present-day labour movement, weigh their significance, and your—begging your pardon—moping mood will pass; instead of searching for a "middle line", you will help to rally the workers against the gang of traitors.

Yours,
V. I.

Sent from Cracow to Irkutsk

First published in 1938
in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 2

Printed from the original

309

A NOTE TO THE EDITORS OF *PROLETARSKAYA PRAVDA**

This article is marked with three Ks (KKK).[303] The boycott slogan should be given everywhere, but precisely in such a form, and only in such a form, without using the word boycott.

For the sake of all the gods that be, don't be drawn into giving "scathing" answers to such gentlemen!

Written in the second half
of December 1913
Sent from Cracow to
St. Petersburg

First published in 1962
in the book *V. I. Lenin i "Pravda". 1912-1962*

Printed from the original

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* *Proletarskaya Pravda*—one of the names of *Pravda*.—*Ed.*

1914

310
TO I. E. HERMAN

2/I. 1914

Dear Comrade,

The brevity of your letter surprises us greatly.

Where ("farther"?) did the delegate go?[304]

To Hamburg? To Brussels? To Copenhagen?

Who is this delegate? A true Bolshevik? Or a liquidator? Or a vacillator? What did he tell? How many delegates are there *altogether*? How many delegates from Riga? From the villages? From Libau? From other towns?

Did you arrange to correspond with this delegate? *This is the most important thing of all*: he must write to you *every day* in the most precise and detailed manner. Did he give you any address?

Wire to us immediately you learn anything: address—Uljanow. 51. Lubomirskiego. Krakau.

Code words:

First—Brussels
Second—Hamburg
Third—Copenhagen

opening date of congress: day (month of January)+10 (i.e., if 11.I—then **21**)

and so on.

or: "indefinite"
or: "postponed"
plus=Bolsheviks certainly preponderate
minus=liquidators " "
X=unknown.

Write after each meeting with delegates or after each letter. (Are most of the delegates travelling by sea?)

Today we received a letter from Brussels (dated 29/XII) saying that we are invited to the congress due to be held in 10-12 days; place and time, it said, will be communicated later.

And that is all!! Very little!

So write and wire!

Yours,
V. U.

If the delegate is in Brussels and if you can write to him absolutely confidentially, give him the address: Jean *Popoff*. Rue du Beffroi. *2. A. Bruxelles*.

This is our representative, through whom you can find out everything and with whom you can talk. Absolutely trustworthy.

If Tyszka ("Executive" of the Polish S.D.) is invited, then the "opposition"=Warsaw and Lodz committees should be invited too. Write to Karlson about this.

Write to Karlson in Brussels (if he is our man) that he should notify both Popov and us by both telegram and letter.

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

311

TO I. E. HERMAN AND I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS

7/I. 1914

Dear Comrades,

I have just received information from our representative in Brussels, Popov (Jean *Popoff*, rue du Beffroi. 2. A. Bruxelles), that the congress will be held there (*or near there*) "not later than within a week" (written 4 or 5.I).

The task now is to try and rally the Bolsheviks. You have committed a *gigantic* mistake in not making arrange-

ments for correspondence (this can be safely done abroad) with your travelling Bolshevik. *Try immediately* to rectify this mistake by sending a letter *at once* to this Bolshevik—in two envelopes, addressed to Popov, with the inner envelope inscribed in Lettish: *personal*, *for so-and-so*.

Popov will find him and hand over the letter personally.

In this letter you should (1) fully recommend Popov (I vouch for him) (and give (*N.B.*) Popov's Brussels (*N.B.*) address) and (2) ask that the Lettish Bolshevik should **immediately** give you a detailed account of everything (directly or through Popov), particularly of the make-up (1. How many liquidators? 2. How many Bolsheviks? 3. How many Braunists,* **etc.**, and of the plans of every group in detail).

I enclose a note for Popov, to whom you will write in Russian.

Give me the *exact* name of the pub, the *street* and house *number* and the exact *hour* of the rendezvous.

P.S. Am I to wire you or Herman or both of you?

I have learned the timetable. It will be most convenient for me to leave here early in the morning. I shall be in Berlin at 4.40 Nachmittag and leave at 9.34 Abends from Friedrichstraßenbahnhof. Make an appointment at once for us to meet (I *must* meet both you and Herman), giving the *hour* (7-8-8½ p.m.) and the *pub* **near** Friedrichstraßenbahnhof. I shall wire you the day of my departure and we shall meet at the pub.[305]

Awaiting an early reply,

Yours,

N. Lenin

P.S. You can invent a *personal* excuse to start corresponding with this Lettish Bolshevik.

Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

* Meaning the followers of J. Janson-Braun, the conciliators.—*Ed.*

312
TO I. F. POPOV

7/I. 1914

Mr. Jean Popoff.
Rue du Beffroi. 2. A. Bruxelles

Dear Comrade,

Please try to meet the request of the Lettish comrades who are writing to you. They are our best friends.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written in Cracow

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

313
TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS OR I. E. HERMAN

11/I.

Dear Comrade,

As regards the arrangement for a rendezvous, you have done well.

But as regards the delegate, I scold you severely. Apparently, he is either a fool or an old woman, who falls for the gossip and slander of the liquidator riffraff. Popov has been sent a formal power of attorney from the C.C., and he has spoken only *to Sauer* (an official of the Bureau Abroad!!). Obviously, the liquidators are slandering Popov.

But that delegate of yours! A fine fellow indeed, if he believes the liquidators. With warriors like these it would be ridiculous to start a war against the liquidators. Such "warriors" only deserve to lick the boots of the liquidators all their lives.

And what made you, knowing how unreliable this delegate was, write to him that *I* needed the information??!

The idea was that *you* ask him for the information. Now that delegate will use your letter *against me*: that would be the limit!

I am terribly angry.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Written January 11, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1935
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 5

Printed from the original

314

TO INESSA ARMAND

...* I received the C.O. Page 8 is disgraceful. Why the devil didn't they let us know? We could have found some more material!! And it should have been dated not 28/XII, but earlier, for there is not a word about the International Bureau.

Many people are worrying over the decisions of the Bureau. It's *silly*!

An "exchange of opinions" is quite acceptable, and a resolution like that should not have been turned down.

That about the six being rejected is a *lie*. The six *did not even present* a demand! According to the Rules *they couldn't*: if there are 7 S.R.s in the Duma+6 S.D.s, then 1 *S.R.* only has a voice in the Inter-Parliamentary Commission.

The I.S. Bureau can only offer us bons offices for talks, for an "exchange of opinions" with other parties, groups, etc. This is all it does. Only this! The calling of a conference, etc., is a stupid Versimpelung of affairs by the liquidationist and philistine riffraff. These liquidator people are just muck. And if we "exchange opinions" they'll be pleased!

Who wrote the article in the C.O. on the Beilis case?

Why weren't the proofs sent to us?? It should have been

* The beginning of the letter is missing.—*Ed.*

said that the bourgeois should form a *republican* party if they are *really* against the Beilis case.

Written not earlier than January 11, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

315

TO V. P. MILYUTIN

Dear Colleague,

I have received your letter and hasten to reply that articles against Bogdanov's platitudes in philosophy ... and *Tectology* are badly needed. Please send your article to me direct, best of all by registered book-post.[306] Articles on similar subjects are also needed; I shall be very glad if you map them out and let me know.

Greetings,
V. Ilyin

Written January 14, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Vologda

First published in 1924 in the journal *Sever* (Vologda) No. 1

Printed from a typewritten copy found in police records

316

TO INESSA ARMAND*

P.P.S.

It has only just dawned on me, after rereading Kuznetsov's telegram, that it is evidently not a question of a report, but a meeting commemorating 9.I! Announcing Malinovsky for such a meeting is *altogether impossible* (for I have already written about *absolute* legality, and I ask again and again that it be strictly *adhered to*: *neither* the

* This is a postscript to a letter of Lenin's to Armand that has not been traced.—*Ed.*

Party, *nor* groups, *nor* revolution, *nor* Social-Democracy should ever be *mentioned*). As for me, you can put me down on the list of speakers on January 9 if it is useful for your success (financially), *but with my right to let you down* (*privately*, I declare that even if I'm in Paris I *won't go* to the 9.I meeting together with such a bunch of assorted animals as the S.R.s, and Leder & Co.).[307]

Written prior to January 22, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

317

TO INESSA ARMAND

25/I.

Dear Friend,

I am writing you briefly on business: Victory!! Hurrah! The majority are for us. I shall stay here about a week, and shall probably have a lot of work to do.

I am delighted that we have won.[308]

Sincerely yours,
V. I.

Oulianoff, rue de la Tulipe. 11.
Bruxelles (Ixelles)

Written January 25, 1914
Sent to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Written in English

318

TO INESSA ARMAND

No. 2.

...* Just now (at 2 p.m.) I received further mail by extra post. Again nothing from you....

I received a letter from Bukharin in Vienna. He has

* The beginning and end of this letter are missing.—*Ed.*

seen Buryanov, who was on his way from Plekhanov. Apparently, the Plekhanovites and other non-factionists intend to undertake some sort of joint "action": I believe Plekhanov wants to publish a newspaper. Trotsky and the local crowd are very shortly putting out a journal of their own, *Borba*. They have effected a reconciliation with *Luch*; a correspondence was conducted on this subject. The "pure" liquidators will remain in *Nasha Zarya*—that's what that crowd "hopes" for.

That is what Bukharin writes. This news is very important. There's no smoke without fire, and we are probably witnessing a new wave of idiotic conciliationist activity, which the I.S.B. is sure to take advantage of to stage a comic act in the spirit of the 1910 January plenary session. Well, we're standing on our own legs now and we'll show up this riffraff.

We must try our *hardest* (extremely tactfully, of course) to collect and keep collecting all the information we can in Paris. That fool Antonov cannot collect gossip from Steklov, but Steklov can get money out of him. And we haven't a penny. Kamenev and his family are living *on nothing*. See to it, therefore, that the C.O.A. does not give *a single* kopek away to *anybody* but us. We shall *shortly* be in desperate need of money for putting out the C.O., a special pamphlet and one *very important* publication (absolument entre nous: *we will publish a special bulletin of the Central Committee*[309]*—for Russia we've got a special transport possibility**).

The conciliators of all shades are out to "catch" us! Bon! We'll catch those scoundrels, those ridiculous mountebanks. They're getting stuck in the mud of blocs with the liquidators? Bon! Our tactic is: if the enemy makes a false move, give him time to sink deeper into the mud. That's where we shall catch the scoundrels. Meantime, we've got to gather strength and money—we've got to exercise restraint (to the utmost!)—to learn as much as we can. Paris is a convenient centre for finding out things and for "diversions". It is most desirable that the *section*

* The text in italics after the colon is written in English in the original.—*Ed*.

adopt a *sledge-hammer* resolution against Kautsky (calling his statement about the death of the Party *shameless*, *insolent*, *monstrous*, *ignorant*). As for the few "near-conciliators" of our section, let them get information from the Plekhanovites, the conciliators (Makar, Lyova, Lozovsky *& Co.*) and the Trotskyites—as well as the Bundists and the Letts.

Raise the question of lambasting Kautsky in the C.O.A. and vote it: if the majority turn it down, I'll come and give that majority a leathering they'll remember for a long time. But I must know **who** that majority is going to be, and *who* I have to deal with. So go full ahead!

Nik. Vas. may receive at his address communications of great importance to us (from the I.S.B. or from the Letts). It is very important that he should hand them to you **immediately**—you may open them in order to wire their contents to me briefly: *if it is not embarrassing*, arrange this, because just these days (while Malinovsky is here) a delay of a day or two (=difference between a letter and a telegram) may be of extremely vital significance. I think *you could* mention N. K., but decide yourself, you know best.

Let the C.O.A. consider who, in Paris, could help the six to write their speeches. The need is great since the arrest of Krylenko. We shall send the list of speeches. Assistance from *all* the vacillating elements of the different groups is more convenient and more possible here.

Written prior to January 26, 1914
Sent to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

319

TO INESSA ARMAND

26/I.

Dear Friend,

I was terribly glad to receive your nice, friendly, warm, charming letter. I am inexpressibly grateful to you for it.

Things here have gone worse. One has already deserted to the conciliators—so now we have no majority, and the conciliators will have it all their own rotten way.

I am leaving here on Tuesday or Wednesday next and will soon (except for a lecture in Leipzig) be in Cracow.

They write me from there that things are in a bad way with *Pravda*—there's no money. The circulation has dropped. A deficit. Bad job.

My new address: Oulianoff, rue Souveraine. 18.
(Ixelles) Bruxelles.

From the enclosed letter to Nik. Vas. you will find an answer to your question whether I am angry on account of the unsuccessful lecture. I should think I am! That idiot Antonov!! And the inability *apart from* him to arrange practical matters.

I received the express mail and have handed everything to Malinovsky. He is here and will stay another 2-3 days.

Take care of the kopeks in the C.O.A. and don't allow Antonov to indulge his harebrained schemes.

My very, very, very best regards, my dear friend. Excuse the haste and brevity. I have no time.

Yours,
V. U.

The bulletin is the most important job of all. *I beg you* to keep an eye on it yourself or get it going **without** Antonov.

Written January 26, 1914
Sent to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

319

TO N. V. KUZNETSOV

Dear Friend,

I shall not be in Paris any more.

The plan for Publishing a lecture on the national question—nothing doing.

I repeat: not a kopek *for anything* except the bulletins of the C.C. They are to be done at *Riskin's printing shop* (*not* Stepan's). He is to be told to observe the strictest secrecy. *You yourself* or Inessa—**but not Antonov**—should get back **all** the MSS. and **all** the proof-sheets.

Tomorrow I am sending material for the bulletin. Format = sheet of 9.I.1914. *Four* such pages. Type—large for propaganda material (page 1); small for *pages 2 and 3*.

Do the job *neatly*, not à la Antonov and without Antonov. It is ridiculous and shameful to handle *practical* affairs through that daydreamer. What is needed is a *committee* of **practical men** and not a daydreamer (he is a nice, charming man, but a preposterous dreamer).

All the rest of the literature (the C.O., Programme, Rules, Kamenev's pamphlet, the London minutes,* etc., *all*) send *without delay* to Leipzig. Herrn Koiransky. Sophienstraße: 30[I] rechts. Leipzig. (Indicate expéditeur.) Notify me *immediately what* has been sent and *when*, at the address: Mr. Wladimir Oulianoff. Rue Souveraine. 18. Bruxelles (Ixelles).

All the best,
Yours,
V. Lenin

Written January 26, 1914
Sent to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

321

TO INESSA ARMAND

...** There is an important job to be done in Paris—the reorganisation of the C.O.A. It is more important now than ever.

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* This refers to the minutes of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.—*Ed*.

** The beginning of this letter is missing. The manuscript is available only from p. 3.—*Ed*.

We have *started* a new splendid transportation arrangement. A new method, wonderful job, already tested (I had a letter yesterday). Cheap. We are all delighted. They take 2 poods a month.[310]

We must publish. But we have *neither* money nor any printing facilities outside of Paris. Therefore it is of *primary* importance for the Party to *arrange* publication in Paris. I beg you to *do* this both as a duty and a favour.

Yesterday I sent N. V—ch the MSS. for No. 1 of the *Bulletin*. I also sent instructions point by point.

Read them. See that they are followed *implicitly*. Assure the people over there that we shall give the C.O.A. the sack—no, really—and appoint in its stead a committee of our own (on behalf of the C.C.)—really, I am not joking—unless the business of publishing and dispatching the *Bulletin* (a matter of *primary* importance to the whole Party) is organised with meticulous care, not à la Antonov.

I demand *literally* strict execution of my instructions concerning the *Bulletin*. That's one thing. Secondly, the C.O.A. must set up a businesslike *committee*, so that Antonov (a nice man and good comrade, but a *good-for-nothing* daydreamer and preposterous *fumble-fist*) should have *nothing* to do with the practical side of the business.

Publication and printing should be done *at a printing house*. The C.O.A. (+the committee) should exercise *special* and **daily** control. Copy out the instructions and *follow them implicitly*.

Put this through the C.O.A. and *get the committee going*. I repeat, this is a matter of primary importance. Answer me *quickly* whether everything has been done. I am still here, in Brussels, *waiting* for the proofs.

I am enclosing a letter for Vl. Khr. Read it, give it to N. V. to read and *hand it over*.

Have the adjuvant committee appointed *before* I leave here (I shall be here another week, until Tuesday or Wednesday).

You will appreciate the importance of this business and spare no efforts, I am sure.

Yours,
V. U.

N.B. We haven't *a penny*. The C.O.A. must pay for everything.

P.S. Edisherov is dead timber. So is Kamsky. If you go away, who remains?

2 or 3 efficient *hustlers* should be put on the job to do all the footwork, to visit the printing shop 2 or 3 times a day, to see to it that the *Bulletin* is issued on time and keep in close touch with us. As for the C.O.A., let it exercise "control" from above.

Written January 28, 1914
Sent from Brussels to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

322

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

My dear Huysmans,

I thank you for your kind letter.[311] I am very sorry that you were not at the Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats the first day, as everyone expected, but on Wednesday, just when you were not expected and when I had to absent myself on business. I regret it all the more since I missed the opportunity of hearing your very interesting speech.

As regards the request of the Executive Committee that "I make up in my own name" a brief report concerning the differences, I very much regret that I am unable to meet your request.

A report of this kind cannot be submitted "in my own name", as I have no right to do it. I am sure, moreover, that the important thing for the Executive Committee of the I.S.B. is not "my personal" opinion, but the opinion of the Central Committee. As soon as I arrive in Cracow, however, and get in touch with all the members of the C.C., the report which the Executive Committee asks for

will be drawn up, endorsed by the Central Committee and forwarded to you.*

I cannot close this letter without thanking you for your kind invitation. Unfortunately, I am engaged today with the Chairman of our Party's Duma group at a congress sitting which happens to be discussing this very question of unity in the Russian S.D.L. Party. I would therefore like to put off our meeting (the Chairman of the Russian S.D.L. group would also be glad to talk with you) and arrange it for tomorrow, 4 p. m., at the Maison du Peuple.

Will you please wire me whether this is convenient for you, at the address: Oulianoff. 18. Rue Souveraine. 18. Ixelles-Bruxelles.

Yours,
Lenin

Written January 29, 1914
Sent to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

323

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

Brussels, February 2, 1914**

Dear Huysmans,

I have just finished the report and before leaving Brussels I want to let you know that Comrade Popov has undertaken to translate it and forward it to you.

Yours,
N. Lenin

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from a typewritten copy
Translated from the French

* See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 74-81 and 233-36.—*Ed.*

** The letter is erroneously dated February 3, 1914. In his letter to Camille Huysmans dated March 7, 1914 (see Document 330 in this volume) Lenin mentions that he wrote this letter on February 2.—*Ed.*

324

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Comrade,

Your silence surprises and depresses me extremely. We cannot work without *Vorwärts*.

I have been receiving *Vorwärts* free of charge for the last 3-4 years, right up to *February* 1914. Suddenly ... it has stopped!!

What's the matter? I am not writing myself as I am afraid (if this is an intrigue of the liquidators) to get a rude reply.

But maybe it is simply an oversight?

Will you *please* go to the **forwarding office** (on no account to the editorial office) and find out what it's all about and let me know *immediately*.[312] Nadya wrote to you about this some time ago, but there has been no reply. What is the matter? Are you ill? Please respond!

Yours,
Lenin

I am enclosing a printed address for *Vorwärts*.

N.B. I repeat, I have been receiving it for 3-4 years for *Sotsial-Demokrat*, *Rabochaya Gazeta*, *Pravda* in St. Petersburg, etc.

Written after February 11, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

325

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Dear Friend,

1st.* Bogdanov's departure is said to have caused displeasure (among the intellectualist riffraff, apparently). That "good soul" of ours, Galyorka, is moping, I believe. The Priboi people[313] voted for Bogdanov.

* Erroneously given as "2nd" in the typewritten copy.—*Ed.*

They argue (an old trick of these intellectualist mischief-makers) that there are workers supporting *Vperyod* everywhere (why weren't they seen anywhere?...). That's all bosh, of course. The story of the *Vperyod* group's adventurism will have to be given in *Prosveshcheniye*. But now it is necessary that you should (1) take action. The thing has to be explained, the stupid defenders of Vperyodism and Bogdanov (Dansky is one of them, apparently) must be challenged and warned. (2) You must get your letter about *An Introduction to Political Economy*[314] published for certain. Write immediately. If yours doesn't go, I'll send in mine.

2nd. How about the collection of articles? Drop me a line (*Marxism and Liquidationism*).[315]

3rd. What a scandal in the committees of the Literary society (the campaign against the Press Bill)[316].... Bloc of the liberals+liquidators (Kheisin, Stiva Novich, Guliko). And N. D. Sokolov there too.... Take action. Kick him out. Most important of all—launch a campaign against the liquidators for this. Let me know.

4th. What about the speeches? The budget will be before the Duma only on 20.III, old style. Am I right? Drop me a line about this.

Written February 27, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv*
No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

326

TO THE EDITORS OF *PROSVESHCHENIYE*

To Andrei Nikolayevich,* private

Dear Colleague,

I sent you today another article, Bukharin's. All for No. 2.** I hope this will keep you going for the time being.

---

* Anna Yelizarova-Ulyanova.—*Ed.*

** Of the journal *Prosveshcheniye*.—*Ed.*

Re Bogdanov's departure, there is apparently a quite erroneous opinion, which must be combated.

1. Who has gone because of him? No one. Consequently, it looks as if we have antagonised somebody; this lie must be disproved.

2. He is himself a minus (and not an 0). I am surprised that they vote for Bogdanov in Priboi without defending his false platitudes, without defending his platitudes in *An Introduction to Political Economy*. This is uncollegiate. You have forgotten. Write. Explain. Argue. Fancy voting without a collegiate exchange of opinions! Cowardly. Crazy. Vulgar. Harmful. Let them explain art. G. G.,* why they drag rot propaganda into the workers' midst.

3. There is a decision for the *Vperyod* group. This is not true. Where is it? Give me their letters to *Pravda*.... There aren't any. These are fairy-tales of the soft-hearted muddleheads from among the intelligentsia....

I am sending only articles approved by the Editorial Board. Including Pavlov's article. It is suitable. Bogdanov is a nonentity, whom it is ridiculous to give much attention to.

Written February 27, 1914
Sent from Cracow to
St. Petersburg

First published in 1960 in
Istorichesky Arkhiv No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy found
in police records

327

TO F. N. SAMOILOV

Dear Fyodor Nikitich,

I received your letter and am very glad that you are fixed up.

Now—quiet, sunshine, sleep, *food*. Take care of all this. Do they give you enough to eat?

You should drink more milk. Do you?

You should weigh yourself once a week and make a note of it each time.

* The meaning of this has not been deciphered.—*Ed*.

You should go and see a local doctor at least once in 10 days, so that he can check the progress of your cure. Have you the doctor's address? If you haven't, write to me and I shall find it out for you.

The main thing is sleep (*how many* [*hours*]* *do you sleep*?), sun and [food], especially *milk*.

Write to me about this *in detail*.

Nadya sends her regards. All the best, and wishing you a good rest.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. You don't feel too lonely, do you? If you do, I can arrange for friends from Geneva and Lausanne to visit you. Wouldn't visitors tire you? Write!

Is there a bath in your pension?

Written in February 1914
Sent from Cracow to
Montreux (Switzerland)

First published in 1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 2

Printed from the original

328
TO INESSA ARMAND

2/III. 1914

Dear Friend,

We are still having hard times—no newspaper. One senses a sharp change in the whole system of work after Kamenev's departure, and *where* the new line is leading and *how* it will shape, no one can tell.

From St. Petersburg we have had news 1) from Mikh. Step. (Olminsky), who complains that we called Bogdanov names and drove him out, that the people over there are lamenting, etc. My, what a snivelling milksop that dear M. St. of ours is!

2) There has been a letter from the St. Petersburg Committee or rather about the St. Petersburg Committee. It is alive and working well. This is very pleasant news.

* The edges of the manuscript are torn. Words in square brackets have been inserted as context suggests.—*Ed.*

3) A letter from a C.C. man, who is "making a comeback" in Siberia after an interval of 2 years (prison and exile).

Before I forget—do you know what's the matter with Popov in Brussels? He hasn't answered my *urgent* and *important* letters **2-3 weeks** (!!). And I need him! Is he ill? Or has that *love-story** of his done something to him, driven him out of Brussels, etc.? If you know nothing, will you please do this: wait a couple of days; if, during that time, you do not hear anything new from me, write to him in Brussels *through other friends* and also ask them about him, so that I know *definitely* what it's all about. Must be something incredible and impossible!

If you know anything about him, drop me a line at once.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Samoilov writes that he feels rather lonely in Montreux. I am anxious to find a good doctor to look after him there (nervous complaint). Does Kamsky know anyone?

Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

329

TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA

For Y.**

Dear Friends,

I have had no news from you for a long time. Things are none too good. Strictly speaking, during the last few months following the arrests, you have no ... no collegium for organisational work. This is simply an impossible situation. I think you should co-opt 3-4 St. Petersburg workers

* This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*
** Yelena Rozmirovich.—*Ed.*

(including a shop-assistant) as has been rightly pointed out.... You won't be able to get things moving otherwise. The co-opted men should be kept strictly separate and apart from the co-operative board and the legal enterprises. Answer quickly. We have asked for someone to be sent here, but so far there is no reply.

Further—we earnestly ask you to put us in touch directly with the P. C. This is extremely important. Then, as regards the "transporter". Has No. 1 of the *Bulletin* been received? What's happened to the man, why doesn't he write? Things have been at a standstill for close on a month. It's unpardonable. Make inquiries, find out—is he safe, alive? Kostya should know what his name is.

Finally, about money, too, we would ask you to answer: 1) What definitely have you learned about Pryanik? Find out and hurry them up. Has a round been made of the rich to collect money? Write about this....[317] We are absolutely moneyless, and haven't a penny for organisational trips and all organisational work. There are people who could be utilised ... but owing to the lack of funds we cannot do anything so far. Write whether you are satisfied with Volkov, whether things have been put right, particularly the speeches.

Regards to everybody,

Frey

Written March 4, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1960
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv*
No. 2

Printed from a
typewritten copy
found in police records

330

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

To Citizen Huysmans

Cracow, March 7, 1914

Dear Huysmans,

First of all, leaving aside the altogether objectionable tone of your letter,[318] I will state the facts in regard to my report.

On February 2, 1914 I left Brussels; as promised, my report *had already been written*. A quarter of an hour before my departure *I wrote you a letter* (in the presence of Comrade Popov) at a café near the Northern Railway Station; in that letter I informed you *that my report was already prepared* (20 small pages and the resolution of the Lettish Congress*) and that Comrade Popov had undertaken to translate it *and deliver it to you*.**

The address of the café was printed on the envelope of this letter, and if the letter has not been delivered to you I shall lodge a protest with the Brussels Post Office.

If you did receive this letter, I am greatly astonished that you do not mention it.

If Comrade Popov has not yet forwarded you a translation of my report, then I am completely at a loss. I wrote to him several times, believing him to have fallen ill, since he has not written to me for several weeks now.

Today I am sending him another registered letter, Recorded Delivery, in order to get to the bottom of this strange affair. I am also writing to Comrade Karlson (256. Rue Grau. Bruxelles) asking him to call on Popov personally.

Secondly, the expressions you use in your letter ("tergiversation", "policy of procrastination", etc.) are insulting and you have no right to employ them towards a comrade. I must ask you therefore to take back these expressions without reserve. Unless you do so, this letter to you will be my last.

Yours,
N. Lenin

Sent to Brussels

First published in 1963
in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

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* See V. I. Lenin, "Draft Resolution on the Attitude of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Territory to the R.S.D.L.P." (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 329-30).—*Ed.*

** See Document 323 in this volume.—*Ed.*

331

TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS

Dear Comrade Rudis,

I am very much surprised at your writing: "I cannot understand Lenin's attitude in this matter" (i.e., my attitude towards the conciliator resolutions of the Lettish Congress[319]).

Didn't Herman tell you that I fought tooth and nail? The conciliators won, however. We must fight on now, but fight with sense.

The arrests don't surprise me, since the Congress was arranged by the liquidators with an *outrageous* lack of secrecy. The whole of Brussels knew about it! The whole of Paris!

This will be a lesson—beware of the liquidators!

Show this letter to Herman. I am waiting for news as to when the resolutions are to be published. *Pravda* should do this **before anybody else.**[320]

N. K. sends her regards.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after March 12, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Berlin

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

332

TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY

Cracow, March 15, 1914

Dear Sir,

I accept the Editorial Board's offer to write an article on Marx for the Dictionary.* Please let me know whether

* See V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism)" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 43-91).

a bibliography is required at the end of the article. I thank you very much for the prospectus and the cuttings from the Dictionary.

Very truly yours,
V. Ilyin

My address is: Herrn Wl. Ulianow.
51. Ulica Lubomirskiego. *Krakau*.
(And from May 1914: Poronin (Galizien). Austria.)

Sent to St. Petersburg

First published in 1959 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

333
TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS

15/III. 1914

Dear Huysmans,

I received at last Popov's explanation and his statement that the report had at last been sent. As you are "merely the secretary (and a good fellow)" and not a "grandissime seigneur", I can say that had the letter you sent to Popov on March 10, 1914 been sent a week or two earlier, this incident would never have occurred.

On receiving your witty and friendly letter,[321] however, I have no wish to raise any question and am particularly pleased to consider the incident definitely closed.

Yours,
V. L.

Sent from Cracow to Brussels

First published in 1963 in French in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* No. 1-2

First published in Russian in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

For Lenin's work on the article see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 153, 154, and this volume, Document 345.—*Ed.*

334

TO INESSA ARMAND

...*It *would be good* now to have a Ukrainian Social-Democratic group of *our own*, however small. Write whether you could make contacts and do something in this direction.

What a magnificent victory at the Insurance Council elections![322] Delightful! Try and lancer** a report about this in the French socialist (or trade union) press. And how much better-looking *Pravda* has become under *brother****—it's getting to be a real beauty! It does you good to look at it. *For the first time* we see the hand of a cultured, knowledgeable editor on the spot.

What impression did le geste de M-me Caillaux[323] make on you? Frankly, I can't get rid of a certain feeling of sympathy. I thought *only* venality, cowardice and meanness were rife in these circles. And suddenly this plucky woman goes and delivers a resolute leçon!! I wonder what the jury will have to say and what the *political* consequences *will be*. Will Caillaux resign? Will the Radicals be overthrown?

All the very best,
Yours,
V. U.

Written after March 15, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

334

TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV

24/III. 1914

Dear Colleague,

I think you overdid the secrecy line a bit, and for a long time you had me guessing who you were.

* The beginning of this letter is missing. The manuscript is available from p. 3.—*Ed.*

** Insert.—*Ed.*

*** This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

I thank you very much for your communication.* It is very important. I believe that on the terms you mention, your participation was quite correct and useful for the cause. Your request (to state in case of need that you played no game behind the backs of like-minded comrades) I shall gladly comply with, in the expectation, naturally, of receiving *detailed* information from you. I repeat, this is a very important matter, regarded as a symptom; your remarks concerning "the great interest of observing the process of a new stir-up" are perfectly correct. It is vitally essential that we be informed about this process.

The only mistake on your part is, to my mind, the invitation of "a big man", etc., "with strong leanings towards the Mensheviks and punctiliously correct", etc. "In case of need," you write, "he will state how I bore myself at the meetings." I believe these gentlemen's idea of correctness differs essentially from our own. That's one thing. They are incapable of understanding what it means to betray the workers to the bourgeoisie. Further, you will *never* need a defence by such a fellow. The very assumption of the idea of such a defence is a confession (a needless confession) of the weakness and instability of your position, etc. It perverts the purpose and meaning of your participation in the meetings. A person capable of directly informing the centre of the organised force gathers information as to the attitude of mind of the vacillating elements and even of the enemies. There's nothing wrong in this at all. But to invite (thus turning into a "force"!!) a trashy intellectual, who is incapable of distinguishing the bourgeoisie from its antipode, was a mistake. It is this that will probably lead to idle talk, gossip and squabbles.

But this mistake is unimportant. The business itself (your and our information) is far more important.

Please write more often and establish proper contacts for this purpose. Answer as quickly as possible. Couldn't we get some money from the "type"?** It's badly needed. It's not worth taking less than 10,000 rubles. Answer. Also

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* See Skvortsov-Stepanov's letter to Lenin (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2, 1959, pp. 14-17).—*Ed.*

** This apparently refers to A. I. Konovalov.—*Ed.*

let me know how frankly you can talk: a) with the "type", b) with his various friends, acquaintances, etc., c) with all the participants of the "meetings". I think you should single out those one can talk with openly and openly put to them questions such as: aa) We are going to the limit of such-and-such methods of struggle; can we know what your limits are? Unofficially, privately!! bb) We are contributing so-and-so in the way of forces, means and so on; can we know what your contribution to the struggle "outside the Duma" is likely to be? You say that the "type" considers that "the liberals changed front too early in 1905"—well then, get to know whether everybody thinks this and *for what length of time approximately they intend to put off the change of front* (this, of course, can be expressed not in terms of time, but in terms of political changes).

cc) Are they capable of giving money?

dd) " " " " creating an illegal organ?

and so on.

Our aim is to inform ourselves and spur them on to give every possible active assistance to the revolution, with the question concerning the revolution being put as frankly and bluntly as possible (to **a** or to **b** or even to **c** as you know best). If possible, it would be a good idea for you to deliver a report, on the theses of which I would gladly give my opinion, if need be.

Sent from Cracow to Moscow

First published in 1959 in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2

Printed from the original

336

TO INESSA ARMAND

...* In regard to the opportunism of the German opportunists, Grigory and I are of one mind, I believe, and I have met no differences in the appraisal of their *infamy*. (I did not read the article on "The New Currents".)

* The beginning of this letter is missing. The manuscript is available only from p. 5.—*Ed.*

The Germans virtually have *2 parties*, and this has to be borne in mind without trying to shield the opportunists (*the way Neue Zeit and Kautsky are now doing*).

But it is incorrect to say that the German *party* is the most opportunist party in Europe. It is nonetheless the best party, and our task is to adopt from the Germans *all* that is most valuable (the mass of newspapers, the large party membership, the mass membership of the trade unions, the systematic subscription to the newspapers, strict control over the parliamentarians—all the same the Germans are *better* at this control than the French and Italians, not to mention Britain—and so on), adopt all this *without* playing up to the opportunists.

We should not cover up the opportunists from *Sozialistische Monatshefte*[324] (they have *heaps* of leaders there)—the way *Neue Zeit* and Kautsky and the German *Vorstand* are doing—*but hound them with all our might*. This is what Grigory always does in his articles about the Germans. I am now reading Legien (the trade union **leader**) on his visit to America and intend to pitch into that mean opportunist good and proper.*

All the very best,
Yours,
V. U.

Samoilov will probably change his address in a day or two. I shall write you as soon as I know it.**

Written in April, prior to 8th, 1914
Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* See V. I. Lenin, "What Should Not Be Copied from the German Labour Movement" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 254-58).—*Ed.*

** In a letter dated April 9, 1914, G. L. Shklovsky informed Lenin that he had placed F. N. Samoilov in the town sanatorium in Berne.—*Ed.*

337

TO INESSA ARMAND

Saturday, 11/IV. 1914

Dear Friend,

I still do not know whether you received my letters in which I wrote about the loss of the letter concerning Rakhmetov, and what you have done in this connection.

The package (containing the first part of the collection *The Beginning*[325]) has been received by you, *but very late*. If you still have the wrapper with the postmarks on it, I would advise you to lodge a complaint with the ministry, enclosing the wrapper. The loss of the letter concerning Rakhmetov is simply exasperating, and I consider complaints, protests, etc., absolutely necessary. I have a strong suspicion that the letters of the Russian emigrants are stolen in Paris (and taken by the police to be read before delivery to the addressees). The dates on which letters are received should be kept track of.

I hope you have finished with Alexinsky? The *only* remedy in such cases (I speak from my own *long*, over 15 years, experience) is an absolute boycott by the *entire* section (but I suppose there are a lot of snivellers in it, who won't apply a boycott and so will have themselves to blame for the "squabbles").[326]

I am awfully glad that your children are coming to see you and that you will soon go off to spend the summer with them.

All the very, very best,

Yours,

V. U.

P.S. I apologise for today's brief letter. I am in a great hurry.

I have not yet received the collection (*The Beginning*). Is it the post again!??

Sent from Cracow to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

338

TELEGRAM TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY* ON THE OCCASION OF ITS SECOND ANNIVERSARY[327]

From Contributors

Dear Comrades,

I heartily congratulate *Put Pravdy* on its anniversary and wish further success to the workers' press. I am enclosing a donation of 6 rubles 68 kopeks, the one-day earnings of two Pravdists and 2 rubles as a special donation by Pravdist Hanecki over and above his one-day earnings.

With comradely greetings,
V. Ilyin

Written prior to May 5, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg

Published April 22 (O.S.), 1914, in the newspaper *Put Pravdy* No. 67

Printed from the newspaper text

339

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY*

Dear G. L.,

Why don't you answer about Samoilov (you must fix him up with some manual work—find some farmer in the environs or a market-gardener through the socialists[328]—and about Zgr.**?)

Regards,
Yours,
V. I.

Written May 12, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1925 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 8

Printed from the original

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* This is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*
** Zgragen.—*Ed.*

340
TO INESSA ARMAND

...* and not in 1912, but in 1911) we in the editorial office of *Sotsial-Demokrat* received Vinnichenko's pamphlet in Russian devoted to a defence against the accusations levelled at him by the Social-Democrats, for "Honesty to Oneself". Vinnichenko asked for an answer in writing and in print. I remember being impressed by the pamphlet, and I wanted to write about it, but was, prevented by all kinds of petty affairs (oh, those "petty affairs", those apologies, for business, imitation products of business, a hindrance to business, how I hate fuss and bustle and petty affairs, and how tied I am to them inseparably and for all time!! *That's a sign more that I am lazy and tired and badly humoured. Generally I like my profession and now I often almost hate it***). By the way, I mislaid that pamphlet (published in Lvov) and have forgotten its title. Find it if you can, read it and send it to me.

I thought Vinnichenko sincere and naïve when he puts the question: "Does a Social-Democrat have the right (!! sic!!) to visit a brothel?" and keeps harping on this question, but all the time *individually*. He is sort of half-anarchist or total anarchist, and the Vperyodists must bamboozle him. He once read a lecture in Paris on "Honesty to Oneself" with Lunacharsky in the chair, did he not? Or are things in such a way that Lunacharsky is *for* Vinnichenko, while Alexinsky is against? *I would like to know some more details about it.***

*Before leaving Paris you must*** discuss with Nik. Vas., Kamsky and Ludmila the question of the delegation to the Vienna congress. It is most desirable to have as many delegates as possible. The difficulty is *money* (expenses for the trip+15 frs. for a ticket to the congress). The task is: 1) to search in advance for people fit to be delegates

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* The beginning of this letter is missing. The manuscript is available only from p. 3.—*Ed.*

** The passages, in italics, marked with two asterisks, are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

and able to travel at their own expense; 2) to raise more money; 3) to find out *how much* NN, MM, etc., are short of.

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written in the first half of May 1914
Sent from Poronin to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

341

TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS

Dear Friend,

I received your letter of 15/V. Regarding the Lettish supplement to *Pravda*, I have my doubts. Isn't it too early? And generally is it proper for Russians to interfere in Lettish affairs in this form?

Send me, if possible, a translation (1) of your unpublished articles, (2) of the worst of the "conciliator" articles in *Zihņa*[329] and the present legal Lettish newspaper.

The C.O. will soon come out. Send in an article on the Lettish Congress.

I congratulate you on the successful May Day rally, especially in Riga and St. Petersburg!

My regards to you and Herman (don't tell me you have quarrelled with him!).

Yours,
Lenin

Written between May 12 and 31, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1935 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 5

Printed from the original

342
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

19/V. 1914

Dear Friend,

I have a favour to ask of you. Is Volume *One* of Rubakin's *Among Books* available in your library or can you get it for me in Switzerland?

By the way, wasn't it you who sent me Volume One?[330] If it was, then I did not refund your postal expenses!! and you didn't remind me. Drop me a line, please, and I'll send you the money for both volumes. (I need Volume I for only a short time.)

Do you always get *Put Pravdy*?

What has happened to that young Bolshevik, the Wittmarist, that nervous vegetarian I met at your place a year ago?*

Could any of your acquaintances travel to Vienna as delegates *at their own expense* (we have no money, alas!)[331] Look around, find out. We must make up a delegation.

All the very best. Regards to Comrade Olga. N. K. also sends you both her regards.

Yours,
Lenin

Wl. Uljanow.
Poronin (Galizien), Autriche.

Sent to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

343
TO INESSA ARMAND

25/V. 1914

Dear Friend,**

The Malinovsky affair is warming up. He is not here. It looks like "flight".[332] Naturally, this gives food for the worst thoughts. Alexei wires from Paris that the Russian

* A reference to A. F. Ilyin-Zhenevsky.—*Ed.*
** These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

newspapers are wiring Burtsev that Malinovsky is accused of being a provocateur.

You can imagine what it means!! Very improbable but we are obliged to control all "ouï-dire". Wiring does not cease between Poronin*,** St. Petersburg, et Paris. Petrovsky wires today that "slanderous rumours dispelled. Liquidators conducting vicious campaign".

Russkoye Slovo wires Burtsev that the suspicions have been largely dispelled, but "other papers(???) (liquidators'???) are continuing their accusations".

*You can easily imagine how much I am worried.***

Yours,
V. I.

Sent from Poronin to Lovran (Austria-Hungary, now Yugoslavia)

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

344

TO G. I. PETROVSKY

My dear G. I.,

We have just received from you your literary debt. Thanks. We are surprised at the absence of news and letters.

Regards and best wishes,
V. Lenin

A wish—that you bear the irresponsible departure of Malinovsky more firmly, and stop worrying. No need to expel him. He has removed himself. Condemned. Political suicide. What other punishment can there be? Of what use? Do not worry. Speeches excellent. Boldly forward. The liquidators are not branded *enough* for their mud-slinging and dirt. That's what they should daily be called—garbage news-

* Rumours.—*Ed.*

** The words in italics marked with two asterisks are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

paper, garbage writers. Their job is to fling mud. Ours is to do the work. We have done with Malinovsky. He has gone under. Suicide. Why chew the rag, why waste time over it? To work, down with garbage writers!

Written after May 25, 1914
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published in 1962 in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 1

Printed from the original

345

TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY

Secretary, Granat Bros. Publications

Dear Colleague,

I received your letter dated 24. V. Will you kindly let me know what size and by what date you wish to have the autobiographical information.

Incidentally, please let me know the *deadline* for the article on Marx.

Yours very truly,
V. Ilyin

Address: Uljanow. Poronin (Galizien) Austria.

Written between June 6 and July 21, 1914
Sent to St. Petersburg

First published in 1959 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

346

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *TRUDOVAYA PRAVDA*

... Is it true that there are conciliationist tendencies among prominent Pravdist workers, that one of them—by the name of Malinin or Dolinin—had a long talk about this with a contributor to the newspaper, the writer M. N.? It is very important to know whether this is a trend—if so, what sort

of trend, what it stands for, what its terms of unity are—or just an individual and a casual fantasy.

As regards Plekhanov in his *Yedinstvo*,[333] you should adopt straightaway a tone to the effect that this distinguished theoretician, who has great services to his credit in the struggle against opportunism, Bernstein and the philosophers of anti-Marxism—a man whose mistakes in tactics during 1903-07 did not prevent him during the hard times of 1908-12 from singing the praises of the "underground" and exposing its enemies and opponents, that this man now, unfortunately, is again revealing his weak side. The utter vagueness of his ideas is due, perhaps, partly to his being totally uninformed: it is not clear whom he wants unity with—with the Narodniks (see *Sovremennik*, in which the Himmers are already parading his name) or with the liquidators of *Nasha Zarya* and Mr. Potresov, and on what conditions? And, having put these questions, you should calmly state that the reader will hardly get a clear answer to these natural questions, since we know from the literature that it is *these very* questions Plekhanov is *vague* about.

Again my greetings and congratulations on your huge success (but the business side, the business!!!) and my best wishes.

Contributor to Put Pravdy

The tone of the newspaper, pending the Vienna congress, should be altered. We are in for a period of struggle. We must pull no punches at the insolent beggars of the different little groups, we must nip in the bud their attempts at disorganisation. They dare to split the four-fifths!!* Drop me a line whether you agree, and when you are issuing.

You should hit out at the liquidators and the little groups at once and as hard as possible: the 40,000 must know exactly where we stand. It is our duty to make a laughingstock of the adventurists....

Written in June, after 18th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published April 22, 1962 in *Pravda* No. 112

Printed from the original

* Meaning four-fifths of the advanced workers united around the Bolshevik *Pravda*.—*Ed*.

347

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,*

Information has been received today that the Executive Committee of the I.S.B. is calling what is known as the Unity Conference in Brussels on July 16, 17 and 18.**

A delegation must be formed. It is doubtful whether we shall go. Grigory maybe, but even he won't, as likely as not.

On behalf of the C.C. I want to ask you to consent to be a member of the delegation. We shall pay the expenses of the journey.

We shall work out the tactics in minute detail.

If you have the slightest chance to fix up the children for 6-7 days (or even less, since the conference will last 3 days), *I* would ask you to agree. You are well up in the business, you speak French perfectly, and you read *Pravda*. We also have in mind Popov, Kamsky and Yuri. Letters have been sent to all of them.

So answer at once, without an hour's delay. Consent!

Very truly,*
V. I.

We haven't decided yet about the delegation and haven't formed it. We are *searching*. It's all at the stage of preliminary talks so far. But time is short.

We must make **great** haste!!

Consent, do! It will make a good change for you and you will help the cause!!

Grigory's wife is ill. I don't want to go "on principle". Apparently the Germans (the resentful Kautsky & Co.) are out to annoy us. Soit! We shall calmly (I am no good for that), on behalf of the eight-tenths majority, propose our conditions in the most polite (I am no good for that either)

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* The words marked with an asterisk are in English in the original.—*Ed*.

** See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 495-535.—*Ed*.

French. You are more sure of yourself now, you have been reading lectures, and could carry this through splendidly! If the *dear* comrades want unity, then here are the conditions of the *majority* of class-conscious workers in Russia. They can either take them or leave them!!

"They" are out to give "battle" (decisive battle) to us in Vienna. An empty threat!! They *can't* do anything!!

Written in July, prior to 4th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

348

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the Central Committee I must inform you that our C.C., by a special resolution, has recognised it quite impossible to attend the Brussels conference of July 16-18 unless the Polish opposition is invited on equal terms with the other participants of the meeting.[334] The discussion of even Russian affairs, let alone Polish, is simply impossible for us without the participation of the only real national organisation of the Social-Democratic workers in Russian Poland.

I would be greatly obliged, dear comrade, if you would answer this letter by wire. I trust there can be no obstacles to inviting the above-mentioned organisation.

We should very much like to know exactly what organisations and individuals you have invited.

Written not earlier than July 4, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Brussels

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I have yesterday made a walk in the mountains (the weather is good after weeks of rain), & therefore could not answer yesterday your letter. I'm *extremely* glad that you all are well, no illness, & that you are busy.

For the congress I'd like to beg you to prepare the most important citations (quotations) & documents against liquidateurs. Paris & I would help you. *Stockholm minutes—quotations about the underground* (*No. 3 of Nasha Zarya*,[335] *etc.*)*—our C.O. and major articles against the liquidators.** It is possible that you will be obliged to be member of the "conference" (of all "fractions") & to act publicly as accusator of liquid. & as a partisan (more than this: as a representative) of the C.C.

About "thrashing" of Alex. I've written not a word to Parisians & will not write. But... have you seen the cutting I've sent you?** Nik. Vas. was wrong: he has *helped* Ax-ky, who will now play a role of a "victim". It is clear. Boycott & common resolution. That's good. Thrashing is bad: now **all** *outsiders** will be *against* Nik. Vas. And the "moeurs" ill the emigration would get quite hooligan, if thrashing would get common.... Resolutions, boycott—that is the *single* convenient measures....

Nothing new here. Guests not yet arrived. The wife of Grigory still ill in hospital.

Yours truly, truly,

V. I.

Wishing you all good & best....

Written in July, prior to 6th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Written in English

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* Words in italics marked with an asterisk are in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

** This refers to Alexinsky's open letter published in *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 41 for June 21, 1914.—*Ed.*

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,*

I am terribly afraid that you will refuse to go to Brussels, and thus place us in an *absolutely impossible* position. And so I have thought up another "compromise", which you will simply be unable to refuse.

Nadya believes your elder children have arrived already, and you could easily leave them for 3 days (or take Andrei with you).

In the event of the elder children not having arrived and it being *absolutely* impossible for you to leave the children for 3 days, I suggest that you go *for one day* (the 16th, **even** *for half a day*, to read the report), either leaving the children for the day, or even sending for K—vich for that day at an extremity. (We shall pay the expenses.)

You see, it's *extremely* important that the main report, at least should be read *really* **effectively**. And for that purpose *excellent* French is definitely needed, otherwise the effect will be nil—*French*, because otherwise nine-tenths will be lost in translation for the very Executive Committee *for whom the effect is primarily intended* (the Germans are *hopeless*, and they *may* not be there).

Besides excellent French, of course, an *understanding of essentials* and proper tact are needed. You are the *only suitable person*. So please—I beg you most earnestly—consent, if only for one day (you will read the report and apologise, pleading illness in the family, and go away, handing things over to Popov). If you have already refused by letter, wire (Uljanow. Poronin—10 words cost 60 heller): "agree one day", "agree 16 only", etc.

All the very best. Always sincerely yours,

V. I.

We shall write the C.C.'s report.** Your job will be to

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* These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

** See V. I. Lenin, "Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference and Instructions to the C.C. Delegation" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 495-535).—*Ed.*

translate it and read it *with commentaries*, which we shall agree on.

P.S. *The new chairman is not here but must come very soon.**

Kamsky, Popov, you. Safarov only as secretary—that's how I plan the delegation.

*I hope you will not now decline my demand. A good "lecture" in French, in good French will help our party extremely.**

I am worried very much about Brussels. *Only you* could carry it off wonderfully. Grigory will hardly be able to go—Zina is still in hospital (a bad "phlegmon") and his nerves have gone to pieces. *I am no good here.* Besides, Grigory speaks only German (and a poor German at that), and for us not to have a French speaker is tantamount to losing nine-tenths.

Written in July, prior to 6th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in part in 1959 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN

Dear Suren,

I am surprised that you have not answered (or not noticed) the important point of the Bill. *How* to determine the proportionate share of expenditure on the education of different nations? (if this share is required to be not lower than the share of the given nation in the population).

You should consider this. Collect data. Go through the literature. Go into details. Give examples in figures from the life of the Caucasus.

Yet not a word from you about this!

* The italicised words marked with an asterisk are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

To include autonomy in self-determination is *wrong*. It is a downright error. See my articles in *Prosveshcheniye*.* You are vacillating and "searching" for something. It's wrong. You should *understand* the Programme and stand for it.

Write me a criticism of my articles in *Prosveshcheniye*, and we'll talk it over.

It is shameful to stand for an official language. It is a police-regime idea. But there is not a shadow of police-regime practice in *advocating* Russian for small nations. Don't you understand the difference between the truncheon and the advocacy of a free man? Amazing!

"I exaggerate the danger of Great-Russian nationalism"!!! Now that's really funny! Do the 160 millions in Russia suffer from *Armenian* or *Polish* nationalism? Is it not a shame for a *Russian* Marxist to adopt the point of view of an Armenian hen-coop? Is it Great-Russian nationalism that oppresses and shapes the *policy* of Russia's ruling classes, or is it Armenian, Polish?? "Armenian" blindness makes you a Handlanger of the Purishkeviches and *their* nationalism!

To change the subject. Collect immediately and send me exact information: 1) on the time and frequency of publication in the Caucasus of Social-Democratic newspapers in Georgian, Armenian and other languages (from such-and-such a date to...). So many issues. *Liquidators'* and *ours*. 2) Circulation of each of them. 3) The number of workers' groups which have made donations. 4) Other information. **Hurry**. It is *facts* that Vienna needs, not phrases. Answer immediately.

Yours,
V. I.

Written prior to 6 July, 1914,
at Poronin

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

* See "Critical Remarks on the National Question" and "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 17-51 and 393-454).—*Ed.*

352

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,*

Re a joint or different delegations with the liquidators, I would advise you not to decide that now, i.e., not to mention it. "The delegates will decide themselves"[336]

(and we, of course, will make it two different ones: according to the Rules of the International, we should first try a joint one, and if *no agreement* is reached, then the issue is decided by the distribution of votes in the Bureau).

Re Kollontai's report, I agree with you: Let her remain, but not from Russia. In the debates you will take the floor first or second.

Best wishes, *Yours truly*,*
V. I.

I was expecting a reply from you today. Nothing yet. Letters take longer than to Brussels!

We received the parcel . *Many thanks. I've got your despatch. Many, many thanks! Mr. chairman is not yet here!! And I do not yet know, if my proposition (to send you) will be voted (if not, Gregory will go himself). More thanks!!**

Written in July, prior to 9th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

353

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I have just settled with Grigory that he is not going (Zina is still ill!) (I am not going either)—and that *you and Popov*

* The words in italics marked with an asterisk are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

(and probably+Kamsky+**Safarov** only as secretary) have been *endorsed by the Central Committee*.

Tomorrow I shall send you the beginning and the end of the report. I am also preparing for you heaps of advice: I am sure you will wipe the floor with both Plekhanov (he is going!!) and Kautsky (going too). We shall teach them a good lesson.... Splendid!

Yours,
V. U.

Written in July, prior to 9th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,*

I have just sent a letter off to Papasha (Mr. Harrison. 35. Mornington Crescent. 35. London. N. W.)—he is a member of the I.S.B.—asking him to send Popov (Popoff, rue du Beffroi. 2. A. Bruxelles) a mandate for 5 persons.

Petrova (=Inessa; it is not advisable to let the liquidators know the name!)
Popov
Vladimirsky
Yuriev
Volodin** (Safarov).

The latter two will *probably not go*.

Forgive me please this disjointed letter. *We have many guests and I am extremely nervous, almost ill.**

I am sending the C.C. report by registered post. Please translate it, i.e., start translating it at once (making it as *polite as possible* and *toning down* the too sharply worded passages and name-calling)—and send the Russian text to *Popov* as the translation progresses.

* The words in italics marked with an asterisk are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

** The names Yuriev and Volodin are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

(I have left myself my rough copy in order to send amendments and addenda and so that *I could take a counsel of Mr. Chairman who is not yet here but must come soon.**)

I advise you to translate for your speech, and not for the press or for the Bureau (Popov will afterwards make a fair copy from your rough one and submit it to the Bureau)—try to make it sound as if you were making a speech and referring to your notes. (Take the Russian text with you, but **don't give it** to the liquidators; say you didn't bring it along, and that you only have the translation.)

Start translating from Section IV ("Conditions"). This is most important of all, and it should be sent as soon as possible to Popov (who is to study it and prepare himself, and **talk** it over with Berzin).

N.B. In making the rough copy of the report in French leave room for amendments and addenda.

Better be in Brussels on the 15th. But if you can't, then let it be 16th. Get in touch with Popov.

N.B. The figures in pencil stand for the pages of my rough copy here in case of amendments and addenda.

Please keep me informed **more often** (if only by the briefest of letters) of the progress of your preparations, of any points that need clearing up, etc.

Yours very truly,*
V. I.

P.S. I advise you to ask for the floor to make your report first, on the plea, if necessary, that your children are ill and you may have to go home at once in the event of a telegram arriving.

I am writing to Kamsky asking him to collect **all** the ma-

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* The words in italics marked with an asterisk are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

terial. I shall send the *packages* to you and Popov from here tomorrow and the day after.

Read the other side, it will come in useful—I wrote to Popov by mistake on the back of my letter to you!!*

Written in July, prior to 10th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

355

TO I. F. POPOV

Take good care of all the documents which you will receive from Paris, *St. Petersburg* and elsewhere for your work at the conference, and then *return them to me with care*.

If St. Petersburg sends you *Stoikaya Mysl*[337] No. 18 and bourgeois newspapers for 4.IV and 5.IV. 1914, these should be added as material to the *C.C. report* (on the question of the liquidators' attitude to the demonstration of 4.IV[338]). The report is being sent to Inessa.

Your and Vladimirsky's chief duty (Inessa is the French speaker) is to write down as accurately as possible everything that goes on, especially the speeches of the Germans, *and especially of Kautsky*—and send in a report on this to the C.C.

Demand a translation of everything into French and do not accept the German language (in this sense).

Written in July, prior to 10th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Brussels

First published in part in 1959 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

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* See next letter.—*Ed.*

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TO THE PRIBOI PUBLISHERS

Dear Colleague,

I thank you very much for sending me the last part of the book *Marxism and Liquidationism* I have another very important request to make of you. Will you please send immediately all the printed sheets of this book (i.e., the whole book) to the following address: rue du Beffroi. 2. A. Bruxelles. Mr. Jean *Popoff*. This is an extremely important matter which does not brook a moment's delay. Please send it express, hire a messenger and mail it specially from the Warsaw Station. I shall pay all the expenses promptly by special remittance if need be.

If at all possible, I would ask you (on a matter of such great importance as occurs only once in two years) to collect supplementary material (sets of *Pravda* and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*[339] for 2 weeks, *Nasha Zarya* and the *gems* of liquidationist literature—consult the editor of *Trudovaya Pravda*[340]). In the same package. I trust you will meet my request. The articles of Bulkin and Martov in No. 3 of *Nasha Zarya*, Axelrod's articles on party reform—that is to say, revolution, *Stoikaya Mysl* No. 18, St. Petersburg bourgeois newspapers for the *evening* of 4.IV.1914 and *morning* of 5.IV.1914, articles on the bloc between the Narodniks and liquidators in the insurance campaign. Whatever you can *manage*, to catch the mail train (evening train, I believe) of the Warsaw Line.

Written July 11, 1914
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg

First published in 1959
in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4

Printed from a
typewritten copy
found in police records

357
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Today (Sunday) two working men are arrived, very good people from our capital. The present chairman* of our

* G. I. Petrovsky.—*Ed.*

members of parliament group will come tomorrow or very soon.

News good. Extremely important now your presence on the "unification" conference at Brussels. You can make it very, very soon, arrive 16th in the morning, leave Br. 18th in the evening. D, accord, is not it?

Please, give your agreement.

Yours,
W. I.

P.S. I shall write you often now in order to inform you.

Written July 12, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Written in English

358
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am extremely grateful to you for giving your agreement. I am positive you will carry off your important role with flying colours and give a fitting answer to Plekhanov, Rosa Luxemburg and Kautsky and Rubanovich (the insolent fellow!) who are going to Brussels in the hope of staging a demonstration against us generally and against myself in particular.

You are sufficiently familiar with the business, you speak well, and I am sure you will now have enough "cheek". Please don't take my desire to give you occasional advice in "a bad sense". It is meant to make your difficult task easier. Plekhanov likes to "disconcert" comrades of the "female sex" with "sudden" gallantries (in French, and so on). You must be prepared to meet this with quick repartees—I am delighted, Comrade Plekhanov, you are quite an old spark (or a gallant cavalier)—or something like that to politely *take him down a peg*. You should know that everybody will be very angry (I'm very glad!) at my not

being present, and will probably want to take it out on you. But I am sure you will show them your "nails" in the best possible way. I am tickled in advance at the thought of the cold, calm and somewhat scornful snub they will be publicly inviting.

Plekhanov likes to heckle and bully his victim. My advice is—cut him short immediately, saying: you have a right, as has every member of this conference, to ask questions, but I am not answering you personally, I am answering the whole conference, so will you please not interrupt me—and by this means promptly turn his heckling into an *attack* upon him. You should be on the offensive all the time. Or, say: I shall *take the floor* when my turn comes, in lieu of an answer and for an answer (I prefer it *that way*), and you will be quite satisfied. In my experience this is the best way to deal with insolent fellows. They are cowards and will sing small at once.

They don't like it when we quote resolutions. But that is the best answer: I have come here chiefly to convey the *officially documented* decisions of our workers' party. For those who are interested in these decisions I shall tell about one of them.

Especially nota bene and look through beforehand:

1) The resolution of the 1912 January Conference on the constitution of the Conference.* This is on the question of the *validity* of the January Conference of 1912 (Rosa Luxemburg will probably raise the question of validity and so will others). (By the way, I am glad that ... the Germans will hardly understand you, if they understand at all—sit closer to the Executive Committee and speak *for them*. At the same time you yourself have a *full* right to ask Huysmans after every German speech—the translation, please!)

2) The resolutions of 1912 and 1913 on **flexible** forms** (for Kautsky: this fool cannot grasp the difference between recognition of the *underground* and the search for *new* forms of **screening** this underground and organising it).

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* See present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 453-54.—*Ed.*

** Ibid., pp. 472-73 and Vol. 18, pp. 458-59.—*Ed.*

3) The resolutions of II.1913 on *unity from below** ("You exclude 670 groups of workers??" Nonsense! We *invite them*. "The majority has no right to exclude the minority." Except in cases when the minority flouts the will of the majority and does not bow to formal decisions. This is our case).

Yours,
V. U.

I advise you not to forget the *official* definition of the aim of the conference (take the French text of the resolution of the I.S.B. of XII.1913 from Popov or Huysmans), which is:

To exchange opinions
on moot points!!

Just that! To exchange opinions—that is what you are doing.

Another important subject for *popular* elucidation (you have to be extremely popular with the French) is that of the illegal organisation, of the complete trust, secrecy, etc., which *it* calls for. It is all very well for you Europeans: you have an open, legal party, you have lists of party members, you have open control and verification!! *Everything*'s easy then!!

With us, however, an accurate and open recording of party membership in the illegal organisation is *impossible*, as is also open control. Therefore, the maximum trust is needed in order to maintain discipline and good teamwork, whereas the liquidators, in rejecting the idea of an underground, are destroying the very possibility of joint work.

The opinion that it is impossible today in Russia to determine the *strength* of the trends, to say *whose lead* the majority follows, is erroneous, however.

Thanks to the newspaper, *to the contributions from the workers' groups*, etc., this *can* be determined quite reliably and unmistakably.

(I sent Popov a number of statistical tables and documents to have the headings translated and submitted to the Bureau.)

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* Ibid., Vol. 18, pp. 463-65.—*Ed.*

In Grigory's opinion we should not walk out because of a refusal to take minutes and publish them; but a written statement should be submitted. The *Executive Committee* is an **intermediary**. This should be kept firmly in mind (this is stated in the official resolution of the International Socialist Bureau of XII. 1913). Not an arbiter, but an *intermediary*. In case of anything, this is what you should declare: we thank you for your mediation, we accepted it willingly, and quote the resolution of the I.S.B. (of XII.1913). The word is "mediation", but we ask of the mediator that he pass on to the opponent: 1) our *conditions*, and 2) *objective information*. And that is all!!

N.B. We are an *autonomous* party. Keep this firmly in mind. **No one** has a right to impose anybody's will upon us, and the International Socialist Bureau *has no right* either. If there are *threats*, this is **a mere phrase**.

Tomorrow I shall send the end of the report. You will have your work cut out for you now, a lot of work to do and little time to do it in! Thanking you in advance.

Sincerely yours,
V. I.

Written in July, prior to 13th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in part in 1959 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 5

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

359

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

We are now sitting here in special session with the new chairman & other working men.[341] The situation is excellent. I am extremely glad and thankful for you that you have freed me (*relieved me**) from the duty to be in Brussels (Martov is in Brussels. Your task is very heavy but

* These words are in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

very important). Thank you many many times for your work so unpleasant & so important.

Our congress will have place (aura lieu) in August. Almost all necessary money is already in our hands.

Please *talk over with Berzin*.* What is his opinion & his plan? *Who of them can attend*? *Their C.C.*? *Or not*? *Or even their delegates from the local areas*?* Our congress will be good. *Have a frank talk with him, and we shall discuss the rest by letter*.*

Wire us the results, etc., Saturday night for certain and in fullest detail. On Sunday our telegraph office is open only from 8 to 10 in the morning.*

Our chairman is here till Sunday. He must know the results.

If you are asked at the conference whether we (that is, our C.C.) will invite the national organisations to the congress, answer: Yes.*

Yours very truly,
W. I.

Written not later than
July 16, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Brussels

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

360
TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear Friend,

You no doubt know how the Brussels conference ended? The Polish opposition went over to the liquidators!

We are now in for a period of betrayals, but it will not alter anything.

Obviously, we shall not mess about with a "joint congress"—the liquidators+Rosa+the Alexinskys+the Plekhanovs.[342]

How is Samoilov's health? Is he really on the mend? Will he be well for Vienna? (By the way, are you preparing

* The passages in italics marked with an asterisk are in Russian in the original.—*Ed*.

for Vienna? Answer me at length.) Write me about Samoilov in greatest possible detail.

How did they find his stomach?

Regards to the family,

Yours,

Lenin

Written after July 18, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

361

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Friend,

Will you please take it upon yourself to keep us informed *during the revolutionary days in Russia*.[343]

We have no newspapers.

Will you please

1) send us daily (by ordinary book-post) *Berlin* newspapers giving the *fullest* news from Russia (*Vorwärts*, better still, say, *Berliner Tageblatt*[344]; choose which has **most reports** from Russia);

2) ditto Russian newspapers from **St. Petersburg and Moscow** (we have only *Kievskaya Mysl*)—*Rech*, *Novoye Vremya* (*since the beginning of the July days*)...

3) telegrams concerning *special*, exceptionally important events, if any, such as revolts among the troops, etc.

My address for everything (including telegrams)—*Ulianow* (only two words). *Poronin*.

We shall pay expenses. Write a postcard **immediately** whether you undertake to do this (I hope you won't refuse) and how much money we should send.

(The rates for mail and telegrams here are the same as those *inside* Germany.)

Awaiting your reply,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Please send us also cuttings from *Vorwärts* about everything relating to the Brussels conference of 16-18.VII. 1914 and the "bloc" there (Rosa+Plekhanov+Alexinsky+ liquidators, etc.).

Written after July 18, 1914
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

362

TO INESSA ARMAND

Huysmans and Vandervelde have unleashed *all* threats. Wretched diplomats! They thought they could frighten us (or you). Of course, they have failed.

Grigory and I agreed it would have been wiser not to go at all. But the Russian workers would not have understood this; now they have a living example to *teach them*.

You handled the thing better than I could have done. Language apart, I would probably have *gone up in the air*. I would not have been able to stand the hypocrisy and would have called them scoundrels. *And that's what they were waiting for*—that's what they were trying to provoke.

But you and the others carried it off calmly and firmly. *Extremely thankful & greeting you.**

I am surprised that today (Sunday) I have no wire concerning the *closing* of the conference. It must have closed at 4 o'clock on Saturday. Did you (the three delegates—you, the Letts+the Polish opposition) submit a written statement?

Awaiting your impressions,

Yours,
V. U.

Written July 19, 1914, at Poronin

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

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* This sentence is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

363

TO INESSA ARMAND

Sunday. 19/VII.

My dear & dearest friend,

Today at first I've got a report (very very good!)—evidently written by Kamski. I greet you thousand times!! Your task was heavy & .... Huysmans had done all against you & our delegation, but you have dejoné ses *his sallies** in the best manner. You have rendered a very great service to our party! I am especially thankful because you have replaced me. *The telegram* (*yesterday*) *says* "*you* (*we*) *and the Letts*" *participated in the voting of an omnibus resolution on tactics and organisation* (*there are no more tactical differences, etc.*). *I'm sure this is a slip of the pen. You and the Letts did not participate (in the programme either).*

*The liquidators' last card is the help of the foreign organisations, but that card, too, will be beaten.**

I've sent your son 150 frs. Probably it is too small sum? Pray, let me know at once *how much more you have spent. I shall send it immediately.**

Our congress must take place here about 20-25 August new style. You must be delegate

1) of the C.O.A.
2) of the Brussels delegation.

*It would be better if you came earlier. There's tons of work. Let's settle this in advance by letter.**

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. *And Vandervelde and Kautsky in the role of gossips spreading the tale that Lenin is "hiding in Brussels"!! How do you like that! Oh, those vile scandalmongers—they know only one method of struggle.*

You and Popov told Huysmans off properly. Serves him

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* The italicised passages marked with an asterisk are in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

*right. Write—are you very tired, very angry? Are you wild with me for persuading you to go?**

Written July 19, 1914, at Poronin

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original

364

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Today I've got your letter & a letter from Popoff. Your divergence I cannot understand precisely & think it is not important. Important was *only* the vote & you were right of participating in it. That's all.

Why it is "extremely unpleasant" for you to write about you being delegated from the delegation—I do not understand. Your quarrel with Popoff is a bagatelle. Why are you against being delegated??? Write frankly, please!!

Thank you for details about conference! The comrade from the Lettish party is here. We shall speak with him precisely about their participation in our congress.

It'd be very good if you commence an exchanging of letters with Kautsky (he is a mean creature, totally without character, under private influences, always changing position according secret influence and angry against me because of "money story": it is especially mean to act as "impartial" or to play the role of "impartial", being partial & *angry* especially against me personally because of private quarrel with me because of money. *Mean!**). If he begged you to write him & if you can undertake the work of translating in French all report and to sending him it (*especially about 4.IV.1914*) it would be very good. But, naturally, it is a very hard work & what concerns me I do not ask you to make it. If **you** like—faites! (My personal opinion: it is good to inform Kautsky & especially *develop* in *very great detail** the question of 4.IV.1914 &

* The italicised words marked with an asterisk are in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

the statistics of groups: this statistics is partly published in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* v. 21.VII.1914. If you like, I send you it & if you like *I shall help you privately to prepare a letter for Kautsky*. But the play of mean intrigues is hard to paralyse now & Kautsky is a victim of intrigues of Rosa L., Plekh. & Co. Plekh. is *a mean turncoat, as always. Did you see my blows at him in Rabochy*[345] *No. 7 and in Prosveshcheniye No. 6*?).

The address of *Neue Zeit* I cannot find now. If you like you can write an den Verlag der "Neuen Zeit", *Stuttgart*, Furtbachstraße. 12 *für* Genossen Karl Kautsky

The idiots and intrigants with the aid of Kautsky will get a resolution *against* us at the Vienna congress. Soit!! We cannot hinder it. But we remain quiet. This last "atout'; of the opportunists will be beaten also.

Your behaviour at the conference was right and was great service to the party. Popoff writes me you were ill, your voice was feeble. What is this illness? Please write me more details!! I cannot be quiet otherwise.

Many kind regards & best wishes: be healthy and quiet.

Yours truly,
W. I.

Written in July, prior to 24th, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Lovran

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Written in English

365
TO JANSSON OR STIETZ

Poronin, July 25, 1914 (Galizien)

Dear Comrade,

Please excuse me for taking the liberty of asking a favour of you without knowing you personally. The latest revolutionary events in Russia compel me to it.

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* This passage in italics is in Russian in the original. See "Adventurism" and "The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 356-59 and 455-86).—*Ed.*

I found your address and the address of K. W. Jansson in *Vorwärts* (Berlin), 1913, No. 33 (8.II.1913) ("Aus der Partei": "Die in Stockholm lebenden deutschen Parteigenossen"). Our contact with St. Petersburg the usual way (via Warsaw) has now become impossible.

I would therefore ask you to supply us with several good secret addresses or one good secret address in Stockholm. The address should be that of a reliable and *very punctual* comrade. It would be desirable to receive a *permanent* address. We can communicate in German, French or English.

This comrade would have to affix Swedish stamps to letters received from us and send them to Finland (or to St. Petersburg). Also to send letters (*in their envelopes*) received from Finland (or Russia) to our address: Ulianow. *Poronin*, (Galizien). If telegrams are received—to wire them to us.

If you will be so kind as to arrange this, I shall send you immediately the necessary sum of money for postal and telegraph expenses (as well as envelopes, etc.).

I enclose an international reply coupon.

As to my identity, I would inform you that from 1907 to 1911 I represented the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the International Socialist Bureau. My Party pseudonym is Lenin, my real name Ulyanov. My former address, given in many published documents of the International Socialist Bureau, is: Oulianoff. 4. Rue Marie Rose. Paris. (XIV).

Since taking up residence in the country in Galicia I resigned this post. Our representative on the International Socialist Bureau now is Comrade Harrison (35. Mornington Crescent. London. N. W.).

Comrade Branting, leader of the Swedish party, knows me. You can telephone him. In the event of his not being in Stockholm, I am enclosing, in proof of my identity, some wrappers of socialist newspapers which I am receiving.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party,
With Party greetings, thanking you in advance,
N. Lenin
(*Vl. Ulvanov*)

P.S. Will you please send the enclosed letter to Finland.

Wl. Uljanow.

Poronin (Galizien).

Sent to Stockholm

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 48

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

366

TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS[346]

Dear Comrade Rudis,

I recently met a highly respected and valuable Lettish Social-Democrat,* who told me about the "Left opposition" in the Lettish party. He said you belonged to it.

I do not know to what extent the opposition which you and your friends are raising to the Lettish C.C. is a really "Left opposition". I am sure, at any rate, that if you are doing so, you are acting in good faith.

In any case, the leftward shift on the part of the Lettish C.C. is an obvious fact. Proof of this is provided by the resolution in No. 32 of *Trudovaya Pravda* and the refusal to vote in Brussels for the tainted, absurd resolution covering up the liquidators. The Polish opposition voted *for*; in my opinion this is either treachery or a dirty "game" or diplomacy of the worst kind.

The 4th District in Riga is said to stand for closer relations with our C.C.?

Is that true?

Are the majority of Lettish workers for it or not?

I think it would be important to acquaint the Lettish workers with our "14 conditions". I sent them to Herman I don't think he would refuse to let you have them for a short time to read.

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* A reference to E. Zvirbulis.—*Ed.*

Further, it would be important to make clear our attitude in principle towards federation. We are *against* it *in principle*. We are for democratic centralism. In that case, why preserve the old rotten "agreement" of 1906 with the Lettish Social-Democrats, which retains the *federative* clauses, such as that providing for a *delegation* from the Lettish C.C. to the general C.C.?? Even the Poles in Stockholm (1906) rejected this *federalist* clause in principle.

I do not believe that the class-conscious Lettish workers stand for this clause—it facilitates manoeuvring, diplomacy, clannishness. It is harmful to the work.

Further. Is it true that there is vacillation among the class-conscious Lettish workers on the question of the need for combating the separatism of the Bund and cultural-national autonomy?? It would be very deplorable!

Has the resolution of our summer (1913) meeting OD the national question been translated into Lettish and published?[347]

The Polish opposition in Brussels adopted the liquidators' stand and "Tyszka's" play at diplomacy: a backheel for the Pravdists, a blow at them from behind, and separation from them "in the face of Europe". They now want, in the Tyszka way, to uphold the federalist clauses in agreements and "cover up" the nationalism of the Bund (cultural-national autonomy), defend the rotten (for the liquidators useful) "lawfulness" of the Party **up to 1912** (i.e., prior to the Party's re-establishment *against* the liquidators).

I hope the Letts will not follow this path. I would like to know your opinion and that of your Riga friends, of the 4th District and others.

All the best. My regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Written July 26, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1935
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 5

Printed from the original

367

TO V. M. KASPAROV

Dear Comrade,

I am not getting *Vorwärts*, yet (judging from extracts in some socialist newspapers) there are important things in it now—for instance, comments (and correspondence) on the St. Petersburg workers' movement, on the street demonstrations, etc.

We need it badly (both for the C.O. and for other work).

Could you make up and send us a set of cuttings from *Vorwärts* on these questions (indicating the date of the newspaper) and do that regularly?

If you can I shall send you the money to cover expenses (let me know how much).

If you are busy or cannot do it generally, let me know.

I trust you follow *Vorwärts*? Was there a translation in it of Plekhanov's article from *Za Partiyu*?[348]

I will be greatly obliged if you could collect also cuttings from bourgeois newspapers concerning the present stormy events in St. Petersburg.

Hurry!

Awaiting your reply,

Yours,

Lenin

Written in the second half of July 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

368

TELEGRAM TO THE CHIEF OF CRACOW CITY POLICE[349]

The local police suspect me of espionage. I lived in Cracow for two years, in Zwiezsynice and 51 Ul. Lubomirskiego. I personally gave information about myself to the commissary of police in Zwiezsynice. I am an emigrant, a So-

cial-Democrat. Please wire Poronin and mayor of Nowy Targ to avoid misunderstanding.

Ulyanov

Written August 7, 1914
Sent from Poronin to Berlin

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the telegraph form written in an unknown hand
Translated from the German

369

TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT PUBLISHING HOUSE

Berne, le 15 sept. 1914

Dear Sir,

I wish to notify you of my change of address. Just released from short captivity in Austria, I shall now live in Berne. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and let me know by what date I have to send in the article (the war, I hope, is a sufficiently good reason for a postponement).* If urgent—by wire, where one word (day of the month, old style) will stand for the deadline. I am not quite sure yet whether the manuscripts reach you in good time.

At your service,
V. Ilyin

Written September 15, 1914
Sent to Moscow

First published in 1959
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* This refers to the article "Karl Marx (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism)" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 43-91).—*Ed.*

370

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

*Hugeous regards from all of us to Abram. Let him visit friends in Lausanne. He will find interesting documents there** and I will address a demand to you to translate these documents in French & send to *Sentinelle* (and to me send also with an occasion).[350] (What party? Where published? Is it a decent organ? Please send me one copy of the most characteristic issues of this paper.)

I am extremely anxious & angry with the position of the European socialists in the present war. My conviction is that all—& the German socialists first of all & chief of all—got "chauvinists". It is quite insupportable to read German and French (*l'Humanité*!!) socialist papers!! Extreme "chauvinism"! I am afraid that many, too many socialists, have lost their head (if I dare say so) in the present crisis, and that in the last end it is the opportunism which is responsible for this extreme "infamie" of the European socialism. I am told Martynov (liquid.) in Zurich has had a conference (private, I suppose) and firstly attacked German socialists—but later on (the second day of discussion) a changé d'avis (sous l'influence funeste d'Axelrod) et a denie tout ce qu'il avait dit plus abord!!!** Shame!! We must in that or other manner tell our opinion—but it is extremely difficult, very difficult in such times.... Please let Abram go to Lausanne and bring you news.

*Grigory has arrived with his family. We are remaining in Berne. A dull little town, but ... better than Galicia and the best there is!! Never mind. We shall adjust ourselves. I am poking around the libraries—I have missed them.** Very very kind regards and hearty shakehands. Please write more about yourself.

Yours truly,
W. I.

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* The italicised passages marked with an asterisk are in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

** He changed his opinion (under the pernicious influence of Axelrod) and denied everything he had said before.—*Ed.*

I hope we shall soon meet? Do you think so?

P. S. What is weather in Les Avants? Do you make walks? Do you feed better now? Have you books? papers?

*Arrangements should be made in Lausanne to collect all Swiss newspapers in French containing socialist comments on the war, on the German and French socialists, etc. Let Abram tackle this. No effort should be spared in collecting documents!!**

Written prior to September 28, 1914
Sent from Berne to Les Avants (Switzerland)

First published in 1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Written in English

371

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you the rest of the articles. All to be set in brevier.

Take the *old* format of the C.O.

48 thousand letters desirable.

Order: 1) statement of the C.C.**
2) reply of Russian S.D.s
3) *against the current*
4) article on the International***
5) the International and defence of the fatherland
6) *St. Ptsb.* Letter from St. Ptsb.
7) R. V. Malinovsky.

Be sure to send the *made-up* issue before printing.

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* This paragraph is in Russian in the original.—*Ed.*

** This refers to the Manifesto of the C.C., R.S.D.L P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 25-34).—*Ed.*

*** This refers to Lenin's article "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International" (see present edition, Vol 21, pp. 35-41).—*Ed.*

On Monday I am lecturing at Montreux: shall I drop in? Or will it be ready earlier?

Send in your paragraph; it will hardly suit the character of No. *1*. Shouldn't it wait for No. 2?

Yours,
Lenin

Written October 20, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

372
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

Please forgive me for not having answered you so long: I have been busy with the urgent article for Granat. I can gladden you with pleasant news—the C.O. has been delivered to a point near the frontier and apparently will soon be sent across. Congratulations! Again I thank you heartily for all the trouble you are taking with the newspaper! We are planning to put out the next issue soon. The first is having a good sale. (I am afraid your article on the Swiss elections is unsuitable *in character*; I have given it to a colleague for discussion.) I shall send you in a day or two No. 265 (for 13.XI.1914) de *La Sentinelle*, published in La Chaux-de-Fonds. It carries a condensed report of the Manifesto from the C.O. It would be a good thing to get it published also in the Geneva paper!!

Best regards from Nadezhda Konstantinovna and all our friends here.

Yours,
V. U.

Written November 14, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

373

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH*

Dear Friends,

Have you still got the type-setting?** It appears that not enough copies have been printed. If it has *not yet* been distributed, let us know (immediately); we shall then decide what to do.

Yours,
Lenin

Written November 18, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

374

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

Please have another 1,000 copies printed. Then have the type distributed immediately and let us know when you can start on the next issue.*** Half the copy for it is ready.

Salut!
Yours,
Lenin

Written November 20, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* This is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*

** This refers to the type-setting of No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* which carried the Manifesto of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy".—*Ed.*

*** This refers to No. 34 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*.—*Ed.*

375

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH*

We have just received your letter. Who's the pig, Sigg or Plekhanov? Or both of them? More details, please. In view of Plekhanov's vile nationalist agitation I *earnestly* ask you to push on *hard* with arrangements for Inessa's lecture in *French*: "Diverse Trends Among Russian Socialists in Regard to the War".

Yours,
Lenin

Written November 21, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

376

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I don't know how much thin paper you have (which does not cost us anything, by the way). Print half on thin paper. Write and let us know *for how many issues* you have thin paper. If there is plenty (we shall probably get some more from Paris) and if it is not too bad for local use, we shall increase the % of thin paper.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

We shall send the material tomorrow. All the same, the type distribution will take time.

Did you receive *La Sentinelle*? Will you have room?

Written November 22, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* This letter is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*

377

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

We are sending part of the copy for No. 34 (about 25 thousand out of the 45). The rest tomorrow or the day after.

(We're bulging with material: we are thinking of putting out No. 35 immediately.)

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written November 25, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

378

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

25/XI.

Dear Friend,

Yesterday evening we read about the arrest of 11 people (including 5 members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group)[351] near St. Petersburg and today we sent a telegram to Branting for you to find out (le cas échéant through the Finns) whether the 5 members of the Duma group have been arrested or not.

It's a bad job if they have!

All the more inadmissible is your departure for Oenmark. Generally, I strongly protest against such a removal. Now of all times you have to be in Stockholm in order to organise contacts more properly, frequently and widely. This is a difficult job that requires an experienced man, knowing at least one foreign language. It *simply cannot* be shuffled off onto "somebody".

If you are molested (by the police) in Stockholm, you should hide yourself in a village *outside* Stockholm (this is easy, they have telephones everywhere). I think Kol-

lontai, too, could easily come to Stockholm soon incognito or to some small place outside town.

We shall soon be putting out No. 34 of the C.O., then No. 35.

Please answer quickly. We receive all your letters. The liquidators' document (*their* reply to Vandervelde)[352] has also been received. Thanks.

All the very best. Awaiting your news,

Yours,
Lenin

Written November 25, 1914
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

379

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you copy for the C.O.

If you can't squeeze it all in, let the compositor say *exactly* how much is left over. We shall throw something out—first and foremost we shall hold up the item concerning Vandervelde (already sent to you).

Best regards,

Yours,
Lenin

Written November 26 or 27, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

380

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you more copy.

We shall put out two issues one after the other. We have material in super-abundance. The article concerning the

arrest of the conference with the R.S.D.L. Duma group is ready and is a must for No. 34, but we are holding it up as we have sent a telegram (we do not know whether the 5 deputies have been arrested or not).

I take your word for it that *there will be enough type for two issues*, so have everything set up, and we shall let you know in a day or two the make-up of No. 34 and No. 35 (if you haven't enough type for both issues, write and tell us *immediately*).

Yours,
Lenin

Send us the proofs.

Written prior to November 28, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

381

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am answering point by point

1) I am enclosing the arrangement of articles for No. 34 and No. 35
2) **Send** the proofs
3) Print *2,000* copies of each
4) On thin paper—250 copies each
   (till more arrives from Paris)
5) Do *not* send any money.

Write how much we owe.
Write immediately—when *can* Nos. 34 and 35 come out?
Date them at least a week apart.
They should now be put out immediately.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

No. 34	*thous.*	*No. 35*	*thous.*
1) The War & the R.S.D.L. Duma Group (At the Fighting Post). . . .	8	1) Chauvinism and Socialism****	12
2) Password of Revolutionary S.D. . .	15	2) National Pride of Great Russians*****	9
3) German Voice* . .	4	Students on Their Knees	3
4) Jordansky	4	Georgian Resolution[353]	2
5) Gorky**	2	Bottom page feuilleton:	
6) Woman and the War***	5	The International and Defence of the Fatherland"	14
7) St. Ptsb. **News Items** (liquidators' document and appraisal)	5½	St. Ptsb. News Items Letters from St. Ptsb. dated 10 and 11.X.	5½

If you *have* to hold an thing over, let it be the "German Voice" in No. 34 and the "Georgian Resolution" in No. 35. If we have badly miscalculated, write at once.

Written November 28, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* See V. I. Lenin, "A German Voice on the War" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 92-93).—*Ed.*

** See V. I. Lenin, "To the Author of *The Song of the Falcon*" (present edition, Vol. 41, pp. 344-45).—*Ed.*

*** Points 2-6 are written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

**** See V. I. Lenin "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism (How the International Can Be Restored)" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 94-101).—*Ed.*

***** See V. I. Lenin "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" (present edition Vol. 21, pp. 102-06).—*Ed.*

382

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you the text, received today (be sure to **return** it), of the government report concerning the arrest.

It must be inserted into the editorial (in lieu of what we sent you) and the words about our not knowing whether the deputies were arrested or not, etc., should be thrown out.

Drop a line, if only by postcard (that you have received this).

When you can put out No. 34
and No. 35.

We must make great haste now: we have received *extremely interesting* material concerning a "statement" of the Organising Committee.[354]

For the time being this is a secret.

Delete the Georgian resolution.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written December 1, 1914
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

383

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear Friend,

I received your letter with the news of your departure (on Sunday, today is Friday) for Copenhagen.

Write (1) *whence* your news and the rumours that you have conveyed? From what sources? Who brought them?

(2) Do you *now* have your own sources? At least one address in St. Petersburg? Or not? Is code and invisible ink being used with anybody or with nobody at all just now?

If there are no contacts, *can* you establish them?

If not, let's think *how* and through whom we can do it. Further, did you get in touch with Litvinov in London?

Belenin's speech at the Swedish congress came off *wonderfully*.[355] As for making a speech in Copenhagen (at the January 1915 conference),[356] let us start discussing this by letter straightaway.

Yours,
Lenin

Uljanow. Distelweg. 11. *Berne* (Suisse).

Written December 11, 1914
Sent to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

384
TO M. V. KOBETSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing a letter for Comrade "Alexander".

If he hasn't called on you yet, write him a letter through the city post (address Fru Alexandra Kollontay. Poste restante. Kjobenhavn) saying you have a letter for *Alexander* and asking him to call on you on *such-and-such a day and hour*.

Why don't you write what *news* there is in the Scandinavian labour movement? *Who* protested against the chauvinism of the socialists and *how*?

Write.

Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to December 16 1914
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

1915

385
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

3/I. 1915

Dear Friend,

I received your two letters with the news of your departure.

The arguments you have advanced against my supposition (about the possibility of your not going to Copenhagen, not leaving Stockholm) have fully convinced me. I see that I have overlooked a really very important circumstance. If I have offended you, I am prepared to tender my voluble apologies and earnestly ask you to forget it.

The village* is really far more dangerous now (*and inconvenient for the work*) than the town.

Generally speaking, the situation now is such that the fight against tsarism calls for the utmost care—especially as regards the preservation of reserves. To expend still more forces (soon after our *immeasurable* losses) would mean weakening ourselves completely for the moment of more decisive actions against tsarism. Therefore I ask you most earnestly to double and triple secrecy precautions and 1) *either* not go beyond asking for somebody to be sent to Sweden, 2) *or* confine yourself to the briefest of visits. I would ask you earnestly to confine yourself to the former and not make the latter (if there is the slightest possibility of not doing so).

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* Meaning Sweden.—*Ed.*

It would be better not to go to the conference (16/I) of the Scandinavians. Grigory and I have just discussed this for the umpteenth time. The Swiss are not going. That means there is an obvious intrigue of the Germans and Troelstra+Branting. They will try their hardest to muddle things up and *will not allow you to make your Swedish speech*. Unless there is an **absolute** guarantee that you will be allowed to make *such* a speech, you had better not go altogether. We should send (through Litvinov) α) a complete translation of our manifesto, β) a translation of the government's report concerning the arrest of the R.S.D.L. group in the Duma—and all this to be sent not as a rapport, not as an **account** (so that it should not appear as if we *recognise* the conference), but as a *communication*.

Wishing you all the very, very best. The utmost *care* and sans rancune, n'est-ce pas?

Yours,
Lenin

Written January 3, 1915
Sent from Berne to Copenhagen

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Printed from the original

386
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you the proofs.

To speed things up, put out the No.* without sending us proofs: the arrangement of the articles has already been given you, hasn't it? If not, write at once.

Will Kuzma manage the weekly C.O.?

When does copy have to be sent for the next No. and how much of it has been set up?

P.S. *Is there an information bureau in Geneva from*

* This refers to No. 36 of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*.—*Ed.*

which one can make inquiries concerning Russian prisoners of war in Germany?

Salut!

Yours,

Lenin

Written between January 3 and 9, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

387

TO D. B. RYAZANOV

Dear Comrade,

We received your article yesterday evening and have not had time yet to read and discuss it.

There is very little time left to write and send you a message by hand. So please excuse me for being so brief. There is no news from Russia. You will see what the state of affairs is from Nos. 35 and 36.*

We do not have *Sovremenny Mir*.

There is only 1 copy of *Nasha Zarya* in Berne, sorry we can't send it.

As regards *Golos*,[357] etc., it seems you are not fully informed. Read the whole of *Golos*.

We are unable to send you a set. We shall try to get the Parisians to do something about it, although it is not easy.

We have not seen Parvus!

Best regards from me, Nadezhda Konstantinovna and the whole Berne crowd.

N. Lenin

P.S. I enclose a letter to your wife.[358]

Written January 9, 1915
Sent from Berne to Vienna

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* Of *Sotsial-Demokrat*.—*Ed*.

388

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you the proofs.

Terrible delay!

Think over what to do. Kuzma must have been setting up for the Bundists.

What has to be done to put it out weekly?

Did you receive *all* the copy for Nos. 36 and 37?

I asked for a *tentative* arrangement of the material. If this is inconvenient to you, we shall do that here, in which case send us a **list** of *all* articles and items.

Salut fraternel!

Yours,
Lenin

We shall send a 4-5 line paragraph concerning the closing down of *Golos*. Let us know the exact *deadline*.

Written after January 17, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

389

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you another article—for No. 38.

I hope you will now have enough for both issues (Nos. 37 and 38).

I asked some time ago whether you had enough copy for both issues. But you are silent.

And Kuzma is impos-sible!!!

Salut!
Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to February 1, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva
First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*
Printed from the original

390
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I have just received No. 37 (please send me 2-3 copies from the printing shop *as soon as* they come out—it is important for the Editorial Board to have them as early as possible).

Why didn't you make a correction in regard to the date of No. 36?[359]

Will you please drop me a line at once

1) on how the setting-up of No. 38 is progressing
2) when it will be finished
3) " " can come out
4) " copy for No. 39 should be sent
5) does the material squeeze in or not?

The thing is that owing to the considerable delay with No. 37 quite a lot has to be inserted.

Send us a *list of the available articles*.

Did you have a talk with the compositor? Have you *fully* ascertained whether it is possible to put out a weekly issue?

I await your reply with impatience.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I enclose "More About Social-Chauvinism" for setting up.

Written February 3, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

391

TO JAKUB HANECKI

Werter Genosse,

I have just written to Skaret (about Haidukiewich). But as you did not give me Haidukiewich's address, I wrote Skaret that Haidukiewich would *call on him*, mentioning my postcard. So please write immediately to Haidukiewich.

I was down with influenza and have not quite recovered yet; that is why I did not answer you myself. I hope you will forgive me.

The London Conference turned out an utterly disgusting thing, as was to be expected.[360] Of course, we could do nothing to prevent it. Beste Grüsse an Ihre Familie und an alle Freunde in Zürich.

Ihr *Lenin*

Written February 17, 1915
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

392

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

We are terribly worried at the absence of news and proofs from you. Has the compositor taken to the bottle again? Or taken on outside work again?? It is devilishly important now to put the paper out *without delay* (for there

is highly important and urgent material concerning the London Conference*). For God's sake answer quickly. This is one thing. 2) Do your best to speed up the issue. Hurry with the proofs. 3) Call your group together and take all steps jointly to organise the proper issue of the C.O. *once for all*. Really, these delays are impossible: they kill all desire to work!!

Salutations!

Yours,

Lenin

Written February 20, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

393

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending the proofs and **new copy.** This issue *must* carry a report on the *London Conference*.

For God's sake do *everything* you can to speed it up. (If you *cannot* put it out before our meeting[361]), then *be sure* to bring the *proofs* along with you (especially the articles on defence of the fatherland).

N.B. The material on Martov is to be *held up*.**
Don't forget!! i.e., don't put it in.

Au revoir!

Yours,

Lenin

Written February 24, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

** The article "More on Martov" was published in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 41 on May 1, 1915.—*Ed.*

394

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

In my opinion §*3* is no good[362] I think it would be better *instead* to tell in a popular manner *how* the C.O. can be helped by contributions (emphasise that it has no assistance in the way of contributions) and prepared for *still more frequent issue*.

We must leave our hands untied in regard to the Baugy group* and leave ourselves a slight chance for reconciliation with them. In this form it is harmless and left entirely to our discretion.

"*More frequent issue* (right down to a daily)"—isn't that enough?

We shall say *the* one *and* the other: daily issue or even a parallel one.

"Parallelism" is downright harmful: it means helping them to *win* a sister *away* from us.

Written between February 27 and March 4, 1915, in Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

395

TO SOPHIA RAVICH**

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you the resolutions with a brief introduction.*** For God's sake, **hurry up** *with the type-setting*!!

Has the declaration at the London Conference been set up?

Send the proofs as soon as you can.

In a day or two we shall send in an article on the trial

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* The Baugy group—N. I. Bukharin, Yelena Rozmirovich and N. V. Krylenko. The group received its name from the town of Baugy (Switzerland), where it was located.—*Ed.*

** This is a postscript to a letter written by Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

*** This refers to the resolutions of the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64).—*Ed.*

of the R.S.D.L. Duma group.* They bore themselves badly. This should be admitted straight out.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written March 9, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

396

TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Berne, March 12, 1915

Dear Comrade,

The enclosed letter is from Comrade Inessa whom we have authorised to work on bringing the socialist women of the Left closer together.[363] I earnestly request you to find a Dutch woman comrade who shares your point of view and could be delegated to the conference of socialist women from your party (if not in person, at least in writing).

My congratulations on Gorter's pamphlet, which takes such a hard knock at the opportunists and Kautsky.[364]

I shall be greatly obliged if you will answer me as quickly as possible.

With fraternal greetings,
N. Lenin (*Vl. Ulyanov*)

Wl. Uljanow. Distelweg. 11. Berne (Suisse).

Sent to Amsterdam

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

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* This refers to Lenin's article "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the R.S.D.L. Duma Group" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 171-77).—*Ed.*

397

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending the proofs *at once*. Please make the corrections.

Really, it's wrong of you not to take money for copying. For one thing, it is downright uncomradely not to comply with the *agreed* condition: after all, you agreed to send the tariff!

Secondly, you are compelling me now to doing—what? To not sending you anything more?

Think this over in a calmer and less irate mood, and I'm sure you will see that you are wrong. It's too bad, really!

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written prior to March 23, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

398

TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Dear Comrade Wijnkoop,

I enclose a letter from Comrade Inessa. I heartily greet you and all the comrades of the Marxist party, and would ask you to pass the enclosed letter on to Comrade Gorter.*

With best regards,
Yours,
N. Lenin

Wl. Uljanow. Waldheimstrasse 66. Bern.

Written May 5, 1915
Sent to Zwolle (Holland)

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

* See next letter.—*Ed.*

399
TO HERMAN GORTER

To Comrade H. Gorter

Dear Comrade Gorter,

Comrade Radek has shown me your letter.

It would certainly be very good if an international Social-Democratic journal could be founded under the editorship of Pannekoek. We must fight *Neue Zeit*'s mean way of defending opportunism of the worst brand by means of sophisms.

The only question is—will we have enough money and literary forces to establish the journal immediately?

If not, we must without fail issue one (or two) pamphlets in German, without waiting until the war is over. The pamphlet should consist of articles by Russian, Dutch, German (Radek), French (perhaps Merrheim) and English (perhaps Rothstein) comrades, who consider it necessary to wage a ruthless fight against the opportunist traitors (including Kautsky).

In my opinion, we should *under no circumstances* lose any time in doing this. It is necessary, *right now*, while the war is still on, to tell the whole truth—naturally, not in Germany, but in Switzerland, so that we can speak freely about the revolutionary struggle, without a censorship.

If a French or English contributor cannot be found at once, we should not wait; better issue the first pamphlet ourselves (i.e., without the French and English). We can make do with a translation of Merrheim's opinion (namely, that to speak about a "war of liberation" is a *deception*).

Radek says that your pamphlet has come out *in English*. I am very glad to hear it—I shall now be able to read and understand it. I understand Dutch to the extent of approximately 30-40%. I congratulate you on your splendid attacks on opportunism and Kautsky. Trotsky's principal mistake is that he does not attack this gang.

Best regards,

Yours,

N. Lenin

My address is: Wl. Uljanow. Waldheimstrasse 66. Bern. Write me a postcard *when* you are coming.

Written May 5, 1915
Sent to Zwolle

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
written by D. Wijnkoop
Translated from the
German

400

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,*

I have written to you once or twice, but truth to tell, there is little news here. The news from Russia is not bad, you will read it all yourself soon, I hope, when you come here. You don't mention a word about what length of time your dentist has appointed for your treatment. Even approximately? You should travel either by post-chaise (up to Flühli twice a day, at 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. from Schüpfheim, and to us, to *Sörenberg*, only once a day, at 9 a.m. from Schüpfheim). To catch the morning post (that is, the post-chaise), I *think* you must start out from Berne at 5.30 *a.m.* and wait *1½ hours* at Schüpfheim. But if you leave Berne at 2.05, as we did, the post-chaise will take you only as far as Flühli; from there you will have to hire a horse-drawn vehicle (for that purpose you will have to *telephone* from Schüpfheim—there is a restaurant there opposite the station. The keeper for 10 pfg. will telephone us here, *Hotel Marienthal* in Sörenberg, saying you are coming and asking for a horse-drawn carriage to be sent: in that case they will just manage to get to Flühli from here and bring you down here from Flühli).

The fare by post-chaise is fr. 1.20 to Flühli+2 frs. from Flühli to Sörenberg.

Horse and carriage here costs 4 frs. per person (6 frs. for 2 people) from Flühli to Sörenberg.

* These words are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Your letter for some reason travelled to Lucerne! I wonder why? Is it because you wrote Sörenberg in one line? Or should you not add *via Schüpfheim*?

All the best. See you soon,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I wrote Grigory yesterday about inviting Grimm to *Kommunist*. Today I read Trotsky's answer (to *Kommunist*) in *Nashe Slovo*.[365] We must be *extremely careful*, in inviting Grimm, not to risk a refusal. Tell Grigory this.

Another request: when you see Kasparov, ask him to obtain the *official* address of the Bureau (in Geneva? or in Berne?), which undertakes to forward *money* to Russian prisoners of war in Germany (letters as well as money, but chiefly money). It is very important to have the official address, so that I can apply to them and be sure the money will not get lost.

Another request (tut-tut! Our tons of things and requests will crush you completely, eh?): buy citric acid in crystals (Zitronensäure). It's a bad job—going out into the country *after* everybody else!!

There is still no reply from Neuchâtel.[366]

Would you believe it!

Au revoir,
Yours,
Lenin

When opportunity offers, ask Radek before your departure whether he would like to come. If he does, we shall *invite* him.

Bring 15-20 copies of the Announcement of *Kommunist*.[367]

Written after June 4, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg (Switzerland)
to Berne

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

401

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Dear Friend,

I am sending *Neue Zeit*.

I have read *Izvestia*. Lovely! Especially that about *Nashe Slovo*.[368] The C.O. is essential now.

Write me about the plan of distribution of subjects. I should like to take that on "defeat" and on the alliance of Potresov+O.C.+Chkheidze vs. *Nashe Slovo*.

As regards "egoism" you are guilty of ... a slight misstatement. You sent me *what you had*. But I had nothing!! I sent you all the latest titles, but you haven't sent me **a single one** *up till now*.

I have received No. 2 of *Nashe Dyelo*.[369] I shall send it to you when finished with.

What's this about Radek's article? Isn't he cheating? We are negotiating with Alexander. What about you?

Everybody (and not only the ladies) will be extremely grateful for the cherries. Why are you silent about coming out here to climb the Rothorn?

All the best. Salut!

N. Lenin

Written after June 24, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to
Hertenstein (Switzerland)

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

402

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Dear Friend,

I received the article and read it, and am forwarding it to Bukharin.

The passage about the votes within *Kommunist* should now, of course, be thrown out of the item on Trotsky. But

should everything about the Chkheidze Duma group be thrown out too? It is the *crux* of the political situation, and will remain that for a fairly long time to come!

Many thanks for the cherries from *everybody*!

I have **nothing** new in the way of literature, French or other, so it's no use your trying to wriggle out of it.

"Title": *La Chesnais*: "Le groupe socialiste du Reichstag et la déclaration de guerre" (Paris. 1915 *l'Humanité*, fr. 1.50). *I shall ask Grisha to send it.*

I am sending you Radek's letter: I am writing him that *Grimm must write to the C.C.** We should not angle for an invitation. Kautsky & Co.'s volte-face is a lousy trick to *wean* the workers *away from* revolution by means of Left phrases. That's clear.

I wired Y. F. to come here and sent her a letter. No posts should be given, but we should make peace, of course, and we have long been doing that. The best thing would be for you to cycle down here. That can *easily* be done via Schüpfheim (the descent to Flühli is 20 min.!!). Send me your phone number (or that of a nearby telephone): I would then phone you about the time of Y. F.'s arrival here. Our phone is *No. 111* (Hotel Marienthal).

The best time to ring up is 8.30 a.m. If you do *not* send me your phone No. I shall wire you (Kommt such-and-such a day): meaning—come to meet Y. F.

Regards to everyone,

Yours,

N. L.

Written prior to July 5, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 329-31.—*Ed.*

403
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Dear Friend,

I am greatly surprised that you—for no apparent reason—have shirked a meeting!

There was no need to make peace, as the visitors were remarkably peaceable (only one of them wanted Kamenev expelled from the Party). We came to an agreement splendidly (without posts).[370]

The translation of Radek is not very good (Part I is dull) (it is *needed*, though, for the sake of solidity). I have forwarded it to N. I.[371]

Before I forget. The visitors have persuaded me that it is *not worth* airing *in the press* our differences in the Editorial Board of *Kommunist* (about you and me having voted against Trotsky). They are right. *Delete it!!*

As to Chkheidze's group,[372] we must start a *campaign against it*. Therefore (since the passage regarding the voting is to be deleted), I raise *again* the question of inserting my small article "An Instructive Experience" (the talk with the visitors has shown once again that the *whole crux* now is in the Chkheidze group).

N.B. No one from us is writing an answer to Maslov!! Won't Radek write at least a review?[373]

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Radek for some reason is silent!! I shall wait a bit longer.

Did you receive No. 2 of *Nashe Dyelo* and *Izvestia*?

Shouldn't the chapter from Gorter about Kautsky & Co. be translated? I think *it should*!

I am sending Abram's article.[374] *I am for it*. The essential thing is *facts*, not mere "tactics". *He has a useful collection of facts*. I have made corrections here and there. I advise signing it A. B. for secrecy reasons (for the sake of the author's safety).

P.S.

In the event of your coming I add: Schüpfheim—720 metres, Flühli—8 km from it—893 m and Sörenberg within 10 km of Flühli—1,165 m. It is a *drive* road. You can *cycle* uphill *one-third* of the way from Flühli to Sörenberg (descent to Flühli=20 minutes by bicycle).

P.S. How do your talks stand with Yuri about money for transportation? Alexander is getting ready. Write *how much* can be received and *when*.

P.S. What about Karpinsky's contributions? He's *offended*, I believe.

The preceding was written yesterday.

I didn't manage to send it off yesterday. I have received *Vorwärts*+Adler. *Thanks very much!*

N. I. asks for Abram's article.

I am sending N. I.'s article and review (with remarks).[375]

I advise putting the review in *Notes*. Of course, if we *have to* choose, I am for *N. I.*, not for Abram.

I am sending Radek's letter. I think we ought to snatch at the plan of a pamphlet with both hands.[376] *I am writing to Radek.*

I propose that we publish *Attitude of Russian Social-Democracy to the War*: 1) Manifesto; 2) Resolution; 3) A specially written article on slogans, etc.; 4) Ditto on the history of the split in the R.S.D.L.P. and on the *R.S.D.L. Group in the Duma* ((the articles from the C.O. are *quite* unsuitable)). Let us discuss the matter by letter without delay and *divide the subjects*.

Would *Yuri* give money for this pamphlet? *Very important*.

Regards to everybody,

Yours,

Lenin

Have you got *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* Nos. 3 and 4? If not, we shall send them.

Written after July 5, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

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404

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

To Grigory

I strongly advise *rewriting* the end of your article (Lemberg), etc. (*dropping here* into pathos *is bad—it strikes a wrong note*).

Add answer to No. 2 (*Izvestia*) by points of reconciliation in the "O.C." between the French social-chauvinists and German social-chauvinists (**especially**), Bund chauvinism (the **crook** Ionov) and the Caucasian crooks (for "*unity*" with An!!) (Note or P.S.).

Nadya is extremely surprised that you do not return her the *needed* (for the C.O.) letter and do not *answer*!??!

I intend to demand that the answer to Trotsky concerning the *Chkheidze group* be voted on the Editorial Board of *Kommunist*.* Let them turn it down!

(Then in *Sotsial-Demokrat*)

Reverting to the trip: from Schüpfheim to Luzern there is also a descent—you can probably make it without *pedalling*!

I am sending 3 things for the C.O. Who is going to get in touch with the printing shop? Write.

Written prior to July 11, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

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Printed from the original

405

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you the notebook: Inessa asks that it be *returned* when copied.**

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* This refers to Lenin's article "Have the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze Group a Policy of Their Own?" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 131-36).—*Ed.*

** What this refers to has not been established.—*Ed.*

I am sending Wijnkoop's letter. *Return it immediately* (if useful, show it to Yuri). I shall snatch at *this* "little kernel" of a Left International with both hands. We must work *as hard as we can* to get closer together with them. I am hurrying Radek to translate the Berne resolutions.*

I am sending the beginning of the pamphlet (*in the rough*) so that we can discuss how to continue the job and turn out a "*whole*" piece by two authors (show it, *if useful*, to Yuri; perhaps they will give some money for *such* a thing? If not, it's not worth while showing the rough copy).**

Send your comments on a *separate* sheet.

Return immediately.

I think that, when edited, it may turn out a popular and important (both for Russia and for Europe) body of arguments and materials.

Regards,
Lenin

Let *Zina* make some more copies of the report on the Vorkonferenz.[377] It has to be circulated!!

Written between July 11 and 30, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

406

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Ludmila is staying with us (she is going to Russia). News from Paris: Trotsky & Co., soon after the international conference of the Leftists, want to hold a conference of the Russians (i.e., apparently the O.C.+C.C.+*Nashe Slovo*). First, at the Leftist conference, to adopt a "general

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64.—*Ed.*

** A reference to the pamphlet *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the War*) (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 295-338).—*Ed.*

Left" resolution, then (having thereby proved the Leftism of *Nashe Slovo* and the O.C., which is expected to vote *for anything*—Mädchen für alle) to offer us ("in front of everybody"?) to join them in a general conference of Russians and to use our refusal against us....

Not a bad intrigue! Make a copy of Radek's draft[378] for yourself *at once* (return the draft to me immediately!) and we shall carefully consider our tactics.

Should we propose *amendments* to Radek right away? (+an *all-out* struggle against the opportunists;+civil war; +a split with the opportunists). Or should we propose our own draft, and after it has been turned down, vote for Radek's? Or both?

A protest in writing to be lodged against the participation of *Nashe Slovo* (two reasons: 1) parties—they are *not* a party—or "sections of a party" are allowed. Let them say they are part of the O.C. 2) double representation: Martov in both the O.C. and *Nashe Slovo*).

This—without fail.*

The C.C. delegation should be got ready. *All* languages needed: Inessa for French and English. And for German? If Kinkel has gone away, perhaps we should take Kharitonov from Zurich? (Ludmila, apparently, would like to go, but....) Expenses? Where will the conference be held? For how long? Let's think this over beforehand.

All the documents concerning Chkheidze & Co. (against them) should be carefully collected. Should the Leftists (Radek+Thalheimer+Wijnkoop+??) *ask* for a private meeting to have a "talk" with *Nashe Slovo*, it may not always be possible to refuse them. (The same applies to all and every document. We shall settle this beforehand by letter.)

Ought we not to start preparing our own draft manifesto, as detailed as Radek's, but with a declaration of war against opportunism? Or should we accept Radek's as a basis?

I have written to Kollontai** and Blagoev. I am writing

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* Or attend with 3 delegates from the C.O.A. (apart from the 3 from the C.C.) and demand a vote *for them*. Aren't they as good as the *Nashe Slovo* group? The same applies to the women's organisation.

** See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 193-94.—*Ed.*

to Wijnkoop: if he doesn't do it, it's his lookout I will have done my duty.

Write to Grimm he should notify *you by wire* if there is to be *another* Vorkonferenz (they may engineer one, for otherwise who, where, and when will determine the composition and so forth?). Perhaps we should also write Grimm that he is *obliged* to notify (just in case) the Norwegian and Swedish Leftists immediately? We should!! (Address: c/o Fru A. Kollontay. Turisthotel. Holmenkollen. *Kristiania*. Norwegen).

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. The conference is likely to be a "packed" meeting of Kautsky and Renaudel for "making peace"?? In that case we'll kick up a row and walk out, after lodging a protest.

Send all my paragraphs (for *Kommunist*) to Yuri. Send me Kamenski. I advise No. 1 (96 pp.), August 1915.[379] No. 2 (September 1915)—also 96 pp. Gorter in No. 2. I stood up for Varin, made him nine-tenths safe: they have to be threatened, then they backtrack. This is for No. 3.

Written after July 11, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1960 in the journal *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoria* No. 2

Printed from the original

407

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Dear Friend,

Did you receive Abram's article (back) and the article for the C.O.?

I am sending some more short articles for *Kommunist*. (I don't think we need worry about the size. *Abram's should be inserted too for certain*. We must have facts. We must have versatility. Better let No. 1 be fuller. In case of anything, a 5% pay rise and employment of a second compositor.)

I am sending copy for the C.O.

Figure out the size (the C.O. will now be smaller, will it not?) and get it done with.

I *don't* think there will now be a conference of Leftists: Kautsky & Co. will call a *general* conference.

Radek is *silent*.

I do not agree with the end of your article (about *Nashe Slovo*). "Peace" as presented by *Nashe Slovo* should be attacked a hundred times more sharply. We should not make excuses ("that is not the point", "we admit") but attack: the *Nashe Slovo* people are engaging in phrase-mongering about "peace", *while seeking peace with the social-chauvinists*. The gist of their peace slogan is *peace with the social-chauvinists*. It should be pointed out (and elaborated) that peace *without terms* is *nonsense*, a mere phrase. Then it should be elaborated that peace for the *ignorant mass* has a different meaning (à la "Gaponade"[380]), but as a slogan of the Party it is charlatanry. We are *for* participation in the Gapon unions, but against the "Gapon" slogans. I advise discussing this further by letter.

Yours,
Lenin

I am sending you Fridolin's letter. I advise *inviting* him; let me know whether you write to him, or want me to write. ((Return *all* the letters of Radek, Fridolin, etc.))

I am not sure that you communicated *all* your latest literary "titles" to me. Eh??

I think we ought to obtain Alexinsky's book *La Russie et la guerre*.

What do you think?

I believe the "Bibliography and Notes" in *Kommunist* were better *un*signed (for the sake of variety and avoiding repitition of the same names).

Vote this proposal. Yuri, *if he likes*, may leave his signature ("Pyotr Kievsky"): I suggest that his article[381] be given in the same section.

Written after July 11, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

408
TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Sörenberg, 15/VII. 1915

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you the report on the Berne preliminary conference by our representative Comrade Zinoviev. Will you please show it to Comrades Pannekoek and Gorter and let us know as soon as possible your opinion and that of your party (or resolution).

I think this preliminary conference was very important and useful only in the sense that it *definitely* showed up the "strange" (to put it mildly) role of certain German "Leftists" (Frau Clara Zetkin in particular). A few months ago I asked one of the German "Leftists" in the presence of Comrade Radek whether, if things came to a split, Clara Zetkin would go with the old or with the new party (that is, the revolutionary, and not the national-liberal party like that of today). "With the old one," *this* "Leftist" answered without hesitation.

Comrade Radek got very angry with this Leftist and assured me that the man was mistaken, and that Clara Zetkin would decidedly and sincerely fight the mean German social-chauvinists.

And now this argument has definitely been settled, but not in favour of Radek. Zetkin wishes to go together *with* Haase-Kautsky, but Haase-Kautsky desire "unity" (with Südekum: we call this in Russian "unity of lackeys, a splitting of revolutionaries", that is, unity with the national bourgeoisie, a splitting of the international working class)!! I am convinced that this "Left" conference *with* Zetkin, *with* Haase, *without Lichtstrahlen* and the *Tribune* people, is sheer hypocrisy: the objective significance of this conference consists merely in strengthening the old disreputable party by means of a *sham struggle* of the "Left" (à la Zetkin) against the "Right" (the Whigs and Tories of present-day Britain!).

We must (together with the Tribunists and *some* of the German Leftists, *not à la Zetkin*—perhaps also with the Lettish party and the Polish Social-Democrats (known as

the Opposition)) do something *very quickly*, if we do not want to miss this very important moment.

Comrade Radek promised to translate our resolutions into German.* You are already familiar with our Manifesto (of the Central Committee)—it has been published, unfortunately in abbreviated form, in your *Tribune*. David in his book quotes this Manifesto *very* conscientiously (almost unbelievably so for an opportunist). We are sending you Radek's translation and would ask you to let us know *as soon as you can* whether you consider it possible and advisable to prepare a joint resolution and come forward with a joint declaration of protest *against* the "Left" conference (Zetkin & Co.). We, I believe, shall do it—in one form or another.

With best regards,
N. Lenin

P.S. Please show this also to Comrade Luteraan, with whom we once came out together against the "Marsh" (the Centre), (naturally, if *you* think it would be useful to show this letter to Comrade Luteraan).

Wl. Uljanow *in Sörenberg* (Kanton Luzern) Schweiz. All this is strictly confidential!

Sent to Zwolle

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

409
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you the proofs.

If the No. is full up (i.e., if there is *quite* enough copy),

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* Meaning the resolutions of the Berne Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64).—*Ed.*

put it out at once. (Arrange the articles at your discretion: "Defeat"—editorial.*)

If you have room, insert the enclosed postscript to the article "State of Affairs".**

After this No. we shall immediately issue the next, carrying the article on pacifism (has it been set up?). Write without delay, how much copy you have for this (next) issue and how much you are short of!

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written July 21, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

410
TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Sörenberg (Kt. Luzern)
22/VII. 1915

Dear Comrade Wijnkoop,

I am sending you the resolutions of our Party, translated by Comrade Radek.*** It seems to me—after having read your resolutions—that there definitely exists agreement, between us in principle.

Comrade Radek writes me that we ought to jointly draw up theses, and not resolutions (we, meaning—the Dutch Social-Democratic Party, our Party, the Polish Social-

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* A reference to Lenin's article "The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 275-80).—*Ed.*

** A reference to Lenin's article "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 281-86).—*Ed.*

*** Meaning the resolutions of the Berne Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64).—*Ed.*

Democratic "Opposition", and probably also the Lettish Social-Democrats). I don't think it matters much—theses or resolutions. What matters is that we clearly and popularly formulate the revolutionary tactics, define the imperialist nature of the war and defend Marxism against falsification by Kautsky, Plekhanov & Co.

Unfortunately, Radek has not yet sent me his draft declaration. I hope that you, on reading our resolutions, will answer me *in the shortest possible time* whether you agree with us in principle. Everything should be ready by August 7-10.

If you can say *quite* definitely whether any one of your people could be in Berne between August 7 and 10, then perhaps it would be possible to arrange a small conference in Berne and jointly draw up the theses. If not, we shall have to arrange it by correspondence, and this will take a *long time*.

With best regards,
Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. Radek tells me that you are on very good terms with *Charles Kerr*, the *Chicago* publisher. We are publishing in Russian (and eventually in German) a small pamphlet (about 100,000 printer's ems) with our resolutions and explanations. Could you inquire of Charles Kerr whether he would agree (and on what terms) to publish our pamphlet in English?*

P.P.S. I shall try to formulate and send you the draft Your proposal to establish contact with other Leftists (Britain, Sweden, France, etc.) meets with our whole-hearted approval.

Sent to Zwolle

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

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* This refers to the pamphlet *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the War*) (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 295-338).—*Ed.*

411

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you Wijnkoop.

Return immediately. What are we to do with them? They are obviously hedging. It's not worth scolding them—better keep silent, I think?

I am sending Kollontai. *Return*. There's a sensible woman for you!

I am sending you an article on the United States. It needn't be returned. *If you don't agree*, *telephone* (yourself or through Zina or Shklovsky) *immediately*.

Do you remember *Koba*'s name?

Regards,
Ulyanov

N.B. Send *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* containing a review of Maslov.[382]

Written after July 23, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

412

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I sent you today a wire asking you to substitute the article on pacifism (Grigory's) for my article "The State of Affairs in S.D."* in the current issue of the C.O. If this is now too late, please have all the other material set up—we shall put out another No. of the C.O. *immediately*.

How about the pamphlet?** Can Kuzma set it up? (About

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* "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 281-86).—*Ed*.

** *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the War*).—*Ed*.

100,000 ems. Desirably *more cheaply*—in two columns, requiring less paper. Let him give an exact estimate and indicate the date.)

Best regards,
Yours,
N. Lenin

I received the translation from Stepko. Thanks very, very much.

Written July 24, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

413
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

You should have wired Olga, as I requested. It may now be late.

I got back Abramchik's article. I am not sending it, as it is not going in.

I am sending the draft (our condensed resolutions)—draft declaration of the Left.* I have sent it to the Dutch and to Radek, and so on.

I have received the translation of the end of An's article. Will send it.

Ditto—translation of Gorter. Am sending it.

Regards,
Lenin

P.S. I hope the mushrooms reached you in good condition?

I am sending the end of my part of the pamphlet.** Return it as soon as possible.

* See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 345-48.—*Ed.*
** *Socialism and War.*—*Ed.*

N.B. The following of Inessa's addresses (for *Kommunist*) are *cancelled*
address of K. M. in Genoa
and of Sorokin in Toulouse.

Written after July 24, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

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Printed from the original

414

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

(Return Wijnkoop: isn't he a fine fellow!)

I shall send the Russian books (the list).

As regards the French, I am uncertain: most could be obtained by asking one of the Berne people to order them from the Geneva and Neuchâtel libraries (lots of rubbish: I have seen some of them in Paris). Money matters—in connection with the following.

Yuri's enclosed letter (return it) is a sample of insolent, stupid kulak mentality. It was *formally decided* here to publish Golay and Varin.[383] The Publishing Committee is *bound* to carry out this decision. It's just stupid wilfulness!! "It's my purse and I do as I like." Clearly, we can't work like this. Let them go, damn 'em. Publishing (if they want) will have to be done here, and with the kulaks out of the way, it *will be easier* for us.

It was *formally* decided here that they give ½ for transport and write us *within a week* about the instalment dates.

Not a word! It's sheer mockery!

Bukharin's letter (return it!) shows that it is *impossible* for us to go under such difficulties (with a strange passport? They will uncover us and arrest us *to oblige* the tsar!).* Money is dwindling: most of the remaining thousand will be spent on two issues of the C.O.+the pamphlet. And the fare? And the high cost of living in Stockholm? And conditions for work there (library) are *worse*.

* A reference to the plan for transferring the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* to Stockholm.—*Ed.*

We must think it over again and again.

Wouldn't it be better to let these kulak-minded stupidheads take an airing?

Send Golay to the C.O. (Golay *must* be published). I don't feel like answering Yuri: that foolish, insolent letter of his is insufferable. Where is the limit? Promises, formal decisions—and "I'm the boss, I'm not going to pay"!! No, there's a limit to everything! This is sheer barefaced lying!

My regards to everybody,

Yours,

Lenin

We haven't got that No. of *Rech*. Maybe Yuri has it?

Written after July 26, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

415

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Re "Bibliography and Notes", I am *for* publishing them. What is an extra 100-200 (less) frs.?

The important thing is to have the issue *all of a piece*.* It is important to have *voices from everywhere* (Golay, Sinclair, *Die Internationale*) against the social-chauvinists.[384]

Are Yuri and the Japanese[385] going? When?

Written after July 26, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* This refers to No. 1 of the journal *Kommunist*.—*Ed*.

416
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending Pannekoek's article.[386] I strongly advise giving it the enclosed editorial tailpiece (which should be forwarded to the author).*

I am sending a rough plan of the pamphlet (return it).** I suggest that we sit down (both of us) immediately, and think over every sentence, reword, condense and—publish it *in Russian* (for the anniversary of the war). And then in *three* other languages.

I think two purposes can be served:

1) A Vademecum for Russian Social-Democrats, agitators and "leading workers". A clear, popular, precise **summary of all** arguments. A clear summing-up: correctness of the expulsion of *Nasha Zarya*, the struggle against it and against the Organising Committee+*Chkheidze* [Vademecum for elections to the Duma].

2) A precise statement for the people abroad: a *political* step for welding the III International more serious than a dozen talks and meetings with a dozen Grimms, Zetkins and suchlike Klatsch-Weiber*** in trousers and skirts.

Answer without delay. If you agree, we shall discuss the *plan in still greater detail*, and then divide the subjects.

3) The O.C. riffraff will be induced to come forward with a platform of "their own", but they have *nothing* of their own!

Could you send me cuttings of *Hamburger Echo gems*? A *gem* in Wiener *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: a letter from Russia that *Axelrod is making concessions* to the "opportunists".[387] *I shall send it to you.*

APPENDIX TO LETTER

From the editors. We fully agree in all essentials with Comrade A. Pannekoek's excellent article, but find its last lines too pessimistic. We have the rank and file behind

* See the appendix to this letter.—*Ed.*
** *Socialism and War.—Ed.*
*** Gossipy women.—*Ed.*

us: the opportunists, social-chauvinists and Kautskians have a minority, often a negligible minority consisting of officials, aristocracy, petty bourgeois and philistines. Given correct tactics against the opportunists, i.e., if they are expelled and a consistent struggle waged against them, we shall have the support also of the big organisations, of the legal and illegal apparatus of the revolutionary party.

Written prior to July 28, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published:
the appendix to the letter
—in 1915 in the journal
Kommunist No. 1-2;
the letter— in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed: the letter—from
the original; the
appendix—from
Kommunist

417
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

We accept Kuzma's terms. The pamphlet has *already* been written—*the whole of it*.* I can send the MS. *even earlier*, if this can speed up the issue. Please wire (or telephone—best of all at 8.30-9 a.m.—Hotel Marienthal in *Sörenberg*, Kanton Luzern) whether the pamphlet could be sent earlier. It is *extremely* important for us to speed it up.

And so we are issuing another number of the C.O. (the article on pacifism is to go as an editorial; I am sending more copy), and immediately afterwards the pamphlet. (It has about 115,000 ems, I believe. But this makes only a slight difference.)

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written July 28, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

* *Socialism and War.—Ed.*

418

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending the pamphlet to Geneva (they agree to do 100,000 ems for 150 frs. and very quickly at that).

I have accepted practically all your amendments.

To your part I have made *negligible* ones: I shall send them to you in the proofs (if you want, we can ask for them earlier).

We must *do all we can to speed up* the issue of the C.O. Your article will have *375* lines!!! No news items (practically). Will you write ½ a column on "War"? I'll write about self-determination and a United States of Europe.* *Golay must go in the C.O.* if the Japanese don't agree to have it in *Kommunist*, for Golay must be boosted *for all he's worth*!**

Answer about the C.O. without delay, *hurry as fast as you can.*

Is it worth while putting in my article on Quarck?***

How could the draft declaration have got lost (it is condensed resolutions)?? It was in an envelope for you!!!

We shall ask Radek for it. [If you find it, *return it* **without delay!!**]

I am enclosing Varin and a letter to Yuri.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

I have sent *all* my proofs back to *Benteli*.**** If the letter has gone astray, let the proofs be *sent again*.

Written after July 28, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* Lenin is probably referring to his articles "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" and "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-14 and 339-43).—*Ed.*

** See Lenin's article "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 349-56).—*Ed.*

*** This refers to Lenin's article "The 'Peace' Slogan Appraised" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 287-89).—*Ed.*

**** This refers to the Benteli printing shop.—*Ed.*

419
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Olga writes that we must hurry up *like anything* with the C.O.—otherwise Kuzma will take on other work!

Yet we have little material!! Scandalous!!

I am sending today a small article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" direct to the printing shop (asking them to send the proofs to you)—(written on the lines we discussed. We must be sure to correct the mistake before the pamphlet comes out, and insert in the pamphlet a comment on the Manifesto*). In the pamphlet I shall add the 1913 resolution on the national question.

I am sending you an article on the national programme (I would have liked to rewrite it; it's not the thing, I'm afraid; I would have preferred to hold it over).** Olga has 400 lines of copy+125 United States of Europe, and altogether the issue will have *736* lines!!

Send Olga by Monday morning without fail (generally, *by the first post*) some more material. I don't think it's worth giving Quarck*** alongside of your article.

No. 111 of *Nashe Slovo* had it.[388]	Was Braun in *Nashe Slovo*? Nadya made inquiries and says *it was*.

We ought to have an article on Russia, if only a small one.

(I was ill and couldn't work until yesterday.)

Regards to everybody,

Yours,

Lenin

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* See "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe. Editorial Comment by *Sotsial-Demokrat* on the Manifesto on War Issued by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P." (present edition, Vol. 21, p. 344).—*Ed.*

** Apparently this refers to Lenin's article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-14).—*Ed.*

*** This refers to Lenin's article "The 'Peace' Slogan Appraised" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 287-89).—*Ed.*

P.S. Thanks for the pamphlets.
If there's nothing else, send Golay to the C.O.

In the pamphlet you forgot to put in the figures of the number of workers in "our" and the liquidators' gubernias. *Send them in.*

Written between July 28 and August 2, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

420

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending an article for No. 44* (the proofs of it please send to both Grigory and me simultaneously (and those on pacifism too), have two impressions made. Grigory's address: Herrn Radomyslski bei Fr. Aschwanden *Hertenstein* in *Kanton Luzern*).

Grigory will send in more copy for No. 44 by Monday.

We must *at all costs* get No. 44 out immediately, without a break in the work (even if it means paying Kuzma for a working day, etc.), and then start on setting up the pamphlet. I repeat, it is lying on my desk fully completed. I shall send it in by the middle of next week, but if issue can be speeded up, I shall send it immediately on receipt of your wire.

No. 43 is got up excellently! Thanks very much.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written between July 28 and August 2, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* The article is "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 339-43).—*Ed.*

421
TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

30/VII. 1915

Dear Comrade,

I received your letter and postcard. I am sending you the complete French translation of our Manifesto; I have already sent you the translation of our Party's resolutions, made by Radek. You now have all the documents (as regards the "United States of Europe", I think we shall adopt Gorter's point of view).

I am very glad that we agree in essentials. What we need is not the solemn declarations of leaders (against which Pannekoek has written so well), but a consistent revolutionary declaration of principles to help the workers find the correct path. This is most essential. I was particularly pleased to hear that you are in touch with the Belgian friends (we could send P. Golay's pamphlet for them, if you haven't already seen it[389]) and wish to talk *personally* with some of the Leftists in another country. If the Belgian anonymous group "Étoile" and another, German, group published a declaration of principles together with your and our party—this would be a good and serious beginning. The Swedish Left with Höglund are on our side: I received a letter today about this. It would be a good thing if you wrote to England and persuaded some group there (if only a small one) to draft a joint declaration.

Sincere regards and wishing you success.

Yours,
N. Lenin

P.S. The second preliminary conference was to be held on August 7, but it will probably be held later.

Sent from Sörenberg
to Amsterdam

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Translated from the
German

422

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am greatly worried about the pamphlet. I hope you have received everything (the whole manuscript and comment on the Manifesto)? How is the type-setting going on and when do you hope to get it out? *I shall be writing for the proof-sheets*. (The headings of the small subsections of the chapters should be set up either in italics or nonpareil but in no case in bold type.)

What about No. 44 of the C.O.? I had no proofs and put this down to your wanting to speed up the issue (as we had agreed). But the United States article went in, didn't it?

Drop me a line.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Did you find the 1913 resolution on the national question?

Written August 11, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

423

TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Dear Comrade,

I enclose herewith the declaration, which we received from the Norwegian Jugendbund. The Bulgarian Social-Democrats ("Tesnyaki") have expressed the same views in principle at the Second Balkan Conference (in July of this year).[390] Consequently, a Left international declaration of principles *is possible*. By August 20 it should be ready.

Looking forward eagerly to your reply and draft.

With best wishes,
(Signature)

Written August 15, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Amsterdam

First published in 1959
in German in the journal
Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung
No. 2

First published in Russian in
1960 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from a copy
found in police records
Translated from the
German

424
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Return *Peuple*. Good about Vandervelde, eh? Such will be the *tactics* of *all* of them.

I haven't a single line from Radek and Karpinsky. It's baffling! I am writing them.

Grimm phoned to say that the *Vorkonferenz* has been put off till 5.IX and that Zetkin has asked him from prison to send her the resolution of the minority at the Berne Conference.* I have sent the Russian text. If you have the German, send it to Grimm.

We shall send Jaurès after we have read it.[391]

I have given "J'accuse" to *Radek*.[392]

Return Kolb.[393]

From the Dutch—*nil*!!

P.S. I advise putting it in (see the text), having the German expressions translated.

I don't see why you should defend the Japanese. Alexander writes *indignant* letters, and he has a right to be indignant. Adopted decisions should be carried out: it was decided (3 weeks ago) *within a week*!! And now **within another month!???**

They're cheats, and I'm not going to wink at their cheat-

* See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 26, pp. 206-08.—*Ed.*

ing. I have a right to demand and will demand from them statements *in writing* and secretaries' *minutes* of general decisions (so that we can catch the cheats, *who* want to break away and throw the blame onto us!).

Are they leaving? When? Or not? Two fools engaged in counting money could have figured out in 3 months how much 100 rubles is worth in frs. or how much No. 1 costs. These are just *flimsy* excuses—it's simply *ridiculous*. They will be getting 10 frs. a time from Russia, feeding us with promises and fooling the shippers!! Adopting decisions just to fool us!! No, they won't get away with this.

Lenin

N.B. Bukharin *occasionally* (pp. 133, 132, *129* in the subheadings) leaves the old expression social-state trust (corrected in other places to state-capitalist trust).[394]

Is this an oversight or deliberate??

You write that you are keeping notes, "hoping to secure it". Fulfilment of *old decisions*?? By what means?? By "talks"?

I don't agree to such relations.

P.S. Sheets (and leaflets) should be written and sent to Alexander.

Written prior to August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

425
TO DAVID WIJNKOOP

Dear Comrade Wijnkoop,

Radek writes me he had informed you that the conference (not the Vorkonferenz but the conference itself) was

to be held on 5.IX. You, too, probably are already familiar with Radek's draft. This draft seems to me rather academic (this objection, of course, is unimportant) and—what is far more important—unsatisfactory in regard to the most important point, which is driven home so well, for instance, in Gorter's pamphlet, namely: a decisive struggle against opportunism. If we are silent about this before the workers, we shall be hushing up a circumstance without which *nothing* real can be created.

Will you please let me know your opinion and the opinion of your Central Committee. Also, whether a representative of your party is coming for certain (and if not, would you give Radek a mandate or send a declaration, etc.). If possible, write to England, to the minority of the British Socialist Party; let this minority send either a representative, or at least a declaration. If, as a result of this conference, we receive not only diplomatic conjuring tricks of the leaders (so well ridiculed by Pannekoek), but also a Left Marxist international declaration of principles, it will be a very useful thing.

The group of Belgian internationalists, of whom you know, should also send a declaration or give you a mandate (*sections* of parties will certainly be admitted too). An anti-chauvinist opposition to Vandervelde—however small—would be extremely important. It is the first step that counts!

Awaiting your reply,

With S.D. greetings,

N. Lenin

P.S. I enclose the draft declaration (in French)—I have not yet had time to discuss it with my friends. Tomorrow I shall send this draft to Comrade Radek.

Written after August 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg
to Amsterdam

First published in 1960
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original
Translated from the
German

426

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending 200 frs. Maybe you'll "butter up" Kuzmikha. A grand merci for your trouble. I received Olga's letter. Koba has sent greetings and reports that he is well. Re the pamphlet, inform me now and again by postcard whether there is any "hope" of progress (I shall have time to make certain corrections in the proof-sheets).

Salut!

Yours,

Lenin

Written August 21, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

427

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am for No. 1 (August) and No. 2 (September).* 50 pages for an article is your—pardon—fantasy.

Yuri should not be included in the delegation.[395] He doesn't know any foreign language. No sense in it. To pay court to them is harmful. We have one "lady editor"—do you want another "delegate from the C.C. delegation"? Better not.

I can't write about Russia. Send Bukharin's letter. I *do not see any* newspapers. (I have only *Rech*.)

It's annoying that Radek has not been copied. If corrections, the following should be added:

1) mention of Basle

2) illeg. org., etc. But is it worth sending *him* corrections? (for Trotsky?)

---

* This refers to the journal *Kommunist*.—*Ed*.

Yuri writes that Trotsky will be the *only one* from *Nashe Slovo*. This will make cheating still easier for them.

Will Kamenski be there? *I doubt it!!* Write to him immediately, for *you* have spoken to him.

I remember you saying that Grimm wanted the conference to be *not* in Berne. Are we to return to Berne? If so, 1.IX is *too early*. (Maybe you will go a bit earlier, or do you have special business to see to there?)

Alexander wants to go to Russia. I am writing him, supporting this plan.* A pity there are no C.C. men. He's the man for us, if it were not for Kollontai (she is going to America to lecture and carry on internationalist agitation).

Ludmila has *found herself* (sic!) without money or a passport!! I don't think she will go anywhere.

She has brought French books, which we shall send to you after perusal (and you return Rappoport, *after perusal*: I sent it to you without having had time to read it).

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

What about Karpinsky's article for *Kommunist*?

Re the draft resolution, I sent it to you (=draft of condensed resolution). Did you make a copy? If not, I can send you one. If we are to prepare our own draft we must hurry.

P.S. "300 years" is no good, in my opinion. Must be rewritten for the legal publication.

Written prior to August 23, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 35, p. 204.—*Ed.*

428

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you a *terribly* important insertion to the pamphlet. Please see that it goes in without mistakes.* If the pamphlet can be put out by Tuesday or Wednesday, send 10-20 copies to Shklovsky by *express* post.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after August 23, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

429

TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

I am sending you the proof-sheets.

Have you found the 1913 resolution on the national question? If you have not, I shall send it from here (it hasn't been translated into German yet).

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written after August 23, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

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* This refers to the beginning of Chapter II of the pamphlet *Socialism and War* headed "Classes and Parties in Russia".—*Ed.*

430
TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

As regards elections, I really don't know what to answer. At the first blush, why shouldn't elections in a republic be held from top to bottom? But beyond this first blush I know nothing: neither the nature of the body to which elections have to be held, nor the correlation of parties within it, nor the history of the question, nor past experience. It is difficult to judge under such conditions, for the "first blush" alone is insufficient, of course.

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Did the 200 frs. help to get round Kuzmikha? Keep me informed by postcards: "a bulletin of Kuzmikha's moods and the chances of success". Both you (and we) are fed up with Kuzma, I understand, but what can we do?

Written after August 26, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

431
TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Comrade Olga,

I have a request to make of you: for the translation (German) of our pamphlet we need the text of the comment on the Manifesto (concerning the slogan of a United States of Europe) which I sent you.* Will you please make a clear copy (for the translator) and send it to the following ad-

* See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 339.—*Ed.*

dress: Herrn Lialine (bei Fr. Eicher-Müller) Freie Strasse 15. *Bern* (with a letter that you are sending it at my request for the German translation of the pamphlet).

Regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written August 27, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

432
TO PAUL GOLAY

28/VIII. 1915

Dear Comrade,

With the greatest of pleasure I learned from your letter that you agree on the whole with my draft. The conference is to take place on September 5. We hope that several French socialists of the Left will attend it. The whole thing is being organised by Grimm and Morgari. Your presence, in my opinion, would be very useful, and I would ask you to write to Grimm immediately.

Sincerely yours

Sent from Sörenberg to Lausanne

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in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

433
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Today—Monday morning—we still have no answer from Radek to the prepaid telegram!! What is it—some intrigues "around Grimm" against the Letts?? Is it possible that they

won't be invited!? If I go tomorrow,* I shall wire you, and you will then come down by the *first* train. Bring *all* the material (don't forget anything: *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* and *Nashe Dyelo* and *Nashe Slovo* and the *Norwegian letter* and everything else).

I have had a postcard from Kollontai. She is going it full tilt.

Salut!

Lenin

Written August 30, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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434

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Answer Meshcheryakov.

I advise getting Shklovsky to tackle Grimm (either if he is going 1.IX) or by telephone. We must get a reply from Grimm.

You to write the report (on Russia)[396] (if need be I will send you *Rech*).

I believe a resolution will suffice (we have a draft: "condensed". It can be corrected). Why make a declaration? If we find a common language with Radek, we can write it there. If not, and if we are on our own, then what need is there for a declaration, who is it for?

My regards to everybody,

Yours,

Lenin

Written August 30 or 31, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* This refers to Lenin's trip to Zimmerwald to attend the First International Socialist Conference.—*Ed.*

435

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

We must start preparing an issue of the C.O. devoted *wholly* to the conference. *Subjects* or *articles*.[397]

Etwa:
1. Vorgeschichte* and correspondingly the III International.
2. Reports (Balkans *apart*).
3. Debates with Ledebour (discussion in general on points of principle). (Three shadings among the Germans.)
4. Significance of the conference (first step to the III International; half-hearted and inconsistent step *towards a split* with opportunism. Possibility of a "relapse"). Comparison with women's
5. Our resolution and our draft Manifesto, our statement on the Manifesto.
6. The Bund and O.C. men+Trotsky (Massenaktionen).
7. Official Manifesto.

Do you agree to my taking Nos. 3 and 4?
Let us make haste with this issue of the C.O.
I am sending Bauer.
Be sure to send me
1) Legien's collection+ ...**
2) the pamphlet on Liebknecht.
Return Radek's letter.
Plan of leaflets is drawn up; will send it tomorrow; detailed.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I have *mislaid* the letter of the Dutch to the C.C.[398]

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* Pre-history.—*Ed.*
** One word in the manuscript illegible.—*Ed.*

Extremely important arguments against participation in the conference.

Written after September 8, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

436

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you Radek's letter and his *report*.[399] Return the latter to him as soon as you can (with criticism: it's weakish. Not a word about our pamphlet,* about defence of *Nasha Zarya* by Axelrod, etc.).

You have a lot of assistants—get them to make a copy of Radek's report.

I am sending you the plan of leaflets: return *as soon as possible*.[400]

Best regards,
Lenin

N.B. Ask Inessa whether she took from me *Journal de Genève*[401] with an article by Romain Rolland! For God's sake, search everything everywhere to find it.

Written September 18 or 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

437

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you Yuri's answer—and an article for the C.O. (I shall rewrite it again). I have written to Olga. I'm

* *Socialism and War.—Ed.*

afraid things there are hopeless. How about Benteli—find out.

I am sending the pamphlet—have just received it.

What about the 2 latest German publications?

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

I am enclosing two letters of Socialist-Revolutionaries.[402]

Characteristic, eh?

Return both, after you have shown them around.

I just can't get the draft resolution from Radek.

Written prior to September 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

438
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

We haven't received the pamphlet yet. We want to put out a double issue of the C.O. with a report on the international conference of the Left in Berne. How about Kuzmikha? Could she be "buttered up" by payment for the pamphlet (you have the money, haven't you?)? Or is it hopeless? And *no prospect* of issuing it in the near future? Drop me a line, please, as to whether we can know where we stand.

I received Yegor's letters and *will answer him in a day or two* through you.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written September 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

439
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you *Journal de Genève*. It appears that I put it away somewhere before my departure and forgot about it. I'm awfully glad I have found it and not made myself look quite a pig in your eyes.

Re the C.O., Grigory advises having it published in Berne (this is a double number, 4 pages on the conference of the Left), if there is no hope with regard to Kuzmikha. Drop me a line "to make assurance doubly sure" (as I am already well aware how helpless we all are where Kuzmikha is concerned).

About the lecture. I would like to read it about mid-October on the subject: "The International Socialist Conference of 5-8.IX.1915". *If suitable*, we could organise it *in advance* (perhaps you could print bills *for other towns*, too, leaving a space for the town and the date). Could it bring in anything (I am devilishly hard up), is it opportune, etc.? ***Everyone*** (the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Nashe Slovo* and others) will *publish* something about the conference, but I would go into *details*.

I am writing to Kharitonov in Zurich.*

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am enclosing a letter for Socialist-Revolutionary "Yegor". Please *read* it and give it to him. If convenient, have a talk with him and let me know your opinion of him and his friends. What sort of people are they?

Written September 19, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 353.—*Ed.*

440
TO ALEXANDROVICH

19/IX. 1915

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Kollontai has forwarded your letter on to me. I have read and reread it attentively. I can understand your passionate protest against the emigrant colony, which apparently did anything but please you. The experience of 1905, however, has proved, in my opinion, that there are emigrants and emigrants. Part of the emigrant body, which prior to 1905 had devised the slogans and tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy, proved in the years 1905-07 to be closely linked with the mass revolutionary movement of the working class in *all* its forms. The same applies today, in my opinion. If the slogans are correct, if the tactics are the right ones, the mass of the working class, at a given stage of development of its revolutionary movement, is bound to *come round* to these slogans. You write that for the people "Plekhanov is merely a name". I cannot agree with this, although, perhaps, the difference between us here is only a seeming one. Plekhanov is the most striking, and in Russia, thanks to the bourgeois and liquidator press, the most *popular* exponent of the extremely widespread "people's" patriotism. In showing up Plekhanov we are, in fact, answering a host of questions, thoughts, doubts, and so on, that arise in the minds of the people. But, of course, it is up to an intelligent propagandist and agitator to *translate* the dispute of a revolutionary internationalist Marxist with Plekhanov into *another* language, to approach the matter in a different way, to make allowance for the specific qualities of the environment, etc., etc.

For that matter, you probably take the same view yourself, since you distinguish only the "*Left* trends" (the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats) and our dispute with Plekhanov & Co. is precisely that of determining and separating trends.

As to the urgency of the problem of sending people to Russia you are quite right. *We do* what we can in this field lately.

The other day I received another letter from a Socialist-Revolutionary, who writes that after the conference of the Trudoviks+Popular Socialists+Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia (a chauvinist conference)[403] he gives the Socialist-Revolutionary Party up as a bad job. I, too, doubt whether it has any viable elements *in it*. At any rate, I consider it a fact that there are now 2 main *revolutionary* trends in Russia: the revolutionary chauvinists (to overthrow the tsar in order to defeat Germany) and the revolutionary proletarian internationalists (to overthrow the tsar *as a means* of assisting the international revolution of the proletariat). Any rapprochement between these trends beyond occasional "joint actions" is, in my opinion, impossible and harmful. The war has linked together the proletariat of *all* the great powers of Europe, the war has placed *on the order of the day* the task of putting into effect proletarian solidarity. A difficult task, to be sure, but one that is posed by life itself and cannot be shelved.

If you are going to work in Russia and should you wish to help the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Left Social-Democrats, I would advise giving help to each of them separately, helping to *link** the respective groups, both in different places among themselves, and with the centres abroad. The Social-Democrats separately, the Socialist-Revolutionaries separately. This will yield definite *benefit* and make for *less* squabbling. Rapprochement, *when possible*, will proceed more normally. There will be greater trust.

I wish you every success and all the best.

With socialist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. You may write to me at the address printed in our Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*.

Sent from Sörenberg
to Christiania (Oslo)

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(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* Literature *will gain* from the establishment of such contacts. It will become more lively, more useful, closer to the people both with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Social-Democrats.

441

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you Axelrod,* *Neue Zeit* (don't lose it and don't give it to anybody) and No. 1 of the *Bulletin*.[404] I am waiting for the German pamphlet.

The letter to the Japanese is no good as it is, in my opinion. The tone is for a break. If there is to be a break, it is not for this reason. Either send this in your own name, or we shall alter it completely (in a tone of friendly exhortation and *discreet* intimation of their error).

I am sending you Radek's letter (return it). He is na-;ve to the point of holiness. Grimm is a scoundrel who has to be closely watched. (To this day I have not been able to get our Resolutionsentwurf!!!)

I am enclosing Kamenev's letter. I have answered him, pointing out that the situation is serious (spoilt) and must be seriously rectified.

Write the editorial for the Central Organ, *but not more than 10,000 ems*. (No room for more!) It must include a slashing criticism of the Organising Committee's leaflet (3.IX.1915, "The Tasks of the Russian Proletariat") with the slogan (liberal) of *Constituent Assembly*. For our *3 pillars*, against the Cadets, against the chauvinist revolutionaries and for the international revolution of the proletariat.**

Wait a day or two (don't write about Russia in the C.O. yet).

Tomorrow I shall send you "The Tasks of the Russian Proletariat" and maybe my own draft.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written September 21, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* The idiot! "Internationalisation of tactics"=internationalisation of labour legislation!! This is what Martushka had been driving at in *Nashe Slovo*, but far more cleverly. I should like to show Axelrod up properly in *Kommunist*.

** This paragraph is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

442

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV*

I am sending you Grimm's letter[405] and my draft reply.

We must *do our best* and *assert ourselves*.

With the C.O. it's the devil to pay. 75 thousand ems of copy have been sent (altogether 84¾) and I have *forgotten* the declaration of the French+Germans.[406]

This will fill it up.

I suggest devoting this No. *solely* to the conference (and the next one to Russia).

Among the printed supplements to *Zhizn* only the translation of *Bulletin* No. 1. "*Nashe Slovo*" *all blank*.[407]

Best regards,
Lenin

I have answered Bukharin at length.

N.B. || More detailed letters should be sent to him and more often.

If you agree with the answer to Grimm, send it to *Shklovsky* who is to call on Radek and translate it *with him*. If you do not agree, return it.

We are going to Berne on Sunday or Monday.

I am sending the letter from the Japanese. *Return it*. What is to be done about the meeting of the Editorial Board? (It would be good to have 2 articles about the conference in No. 3 of *Kommunist*.)

Written between September 26 and October 5, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* This letter is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*

443

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I am sending the rest of the copy. Here is the arrangement of the articles. Send the proof-sheets and everything to my *new* address:

Herrn Wl. *Uljanow*

Poste restante Bern.

Send Grigory all the proofs.

Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

Arrangement of the articles for No. 45-46:

1. Manifesto.
   (1*a*) (1*b*)

1. bis: Resolution on + sympathy

1 ter. statement (**declaration**) of French and German delegations; *set up this* declaration **N.B.** according to enclosed printed text from *Zhizn*

2. The war and revolutionary crisis in Russia.

3. 1st step.*
4. 1st international conference.
5. Revolutionary Marxists.**
6. Reports.
7. Draft resolution.
8. " manifesto.
9. Our Russian so-called internationalists.
10. Plekhanov and his friends.

Written prior to October 6, 1915
Sent from Sörenberg to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

* "The First Step" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 383-88).—*Ed.*

** "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 389-93).—*Ed.*

444
TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. K.,

I am sending you the proof-sheets.

Will Olga please answer my postcard of yesterday in *greatest possible detail*.

Do me a favour—get to know (from Stepko or Mikha, etc.) the name of "*Koba*" (Joseph J.....?? we have forgotten). Very important!!

Would you buy me (out of C.O. expenses) Romain Rolland's pamphlet: *Au dessus de la mêlée*?

Or is it unobtainable in Geneva?

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

Thanks for the *Appeal to Reason*[408] you have sent me!! Send it *more often*!

Written prior to November 9, 1915
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

445
TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Dear G. L.,

Please send 500 copies of the pamphlet (indicating Absender and *registered*)* immediately and by the *cheapest possible means* to the following address:

Mr. *L. Lore* (for A. Kollontay)
German Language Federation Socialist Party
Spruce Street. 15. *New York* (N. Y.)
United States of **America.**

* This refers to the pamphlet *Socialism and War.—Ed.*

According to your calculation there are orders for 500+500=1,000 (I.S.D.* gratis or at 10 pfg.?)+1,500 Jugend=2,500+500 America=3,000.

It would be good to start on a 2nd edition while the type is set up, *but we have no money*. Couldn't we induce the Jugend,** by giving them now 500 instead of 1,500, to arrange a deal *themselves* with the Berne printing shop for a 2nd edition? (How much will it cost? If not much and if we can be sure that the Jugend will not let us down, perhaps we could borrow the money and publish it ourselves?)

Will you *please* think this over *well* and arrange the whole business.

Best regards,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. Please hand the enclosed letter to **that Lett** (who took my address from you round about 5-8.IX and called on me in Sörenberg on 10 or 11.IX.1915). Very urgent. Please find him as quickly as possible and hand him the letter.

Do *not* spend a kopek more money. *Don't give it to anybody*.

Written prior to November 9, 1915
Sent from Berne to a local address

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

446

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Dear Comrade,

I was *very glad* to hear about your speech at Aarau and I heartily congratulate you on the success. It couldn't have been better.[409]

---

* I.S.D.—Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands.—*Ed.*

** Jugendverein—the Swiss Socialist Youth League.—*Ed.*

(If you have a full verbatim report of the congress, please let me have it if only for a short time.)

Radek told me that *he* had advised you not to take the floor first, as this on the part of a Russian would not be "tactful" (*Radek has proved to be entirely* wrong), and it would be better if Platten did it, etc.

You proved to be entirely right!

I don't think it's worth having Gezänk* with Radek over the "pighead", etc. Trifles! A mere nothing! Scandal, which the O.C. people, Dymki, etc., have always gone in for, and Ryazanov now in particular (Radek too says he is furious: funny chap, what made him poke his nose in things he doesn't understand?).

Take no notice of the scandal, spend less time on the Zurich colonial marsh, *give more of it to contacts with Platten* and the business of publishing and circulating *Internationale Flugblätter*[410] (if you spend less time on the O.C. people & Co. you will have more for *Internationale Flugblätter*).

The money for *Internationale Flugblätter* (370 copies?) and the *account* (how many left over? How many given out on credit? Total, etc.) send direct *to me* (Platten's address has been given only for outsiders).

As regards the translation of *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 into Italian, I think our mutual acquaintance will help you.** She and Siefeldt have already found several Italian addresses; she has found an Italian to go through the translation. You too. I think the first thing to do now is to have it translated into Italian and given to an Italian to be vetted. And then (*avoiding Balabanova*, who apparently won't be of any help and is even capable of being an obstacle) it is necessary to start looking out for some newspaper or a league of Italians in Switzerland who would agree to publish it at their own expense: I don't think this is a utopia, as the publication of 2,000 copies will cost 80 frs., and at 10 cts. each it will yield a profit.

If a publisher cannot be found, then we shall try and publish it ourselves, in which case distribution must be

---

* A row.—*Ed.*

** The person referred to has not been identified.—*Ed.*

organised with special zeal: our mutual acquaintance, to whom I am writing, will help us in this.

I would ask you to maintain and cultivate *in every way* your "close acquaintance" with Platten: he is *extremely important* just now for publication of *Internationale Flugblätter*.

Does Platten attend the meetings of the party's Executive? Does he have the minutes? Has he a vote or not? Does he agree to *develop* the decision on "*revolutionäre Aktionen*" to keep it from being a dead letter? (In that case we should arrange publications, pamphlets, supplements to Swiss papers concretising the idea of "revolutionäre Aktionen", and smuggle all this into Germany.) Does he agree to help import *Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 into Germany?

How are things going with the sale of the pamphlet *Sozialismus und Krieg*? Write. Drop the Zurich colony and get busy with the affairs der Zimmerwalder Linken!

All the best. My regards to your wife and all our friends.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Write direct to my address:
Wl. Uljanow. Seidenweg. 4-*a*III
(bei *Frau* Schneider) *Bern*.

Written after November 21, 1915
Sent to Zurich

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447

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I think we ought to go to Grimm and ask him to *mark off exactly* (with a red pencil) what passages he "wants deleted"![411]

Polemic?

What about Trotsky and *Vie Ouvrière*?[412]

Is the reference to Longuet-Pressemane *less* polemical

than the reference to Chkheidze? Begründung? The same can be found in Trotsky and *Vie Ouvrière*.

I have my doubts whether it's any use having talks with Grimm. If he confined himself to quite minor amendments, I would be for making concessions. But that is improbable.

In that case there are two alternatives: either we give up the idea of publishing it in the *Bulletin* and issue a leaflet.

Or we publish it in the *Bulletin* the way Grimm wants it, and in addition issue it *complete* as a leaflet *marked*: "Published without censorship".

At any rate the **main** thing now is to get Grimm's *pencil* marks of *what* he wants deleted. That's the main thing. Go about this tactfully—**speak him fair.**

I shall answer the rest this evening or tomorrow. I *haven't had time* to read it all.

Salut!

Lenin

Written prior to November 27, 1915
Sent from Berne to a local address

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448

TO G. Y. BELENKY*

If you have any group of Frenchmen there who adhere *to the position* of the Zimmerwald Left, *be sure* to get this group to send us *immediately* an article, however short (or a statement), for the journal. Hurry!!

We also need correspondence from this group. For God's sake!

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* This letter is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*

Finally, a *full report* of the speeches by Bourderon and Merrheim (1) at the federation itself
(2) of the whole opposition at the party *congress* of 27. XII.

Written after December 27, 1915
Sent from Berne to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

1916

449
TO INESSA ARMAND

15/I. 1916

Dear Friend,

Today the parcel containing papiers d'affaires, three notebooks sent from Berne by registered mail to Belinsky* in Paris, has been returned. The sender forgot to put the number of the house, and those damned post-office people went and returned it!! I have sent it off today to Belinsky registered.

We have the beginning of "friction" with our Polish friend,** who seems to have "taken offence" over the discussion and wants to keep our theses out of No. 2 of the journal.[413] This looks like *war* with him. From Roland-Holst an extremely friendly letter reporting that her Dutch league on 2.I.1916 had unanimously joined the Zimmerwald Left! Trotsky has lost another ally!! The journal, Dutch-German, is already being set up; contributors from other countries are badly needed, but everything and all contacts should be given only to me or to my young *Russian* friend (by no means to the non-Russian, vous comprenez?).

Now quite another story:

It is a glorious sunny day today, with a light snow. After influenza my wife and I took our first walk along the road to Frauen-Kapellen where the three of us—you remember?—had that lovely stroll one day. I kept thinking of it and was sorry you were not here.

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* This refers to G. Y. Belenky.—*Ed.*

** Meaning K. B. Radek.—*Ed.*

By the way. I'm rather surprised that there is no news from you. Let me confess, while I'm at it, that the thought occurred to me for a moment that you might have "taken offence" at my not having gone to see you off the day you left. I did think that, I must confess, but I dismiss the unworthy thought, I have driven it from my mind.

This is my second postcard to you. Maybe the first one went astray? I repeat the important advice: reread Nos. 5 and 6 of *Nashe Slovo* ever so carefully!! Kollontai sends *good* news from America, she is *publishing Internationale Flugblätter*. From Russia too there is *good* news.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Berne to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

450

TO INESSA ARMAND

19/I. 1916

Dear Friend,

This is my third postcard to you. This time in French, to make the work easier for the censors, if they are the cause of this delay with the mail. As a matter of fact I have been worrying for several days now at the absence of any news from you! If you were offended with me, you would probably have written to other friends, but as far as I know you have not written to anybody. If I don't get a letter from you within the next few days I shall write to our friends to find out whether you are ill. I have inquired several times about poste restante mail, but there is nothing.

The conflict with our young Polish friend has been settled satisfactorily; it was just a slight "misunderstanding" (that is his statement of the case). Now everything is going well;

the journal is already being made up; it should be issued in January.*

We have written to "your" editor in one of the towns of Romansh Switzerland.** He simply doesn't answer Strange, is it not? We are all looking forward to your making arrangements about novels and short stories in Paris where you will probably find lots of people, writers, publishers and so on, since you are working in the National Library and are well acquainted with these people.

The weather is fine. Last Sunday we went for a lovely walk up "our" little mountain. The view of the Alps was very beautiful; I was so sorry you were not there with us.

Recently Camille Huysmans delivered a very long "diplomatic" speech at the congress of the Dutch party.[414] I don't know whether you will be able to find the text of it in the French newspapers. If you don't, you will find it here. He touched, "in passing", on the September conference and protested strongly against the "attempts at expropriation" (he doesn't want to be "expropriated", this secretary!) and so on and so forth. A big diplomatist, a politician!... What unworthy means!

How are you getting on? Are you content? Don't you feel lonely? Are you very busy? You are causing me great anxiety by not giving any news about yourself!... Where are you living? Where do you eat? At the "buffet" of the National Library?

Again I ask for letters poste restante.

Sincerely yours,
Basil

P.S. Again nothing! No letters from you.

Sent from Berne to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original
Translated from the French

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* A reference to the journal *Vorbote*.—*Ed*

** A reference apparently to Paul Golay, editor of the newspaper *Le Grutléen* in Lausanne.—*Ed*.

451

TO INESSA ARMAND

Friday

Dear Friend,

Only today did we receive your long letter; which was most welcome. This is my fourth letter to you: all the first three postcards were poste restante. If you haven't received them, then they either go astray or else there are special rules (or misrules) in regard to poste restante mail. Trotsky has written to our young Polish friend that he is not going to write for the Dutch journal* himself and cannot advise his friends of the nation among whom he is living to do so. It looks like there is no avoiding a fight with Trotsky even on this question!!

We received a postcard today from your brother.** It is good to know that he has received something (either a letter or a No. of our newspaper for the end of March) and writes about "sympathy". There is more sympathy, he says, in his part of the world than he expected.

By the way, I nearly forgot (I am in a great hurry to get this off by the next train). If there are special misrules regarding poste restante mail, maybe that is the reason why *I* do not receive any letters (I have not had a *single one* from you), though you do write? Let me know at once: if you underline the date twice, it will mean that you *do* receive my letters and *write* to me. Write to the same address at which we received your long letter.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Why didn't you give your address before???

Written January 21, 1916
Sent from Berne to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* *Vorbote.—Ed.*

** Meaning L. B. Kamenev, the word "brother" being used for reasons of secrecy.—*Ed.*

452
TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Sunday evening

Dear Comrade,

I have just learned that an international conference of the bureaux of the youth leagues is to be held at Zurich on *Wednesday*. The Norwegians and Swedes should be there (their youth leagues, as you know, joined the Zimmerwald Left).

Will you please 1) find out (*tactfully*—all this is *secret*) about this in detail: the date, place, duration, composition; 2) ascertain whether a representative of our Party can attend; try to make this possible and *get in yourself*; 3) make a special attempt to find out, as quickly as you can, who exactly is going to be there from Scandinavia, get in touch with them, see them, and *put them in touch* with us as soon as possible.

Drop me a line that you have received this letter and saying what you hope to do.

Salut!

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. Please thank Siefeldt on my behalf for the books and tell him I hope to get *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* from him *in Zurich*.

P.P.S. I will arrive, probably, before 10th-11th; maybe 7th-9th.

Written January 30, 1916
Sent from Berne to Zurich

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Printed from the original

453

TO KARL RADEK

I personally consider that with the appearance of *Gazeta Robotnicza* (II.1916) our joint struggle in Russian and Polish affairs is *ruled out*. Not because of the "attack" on the "defeatists" (this is only a symptom), but in view of the resolution of the P.S.D. on Russian affairs.[415] If the P.S.D. in February 1916 does not come out openly and definitely for a split in Russia, then this is merely a preparation for another 16.VII.1914.

And so, in my opinion—a struggle in the Russian, Polish and German press—and (I, at least, am for it) joint actions in Switzerland (where the national question is not at all an urgent one, and it should therefore *as far as possible* be kept separate).

As this is my own personal opinion, I am sending *all* your letters to Grigory.

Written after February 1, 1916
Sent from Berne to a local address

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

454

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Liebe Freunde,

Please send me *as quickly as you can. Tagwacht* containing Radek's articles on Gorter and *two* articles about the Australian labour movement. I am also waiting for the proof-sheets (1) of my articles in the C.O. and (2) of the German theses (do *not* print them until you receive my reply: I am considering another little amendment).*

* This refers to the theses "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56).—*Ed.*

I am also waiting for your article for the C.O. and an exact plan of the issue.

Please give my address to Radek and ask him from me to send me the *promised* cutting from *Vorwärts* of 12.I.1916 (Rühle's article on the split and the editors' reply). I am lecturing here on Wednesday, so I have very little time. There is tongue-wagging here about the position of the "5 secretaries"* being desperate (Russia against them) and their only hope is that Chkheidze will lift his voice from the "rostrum", crying: *for* Zimmerwald!!

Beste Grüße!

Ihr *Lenin*

Written February 12, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

455

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I know that you are interested in science, and not in politics. Nevertheless your sympathies, I have no doubt about it, are with France. The split among the German socialists, as one French minister expressed it, is not a matter of indifference to France. Therefore we must help inform the Russians as well as the French about this. Otto Rühle, M.P., plumped in *Vorwärts* for a split. But it should definitely be added: not "only" Otto Rühle, but also the *group* of International Socialists of Germany (*l'Humanité*, too, wrote about it). Please insert this when next writing to Petrograd. And also the following: *only* Otto Rühle and the International Socialists of Germany declared plainly for a split and against the "marsh"; as to the *Internationale* group (the German group of whom also *Homo* wrote in *l'Humanité*: a beauty of a newspaper!)—this group is

* This refers to the Secretariat Abroad of the Mensheviks' O.C.—*Ed.*

wavering: the majority in it are clearly turning back to the marsh. This is obvious from this group's recent "theses"[416] and from the press statements of Ströbel in *Neue Zeit* and from the newspaper *Die Gleichheit*.[417] So don't forget to add this! Science is everything to you, but a little sympathy towards France, *a lot* of sympathy, I should say, you undoubtedly have!

Salutations cordiales!

Lenin

Written February 26, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

456
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I have sent *Self-Defence*.[418]

I agree that No. 52 has to be issued, and I undertake to write an article on the tasks of the conference of 23/IV[419] (or on the "peace programme", etc.—generally on the editorial subject of immediate tasks).*

Nadya has translated the Manifesto.[420] I shall send it to you in a day or two, and you send me the MSS. of the articles and paragraphs you are writing for No. 52. We shall prepare everything in manuscript and then hand it all in to be, set up.

The article reporting the meeting of 5-8.II should be cut and a paragraph inserted about *Orn*. in Nos. 51 and 52 of *Nashe Slovo*[421] and about *Nashe Slovo* generally (I am writing this).

Send a cutting from *Dyen*** about our victory in the insurance councils (*and ask* Kasparov, also Abram and others, to follow *Novoye Vremya* and *other newspapers* and collect everything there is about this).

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* Lenin wrote the article "The Peace Programme" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 161-68).—*Ed.*

** I have *only* the cutting from *Rech*.

It is very important to find out whether Chkheidze spoke about *Zimmerwald* in the Duma. I read his speech *only* as reported in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*: there *isn't a word* there about Zimmerwald. Try, through Radek, to trace Chkheidze's speech in the Social-Democratic press of Germany *as fully as possible* (Martov & Co. speculate on what Chkheidze said or is going to say *for* Zimmerwald).

I am drawing up the theses for our "Antrag" for 23/IV on the "peace programme".

Should we enlist Radek's co-operation for this job? I don't think we should. Radek is behaving so meanly! *I still** haven't got *many* copies of the theses, and I find it *repugnant* to write to Radek, seeing that he is *out for* squabbles.

Why didn't you answer whether you sent my insertion to the theses to be set up? You could have handed it in to the printing shop *yourself* and get the proofs from there (and **order** *many* copies: oh, to hell with him, that Dreckseele von Radek!). We have the *right*, as authors, to order the proofs of the theses.

We must get from Grimm *Bulletin* No. 3,[422] *as many copies as we can*, both French and German, and send them out *everywhere*, including *all* our groups abroad. *Here too.*

You did *not* send me the issue of *Berner Tagwacht* carrying the resolution of the *Bremen* people, and you don't send the paper at all, and I don't get it here.[423]

What does Abramovich write about the publication of the *French Internationale Flugblätter* No. 1 in La Chaux-de-Fonds? What arrangements have been made?

Salut!

Lenin

P.S. Rybalka called on me in Geneva and said that *all* the *Dzvin* people[424] have gone out for patriotism, which will be dealt with in No. 6 of *Borotba*.[425] (Have you Nos. 1-5?) Levinsky, on the other hand, says that Rybalka is simply lying!!??

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* It was promised 10.II.1916!! The work is suffering terribly. It is simply *outrageous*.

Send the Lettish material.[426] What is to be done with it? Shall we publish it, and how?

Written between March 2 and 25, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

457
TO HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST

8/III. 1916

Dear Comrade,

Excuse me for not having answered your letter earlier. I have been lecturing in various towns of Switzerland.

I thank you very much for your friendly reply. I shall be very pleased if our collaboration proceeds without any friction.

Frankly speaking, there was never any question about you and Comrade Pannekoek being "decent people", as you term it. What worried us was the sudden change in the *editorial regulations*. Under the first draft we were given editorial rights (Editorial Board = a union between your group (you + Trotsky) *and* the "Zimmerwald Left"; and in the bureau of this Left, as you know, we had two votes out of the three: Radek's, Zinoviev's and my own). With the change in the draft we lost our editorial rights and became mere contributors. Of course, we could not challenge your right to draw up the regulations. But it is only natural—is it not?—that we, as contributors, should nevertheless wish to have certain *guarantees of our rights*.

I trust the matter is now clear and definitely settled.

Immediately on receipt of your letter I gave orders to the forwarding office to send you our organ (*Sotsial-Demokrat—non-periodical*; Nos. 33-51 were issued since the beginning of the war). Are you receiving it?

I take this opportunity to discuss important questions relating to our collaboration.

(1) Our theses (on the right to self-determination)* were sent to you by Radek (please forward them on to Gorter too; I am writing to him about this in detail in connection with his pamphlet). I consider the Dutch-Polish standpoint to be altogether erroneous theoretically and a result of the policy of the small states practically. Cannot our joint struggle against old and new *annexations* (what are annexations?) draw us somewhat closer together? The German, English and Russian standpoint is after all more important (and objectively *more correct*) than the Dutch and Polish! Gorter demands "national independence" for the Dutch East Indies. Very good! But this is *precisely* the right to self-determination!! If Kautsky and the Russian Kautskyites (including Trotsky) present the question wrongly, this is only another argument against the Kautskyites! (If you are interested in this question, ask Gorter to send you my letter. I shall be very pleased to discuss this question more fully with the Dutch Marxists.)

(2) The German group *Die Internationale*. Have you read their theses in No. 3 of Grimm's *Bulletin*?[427]

In my opinion this is a decisive step to the *right* after the first issue of the journal *Die Internationale*. Not a word against the Kautskian Centre—and that is the main thing for the German party. Not a word about the split (Otto Rühle is quite right—and they keep silent about this *after his article*!!). Not a word about *obvious* methods of struggle—about the *illegal* organisation, etc.

And the phrase: "in the era of imperialism there can no longer be national wars"! This is theoretically false. Colonial wars *are* national wars. (India against Britain, etc.) This—practically—is *chauvinism*: we representatives of the Great Powers *forbid* the oppressed peoples to wage national wars!!

My conclusion is this: *Die Internationale* wishes to *come to an agreement* with the Kautskyites. These theses cannot be interpreted in any other way. On top of it all, Ströbel in *Neue Zeit lauds* Bernstein![428] Zetkin in *Gleichheit*

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* See V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (present edition Vol. 22, pp. 143-56). —*Ed*.

is *against* the Zimmerwald Left: diplomatic phrase against "Bolshevik sectarianism" (!!). A phrase worded so diplomatically that no one can understand *where* our "sectarianism" comes in!! Zetkin stands for "aurea mediocritas" between Ledebour and the Zimmerwald Left. But *how* this is to be achieved—of this not a word. What is our mistake? —so far, not a word about it, not a single line in Switzerland, where there is no censorship.

How else can you account for it, other than as a desire to come to an agreement with Kautsky & Co.?

(3) The "draft" (*Bulletin* No. 3) drawn up by you and the S.D.P. strikes me as being a very bad one.[429] Not even Radek could defend this draft. Why this curtailment of the Party's Programme? The programme of socialist revolution? Today there is no need for it—and such a programme lacks a point dealing with the conquest of political power. In such a programme §6 (A) and §5 (B) are very odd; §6 (B), too, sounds queer: it is precisely in the event of a socialist revolution that we shall have need of a militia to *defend* the new order. We are not pacifists, are we? We cannot count on a victory simultaneously all over the world (without civil wars? without wars?)! The colonial programme is absent altogether.

Only in the event of our being *quite sure* that we are right on the threshold of *such* a revolution shall we need such a programme—but even then it would have to be formulated quite differently.

Today, however, we need something quite different: the labour movement needs clear views on the necessity of breaking with the social-chauvinists and Kautskyites, on the illegal organisation, on the means and methods of mass struggle, etc.

(4) We shall soon send you our theses to points 5-8 of the agenda of the second conference.* It would be a very good thing if we could come to an agreement—on some of the points, if not on all of them.

(5) What are our differences with Trotsky? This must-

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* See "Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 169-79).—*Ed.*

probably interest you. In brief—he is a Kautskyite, that is, he stands for unity with the Kautskyites in the International and with Chkheidze's parliamentary group in Russia. We are absolutely against such unity. Chkheidze with his phrases (that he is for Zimmerwald: see his recent speech, *Vorwärts* 5/III) *cloaks* the fact that he shares the views of the *Organising Committee* and of the people *taking part in the war committees*.* Trotsky at present is against the Organising Committee (Axelrod and Martov) but for unity with the Chkheidze Duma group!!

We are decidedly against.

With best regards to you, Comrade Pannekoek and the other Dutch comrades!

Yours,
N. Lenin

My address is: Wl. Ulianow
Spiegelgasse. 12.
(Schuhladen Kammerer)
Zürich. I.

P.S. Is there any truth in the newspaper reports about the connections between the *New Review* (New York) and *Vorbote* (see *Internationale Korrespondenz*[430] No. 69)?

Don't you think it would be essential to put out No. 2 of *Vorbote* in March?

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Printed from the original Translated from the German

458
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am very glad that arrangements have been made with Grimm.

I hope he is also publishing the *Statement Against the Organising Committee Secretariat Abroad*.[431] You say nothing about it! Please answer.

* Meaning the war industries committees.—*Ed*.

I asked you *twice* about *Sukhanov*'s pamphlet, but you do not answer (whether you sent it to Olga).

What about *Vorbote* No. 2? When is it coming out? Will there be criticism of the *Internationale* resolutions?

N.B. || If there will, may I see it in the *manuscript*?

I have not seen the Junius *yet*[432]; couldn't you send it? (I'll try Platten.)

What questions haven't I answered? *I wrote* to Kollontai and will write again.

(If you happen to see the MSS. for *Vorbote* couldn't you send them here for half a day?)

Salut!
Lenin

Written after March 16, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

459

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending copy to be set up. I am finishing the article on the "peace programme", etc. (for the editorial), and will send it in tomorrow.*

The I.S.C.'s "Appeal" should be supplemented by a *brief* notice of the agenda, the terms of admission, etc.[433]

We absolutely cannot disclose the *pseudonym* of "Spartacus".[434] We *absolutely* cannot; it would mean helping *Internationale Korrespondenz* to reprint it *from us*: we would be *helping* the informers.

Our "reservation", statement (5-8. II) we made when voting *for* the circular, must be inserted fully and *without fail*.

* A reference to the article "The Peace Programme" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 161-68).—*Ed.*

"Crooks of the pen" won't do. I suggest amendments (pp. *1*, *2*, *3*).[435] This should be written with a minimum of invective, in an elaborately *explanatory* way. It would be a good thing to enumerate the facts, *collect the references* of the O.C. Secretariat Abroad (No. 2 of the *Bulletin*) (+No. 3 of *Izvestia*) to *Samara*, the *Caucasus*, *Nad*, etc., and **show** that in Russia all the O.C. people are participants. I strongly advise having this article rewritten *another 2 or 3 times*, and *sent to me again*, in order to make it a good and accurate exposition: this is *extremely important*.

Give *Self-Defence* to Shklovsky, Kasparov & Co. for 2-3 days, then return to me *at once*.

I still have no copies (of the German theses on self-determination). When is this going to end???

If Radek is holding up No. 2 of *Vorbote*, this is *foul play* on his part. We must think over **ways** of combating this. Should we not send a collective letter to Roland-Holst? Why not? Why should we stand on ceremony with him? This is a broken promise, we'll say, it's bad for the business, it's bad faith, it's an obstacle to the discussion *for* the April conference, precisely *at* the conference!

Return my theses (on peace, etc.) to me **immediately:** I have to redraft them. You had better **not** show them to Radek *until* they have been redrafted.

Salut!

Lenin

Why don't you send me *Nashe Golos*?[436] I haven't seen it since Martov's "self-determination" articles. Has the promised answer to him appeared there?

What about the Bureau of the Zimmerwald Left? Didn't it have to prepare a report to the April conference?[437] And the theses?? What about it?

Written after March 19, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

460

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending the theses.*

They still have to be corrected—return them *as soon as possible*.

We *must rush things*: when we have finished them, let Zina type them** in 4-5 copies (will she do it?) for immediate dispatch to France, England, Sweden, etc.

Next, they have to be translated immediately into German (perhaps you will do it and I'll show them to Kharitonov and then to Platten) (we shall type them ourselves) and *published*. The same in French (for the Italians and French).

All the Left-wingers and their sympathisers should be able to see and discuss them a few weeks before the conference. The Dutch too.

Give them to Radek, **but for not more than half a day** for copying. Otherwise I absolutely don't agree!!

We shall give them to Grimm for publication in No. 4*** of the *Bulletin*. If he doesn't publish them+the protest (Martov vs. Chkheidze), he *won't get a kopek*.[438]

Chkheidze's speech *has been published*. It is reported in **Vorwärts:** *for* "the Zimmerwald decision and peace without annexations". Apparently *not a word* against Gvozdyovism[439]!!!

In the protest I'll drive this home hard.

Return the postcards.

Salut!

Lenin

Written after March 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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Printed from the original

* This refers to "Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 169-79).—*Ed.*

** On one side, close spacing no margins.

*** Find out what the *deadline* is—20 or 25.III? Perhaps we should write officially, asking whether we correctly understood it to be before 30.III and that we consider the *space* in *Bulletin* No. 4 engaged?

461
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I forgot to insert a passage in both the *theses* and the *article* on "The Peace Programme", and inserted it must be *without fail*.

Find a place for it (I haven't got the rough copy) and *be sure* to insert it:

> The only unconditional demand which the Social-Democrats can put forward as a programme of peace without playing into the hands of the opportunists is: *repudiation of war debts*. And we put this forward in connection with the revolutionary struggle of the masses.*

Salut!
Lenin

Written March 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

462
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I had a translation of the Dutch "Annullierung der Staatsschulden".** State debts can be used instead of war debts: I don't see any great difference.

How to punish the "concierges"? Their share in the *total* debt is insignificant, and they *could* be assigned a *pension* from the state treasury (if they served a long time as concierges).

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* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 167 and 176.—*Ed.*

** "Cancellation of State Debts" (the heading to Point 1 of the draft programme of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Social-Democratic Party of Holland published in the *Bulletin of the I.S.C.* No. 3 for February 29, 1916).—*Ed.*

If you still "have doubts", don't insert it, *or hold up the issue for a couple of days*. I think *this* Dutch point, as an exception, is *suitable* for a "peace programme" (we could add) as it contains the only positive demand *in connection with the revolution* or the mass struggle (did I insert this—I don't remember?)... should be....

It would be awkward if we inserted it *afterwards* and there were **no** mention of it in the C.O.'s article *on this subject*. We had better hold it over for a couple of days and discuss it by letter.

I shall fix things up about the Wiener *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and make inquiries about Tyszka (maybe he is in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozial-Politik*?).

Re arrangements with Alexander (he has gone to Norway, where A. K. is, and *now* we must put the pressure on him *as hard as we can*).

I simply cannot agree to I+II about *Kommunist*.

Your arguments are most inconsistent.

..."Only manoeuvre away"? ... If so, why risk the *business*?

"We're to blame for getting tied up with an old woman".... Of course! But those who are to blame are the first to make amends. What logic is it to say: I am to blame, *therefore* I do *not* make amends!!!

I don't consider myself "to blame": at that time a bloc *was* useful. I made it. *Today* it is *harmful*. I *shall be* to blame if I don't change it.

My *business* reasons you haven't even touched on: squabbles among the staff (on **3** points), complaints to the C. C.; letters to the editors; letters to *Nashe Slovo* (Bronski's, perhaps Radek's, etc.) ΣΣ=squabbles instead of business.

And over what? Over the "name"?? It's ridiculous.

I have received *N. I.*'s answer to the theses: sheer *piggery*, not a single well-thought-out word.

With Alexander the matter must be put as a point of **principle**: *after* No. 1-2 *they* came out with "differences". Equality (or a place) in the Editorial Board *cannot* be granted under *such* differences. It is inadmissible. N. I.'s old waverings on this question (of democracy) should be collected and it should be demanded that they think everything over, digest it, and write giving the reasons for all their *differences* for the C.C. (a small pamphlet). Not for

publication, but for the C.C. We shall examine it and *reject* it, meanwhile on with *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.[440]

Salut.
Answer.

Written March 20 or 21, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

463
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I have just (8 p.m.) received your postcard. I definitely insist on the insertion: "repudiation of *state* debts".

Only today I saw an article in *Berner Tagwacht* standing for this demand. And not a word there about petty proprietors, concierges, etc. Why should we worry about them. Simply say: "for the sake of the revolution and in connection with it—cancellation of payment on *all* state debts"—that is the only serious blow at finance capital, the only guarantee of a "democratic peace". Unattainable without a revolution? Certainly. This is no argument *against* such a point, but an argument *for* revolution.

Certainly. There isn't the shadow of any reason to disagree with the Dutch and *Berner Tagwacht on this score*.

Tomorrow I shall be sending you a long letter.*

They haven't got Tyszka 19*12* here; only 19*14* (Löhne,** etc.), this can be had in Berne, too, in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozial-Politik*. Band 145.

Salut,
Lenin

Written March 21, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* This letter has not been traced.—*Ed.*
** Wages.—*Ed.*

464
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending an addition (O. Rühle and Liebknecht)—I think it *must* be squeezed in, to mark the *historical* words of Liebknecht.

I am sending a draft of cuts covering 37 lines. I trust you will find where to make more cuts in order to squeeze in Rühle and Liebknecht.*

"Strekoza" *in any case* must be thrown out, as 1) it is not the thing; 2) we must wait (since it is not only a matter of Trotsky, but plus *La Vie Ouvrière*: for them it may be progress).[441]

3) We had better deal with Trotsky in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*; he has to be dealt with at greater length.

Salut,
Lenin

Be sure to send the theses to Grimm *personally* (it would be a good idea to invite him for a *talk* on this).

I am considering another insertion to the theses. Let me know *in good time* when they are made up.

APPENDIX TO LETTER

Otto Rühle and Karl Liebknecht

Rühle in *Vorwärts* of 12/I. 1916 openly declared for a *split* in the party. Liebknecht, in his speech of 16/III. 1916 in the Prussian Landtag, openly called on "those fighting in the trenches" to "*lower their rifles and turn against the common enemy*", for which he was not allowed to finish his speech. Which Russian Social-Democrats, then, displayed "factionalism"—those who stood for the Bolshevik slogans—the only consistent slogans—of civil war and a split with opportunism? Or those who denied the obvious correctness

* See appendix to letter.—*Ed.*

of these slogans, to which the course of events is leading the internationalists in *all* countries?

Written prior to March 23, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published: the letter—in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49
the appendix—March 25, 1916, in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 52

The letter printed from the original; the appendix printed from the text of *Sotsial-Demokrat*

465
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Pokrovsky's proposal should of course be accepted.[442] I am sitting down to work (the library here is better, especially in latest economic literature. If it is possible to have the proof-sheets of the new catalogue for a couple of days—or at least for Sunday—try and get them for me).

Have Pokrovsky answer *me* and you *officially* that the terms have been *accepted* (N. B. send me his old letters concerning format and so on); re the deadline *let him say nothing* (I daresay I can manage it by V or VI).

I *haven't* seen Rakovsky's speech or the *I.S.D. pamphlet on the 21/XII minority*.[443] Send me *both*.

Send me *25* impressions *as soon as* you can.

I am sending you the proof-sheets of the theses.* Have accepted one of your amendments. Regarding *non-membership of the party*, I *absolutely* disagree. 1) Reread the preceding text, 2) read Austerlitz and K. Kautsky in *Neue Zeit* (3.III.1916) and you will see at once that you are wrong. We, the *Editorial Board*, must declare outright that we do **not** *consider* it compatible with membership of the party—only in this way shall we be drawing a *correct* Trennungslinie** *precisely* with the chauvinists, precisely with *Martov* (+Plekhanov)+*Axelrod* & Co., who *cannot* accept our for-

* The theses of the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*: "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56).—*Ed.*

** Dividing line.—*Ed.*

mulation. As for Bukharin he will think it over *and accept*. A bet?

Salut!

Lenin

N.B. Could you get *Chemnitzer Volksstimme* for at least 2 days? Please try!! If you can't, send me *its* address and the *No*. of the issue (containing this article) and the date; I shall order it.

Written between March 23 and 25, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

466

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

In your version of the "history" of "disagreements" there are factual inaccuracies. For instance, before my departure from Berne, and *not* at our last meeting, we discussed this point, and I not only did not "let it drift past my ears", but answered at length and *repeatedly*, and you did not indicate *by a single word*, neither then nor a whole month later, that this question was still an open one to you, that it was in the form of an ultimatum, etc. But, of course, if you are bent on "squabbles", in one form or another, then you have no interest in the facts, and I am in no position to prevent you. It is left for me to choose one of the two alternatives you propose. I choose the first. Put my signature to it and print (25) impressions as quickly as you can, for it is extremely difficult to get in touch with the Lefts at such short notice. Your "private statement" will be printed, of course, not in the C.O. but in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* simultaneously with the publication of the *Russian* text.

Salut,

Lenin

Written after March 23, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

467
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

We have just received your postcard, and I hasten to answer it, as the P. O. will soon close. You are not very pleased with the "crowd" of Samovarchik's friends,[444] but this young "crowd" is *in raptures* over you: that's what Samovarchik himself writes in *their* own words. I congratulate you heartily on the *success* and wish you still more of it in future. You are not interested in politics, but you do sympathise with France: we have *excellent* information concerning the split among the German socialists and on how things are going with the International Socialists of Germany. This news is *in favour of* France.

I wish you again all the very best. I congratulate you on your success and send my best regards—so does Olga.

Yours,
Lenin

Written March 31, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Paris

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

468
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Although I know your tendency towards swift "changes of mood" and fretfulness, I never thought it could go to *such lengths*.... I never thought you would believe the cock-and-bull story (whose?) about Kaltstellung!!* I answered *all* Alexander's letters; I wrote him *three times* (my 2nd letter must have gone astray in Sweden and the 3rd has probably not reached him yet). It is absurd to speak about

* Cold shoulder.—*Ed.*

Kaltstellung, when you *beg* a man to write and *he* refuses (not a word about the *composition* of the "collegium" he has appointed...) and all he does is either threaten or get angry: "to America"??? What does this dream mean??

Not a word about going to Russia, but he finds his tongue to talk about America?! Naturally, in this mood of his, it would be useful to try and have it out with him, but that would have been timely if he were going to Russia. Now, however, the deed is done.

Did Radek promise you the theses 1) his own on self-determination, and when? 2) His theses of the Leftists were promised for Saturday; today is Tuesday....

What is the deadline for the Russian No. of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, i.e., the one with the article on Chkhenkeli?[445]

Salut,
Lenin

Written April 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

469

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending the theses. *Additions*, see pp. *21* and *22* (they must be inserted in German too).

I don't agree with you about Alexander. Unless we see eye to eye (you and me) *I shall abstain*, and you can resolve by one vote that "we have decided to call him".

(1) To show him at the conference would be his *undoing*. That is clear. In Sweden and Norway the Russian Government has no sleuths, but here the place is alive with them. Martov & Co. will tell the world.

I am absolutely against his appearing at the conference. I do not abstain, I am against.

(2) *Alexander himself is demanding* a man to be sent to Russia (I shall write to Ludmila).

(3) Since *Alexander* is **not** going, we should *wait a bit* and call him *on the eve of his* departure. Otherwise it will all be *to no purpose*.

(4) There is no need to hurry, all the more as *Alexander* will be influenced by *Kievsky*; we must bide our time, exchange letters, etc. (By hastening Alexander's arrival you will be **hastening** his going over to Bukharin & Co., because Alexander is now all worked up. But if we wait a bit, the C.O. will come out, correspondence will be developed with Mme. *Kievsky*, I shall make up a set of documents concerning the vacillations of Bukharin & Co. and *Alexander* will have time to think and see where *Bukharin & Co.* are heading, what mess they are getting themselves into.)

To send for Alexander *now* will mean *fighting* him *now*. What for? Over what? If he is not going, we have **nothing** to fight over. (We shall receive contacts through conciliator James, etc.) (James, of course, is to blame.)

What about Radek's theses?

We must wait a bit with the No. on self-determination, *if Vorbote* No. 2 comes out before the conference. It is *extremely* important to squelch Radek's theses *right away*. Radek's whipping is inevitable, and on his corpore vili we can "*save a good deal*" of the whipping of the Stockholmers.

Find out exactly **when** Kedrov is going.* Is he still in Berne? Is his wife in Lausanne?

I advise **extreme** caution with the Bundist!!! Guardez-vous!

Salut,
Lenin

Written after April 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* This refers to Kedrov's proposed trip to Russia.—*Ed.*

470

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Of course, Dolgolevsky must be sent 100 frs. *immediately*. Do it. Ryazanov had promised to write to Kautsky about Dolgolevsky.

I am also writing to Ryazanov about Greulich.

Please keep a close eye on the issue of the *Bulletin* (so that I get it *immediately*: it is extremely important that I should have it immediately for my *talk* with the *local Lefts*). Try and get the *proofs* of our Stellungnahme* on some excuse and send them to me *as quickly as possible*.

I sent you a large packet today.

Salut,
Lenin

N.B. Answer: did you send Sukhanov to the Karpinskys?

Written April 10, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

471

TO G. L. PYATAKOV, YEVGENIA BOSH, N. I. BUKHARIN[446]

It is no use your trying, in your letter, to ignore the main thing, not daring to deny a fact of which you are only too well aware. Namely, that the organisation was based (provisionally) on the principle of *federation*—this was reiterated by us in every possible way as clear as clear can be. Your long speeches do not alter this a whit. And further, that this

* "Die Stellungnahme des Zentral-Komitees der S.D.A.P. Russlands zu der Tagesordnung der zweiten internationalen sozialistischen Konferenz" (published April 22 1916, in *Bulletin I.S.K.* No. 4; published in Russian on June 10, 1916, in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 54-55 under the heading "Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference") (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 169-79).—*Ed.*

principle was abnormal, anti-Party. This, too, was stated. And this is the crux of the matter.

Abnormality was tolerable as a temporary measure in the interests of agreement. After your removal it appears that you came to an agreement, all three, on the "theses",[447] for which we can bear no responsibility either directly or indirectly, not even recognise any proximity to them, leave alone equality, in our Party.

If you wish to persist in them and in such an "agreement" and in federation, we can only regret it.

You ask about contributions—to what journal? *Kommunist* has been suspended owing to breach of the temporary agreement. That means to a new journal? That is, to yours, on the *basis* of the "theses"? We cannot contribute and shall be compelled to fight it, since we find your attitude to the Party's Programme (§ 9) to be not only wrong and harmful, but frivolous. Really, during 8 months of agreement and life together you *three never once* drew a pen on this question, which has a 12-year history within the Party, *never once made a statement* in the Editorial Board of the C.O., *never once attempted* to refer back to Party literature, etc.

Your arguments for a "free" journal (free from the Party Programme? from the central bodies of the Party?) are just as frivolous, if not worse—anti-Party.

If you wish to persist in the theses, we (1) are prepared to publish them and (2) we are *bound* to give our opinion: publish them yourselves (if you do not want us to do it) and furnish them with a discussion pamphlet in which all three of you could make clear to the Party your motives.

P.S. You write that the question of money is "unpleasant". Not always. When money is treated in a true Party manner, it is a pleasant thing to the Party. When money is used as a *weapon against* the Party, it is indeed "unpleasant", even worse than unpleasant.

Written after April 10, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

472
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Today I *sent* you a *parcel*.

(1) I am sending our theses; whole sentences have been *omitted* from them. Please insert them *immediately* (you have the rough copy) and return to me *at once* (for Platten).

(2) Have you another copy? I am afraid Grimm may let us down. That will leave us *without* our theses on the eve of the conference, and *at* the conference!!

(3) I am a bit uncertain whether it is worth while my going to the conference. There is no mandate (from the Letts) and there probably won't be. To attend as a "guest" would be rather awkward, I'm afraid; I may be turned away for all I know (the decision of the 5-8.II. 1916 meeting is not binding on the conference).[448]

What does Radek say to this?

(4) Is Radek "hiding" Fröhlich or not? *A number* of meetings of the Lefts and *formal* conferences are needed.

(5) Fröhlich and others will be *arrested* (I assure you) if they live in Berne. It is our duty to tell Fröhlich and the others: if you *don't* want to be arrested, go to some secluded nook (somewhere *near* the conference; Grimm should tell *them* where it will be); that's the only way to avoid arrest. And a meeting of the *Lefts* could be arranged there.

Talk it over with Radek and Fröhlich (what about the Serb?* You say nothing about him) and let me know.

(6) The Ledebourites, that is the Kautskyites, will probably mess up the *whole* conference!! *Everyone* will be looking at them!!

How many will there be from the I.S.D.? *2* (Fr.+....**)?

And from the *Internationale*?

(7) We must be prepared to *fight* Martov and Axelrod over the mandate. Do you undertake to collect material *point by point* of No. 2 of the *Bulletin* (from *Nash Golos*+ *Self-Defence*+Chkheidze's and Chkhenkeli's speeches and so on?)? If you do, you must start *at once*.

---

* This refers to Katzlerowitch, a representative of the Serbian Social-Democrats.—*Ed.*

** One word in the manuscript is illegible.—*Ed.*

(8) A French translation of our theses ought to be made (Inessa will probably agree), for I don't think Grimm will do it.

Salut,
Lenin

Written after April 18, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

473
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am not sending this by express, as it would only waken you, according to my reckoning, without appreciably saving any time.

I quite agree with you about *inviting* the French and promising 50 frs.

Advise the Brest people to travel *via* George: it is important that he and we should "intercept" them first instead of Grimm (if possible it would be good to do the same with the Parisians[449]).

I haven't had time yet to read the indictment.[450] I shan't be long.

If you like, I'll send you Sukhanov's new pamphlet, if you promise me Junius* (for 1½ day at least. Get it from Radek, but **don't mention** me). Neither Platten nor Nobs have it.

It would be extremely useful *for the cause* for Alexander first to work a little in England. It is *dangerous* at present to go to Russia, we shall be ruining a good man (in Sweden as well as in Russia). Coming here just now is harmful, since he and you will not be able to restrain yourselves, and we shall only be *sullying* a valuable man at the conference. Besides, in a month or two he will be much more

* A reference to the pamphlet by Junius (Luxemburg), *Die Krise der Sozialdemokratie*, Zurich, 1916.—*Ed.*

useful in Russia, and by that time many *important* things will be cleared up and revealed.

Salut,
Lenin

P.S. He will have a "rest" only by working in England. Inaction will only wear him out.

N.B.: P.S. If Grimm does not publish the protest, we must find that out *at once* and *publish* it ourselves, *altering the text*.[451]

P.P.S. Where are the other theses of Radek's for the Zimmerwald Left agreement and **when** shall we have them???

Written after April 18, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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474

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

(1) *Vorbote* obviously will not come out before the conference. It is necessary *immediately to order as many* printed copies of our theses as possible. And quickly too.

(2) Have you made the insertions in German?

(3) *I don't know* what material *I* have to collect. You should collect it and write to me what is missing. Otherwise nothing will come of it.

(4) Send me the proofs of the protest against Martov.

(5) I know nothing about the Scandinavians.[452] Two letters have been sent to Kollontai. There is little hope after the events in Stockholm

(6) My personal finances are not altogether hopeless: whence these "false rumours"???

(7) Did you receive the parcel?

(8) Will you send the German theses (the corrected copy) which I have sent you?

(9) I cannot come on Friday. I have a lot of work to do and I am very late with it.

Since Radek has no theses and there are no hopes of coming to an agreement with him (on the question of annexations and the right to self-determination), the "bureau" *for the time being* is useless. It will be useful in the evening on the 2nd day of the conference, when the composition will have become clear.

(10) Can't you give me a more exact address besides the name of the village you have given me?[453]

The collection of material for the war with Martov is very important.

Attend to this carefully and *in good time*, otherwise we shall be late in finding the missing material.

Salut,
Lenin

Written April 18, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

475
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Radek has no grounds whatever for taking offence, and this should be explained to him calmly and at length. You should arrange the meeting with him as quickly as possible (without waiting for me) (in order to reassure him). You can certainly represent the C.C. at this meeting, as you generally represent the C.C. in Berne. We have *long* been corresponding about your conferring with Radek in regard to the theses.

The situation is what it was before Zimmerwald: we have our own "resolutions", but we do not reject a *Left bloc*.

I shall try to come straight to Kienthal (try to find out the name of the hotel—there are only two or three of them there).

I'm terribly angry at not having received Junius!

Salut,
Lenin

Written between April 18 and 24, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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Printed from the original

476
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

The S.R.s should be answered with a *refusal*. "We cannot advise unity." Have they given an address for a reply? (Be sure to leave a copy.)

I am writing to Alexander, but, of course, not the way you have "modified" our arrangement, but the way it was: (1) the old agreement is cancelled; (2) the Editorial Board of the C.O. edits *in agreement*, from issue to issue, *with the publishers*; (3) publication in Berne.*

You write the letter to the comrades concerning the conference of 25-29.IV[454]—you have more material (by the way, please send me our resolution, the joint one with Radek which he read out at the plenary meeting: I need it badly).

Use the same letter perhaps to make a draft appeal for the French (as discussed with Inessa). I *can't* get it right.

Did Meyer & Co. propose voting the Leitsätze** at the *Erweiterten Kommission*?[455]

I shall go to Lausanne and Geneva to lecture but *not* on the conference, so this won't interfere with you.[456]

I agree to a No. of the C.O. on the conference.[457] Send me distribution of the articles. A paragraph on Martov's deceit of the *International* must go in.

I did *not* receive Rybalka.

Salut,
Lenin

---

* A reference to the conditions for continued publication of the journal *Kommunist*.—*Ed.*

** Theses.—*Ed.*

N.B. P.S. Natanson told me that they are considering a rapprochement with *those* of their "defencists" who say: *first* revolution, *then* defence. Ask him (in your reply) *whether he would care to inform us about the results of their talks*.

Written between May 2 and June 2, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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477
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

16.V. 1916

Dear Alexander,

The conditions in *my* letter* were put forward not for diplomacy and not for bargaining, but as a last attempt. Since these conditions have not been fully accepted, I consider that the agreement has not gone through. This is now final. It is no use talking and writing about this any more. These people confirm my worst suppositions—a desire to hide behind Radek, without working on their own, and to shuffle responsibility off onto me!!

This is the end!

Write me more fully about your trip. Isn't there any work *anywhere* in Scandinavia? Unbelievable!

I shall write you at greater length in a day or two. Nadya has written to the Distributing Committee[458] many times, and they answered her that *everything* has been sent to you.

We are writing again.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 390.—*Ed.*

478

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

It is *absolutely* essential to send the text *itself* to Kamenev *again* and *get* his reply, *also by letter*, and not merely by telegraph.[459] The matter is extremely important, the slightest carelessness is harmful. Better *a bit later*, but more solidly.

The *Kienthal* No. *cannot* be put out without publishing *our* Stellungnahme from the *Bulletin*.

Written prior to May 17, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

479

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

You are 1,000 times wrong about the Japs. Let them publish separately in their *own name*. We can't have them shuffling off the responsibility for this folly *upon us*: let them answer for it themselves. I am *for* a discussion, but not for an agreement with the *Editorial Board* of "imperialist Economists", and I shall have *nothing whatever* to do with such a journal, as I have written many a time.

This must be put an end to. It's no use dragging it out. We must announce *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

About the Distributing Committee, there can be no question of having it transferred here. We have no one here, while in Berne we have Zina + Inessa (how *could* you allow her to leave?? I'm surprised!!) + Shklovsky + Ilyin + Karpinsky + Kasparov. They must be organised and none of them allowed to leave.

I would like very much to get *Avanti!*, as I see it here only in the library. I have not seen what you write about.

We cannot promise A—der 100-150 frs.[460] You can't throw promises about and then find you haven't got the money ("pressure on the groups" are mere words). A six-month trip can only do good, as he won't be going home

before that in any case, and Norway is only a place for scandal.

The Stellungnahme should be put in, as the Manifesto and all the rest are *all poor*. We must show that we said this before *more exactly* and *fully*. This is more important than the article. How much space do the documents occupy (the Manifesto + theses + resolution on the I.S.B.)?[461] Write more precisely.

I shall send the material in a day or two.

And so, you have sent Sukhanov? At last you have answered, after 20 inquiries. I am so surprised at your punctuality that I am writing specially to Minin about it: hurray![462]

Salut,
Lenin

I have received *Demain* about the conference.[463] Have you got it?

P.S. Minin suggests publishing a collection of decisions of international congresses.[464] We already have 300 copies (on 70 pages) *up to 1904*. Add (paste in) 1904-12 and a preface. To be sold at 50 centimes. It will pay for itself.

I am for it. Answer.

Written May 17, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

480

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear A.,

I received your nervy letter[465] and hasten to answer you immediately. You have obviously been fretting a good deal. You have no reason to. Everything has been sent to you. If you haven't received anything, then one or another censor has not let it through. Zina assures me that she has sent you everything, and if she says she has, she has.

If the censor does not let things through, one must have

patience, patience, and persistence. Expect another letter from N. K.

I have read the material.[466] A lot of splendid stuff. Especially the article on the war industries committees. Altogether, the collector of this material has done a splendid job—my sincerest greetings to him again and again.

I have already written to you about the absolute necessity of terminating *all* talks with the Japs & Co. and I stand by this. *A year* (!!) *has passed* since "the differences", and the people have not been thinking, not been working, only hiding behind others' backs and talking scandal. If they still fail to understand that it is dishonest (to throw the responsibility onto *us*, for I am responsible if I form a bloc with an *Editorial Board* of muddleheaded views), then they are hopeless. And if they want to "publish" and bear the responsibility *themselves*, then let them publish the pamphlet themselves, they have the money; it's no use hiding behind others. Let them give an article to the C.O. *themselves*—we shall put it in!!

We must think *seriously* about Belenin,[467] please think of it, I beg you. The Japs are obviously incapable of doing transport work. Is there anybody else in the town* where Belenin recently was? Couldn't he give this job to some foreigner (they are better than the Russians: more reliable, if slower)? If Belenin is to go away, it shouldn't be for more than ½ year. It would be better though to find work in Copenhagen: I'm sure that's possible. How much does Belenin need a month to live on? *Answer*. Put off all personal cares and think, in the interests of the cause, how best Belenin can fix himself up for ½ year. Frankly, he will only wear his nerves thin among the Japs. They are shallow, mean people, really! I wish you all the best, and beg for two words of immediate reply.

Yours,
Lenin

Written May 19, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* Meaning Christiania.—*Ed.*

481
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I shall send you *Demain*.

I insist on Stellungnahme.*

Re the collection (on international congresses)—I do not agree, as the *Basle* resolution, for instance, is *missing*. That it will pay for itself, I have no doubt. It will be good both for the prisoners of war and for Party officials.

(Zina+ In.** etc.) If Inessa has not left the Distributing Committee, it would be absurd to talk about Berne not being able to handle distribution, simply absurd. Alexander is furious at not getting anything. *He must be sent it again registered* and sent in future registered.

About the Japs, you are entirely wrong. You don't want to understand that they are dodging a discussion, throwing the responsibility onto *me* and meanly hiding behind Radek. If they want a discussion, let them publish the pamphlet (and bear the responsibility *themselves*!!) or give an article for the C.O.—*we'll publish it*! For a year the scoundrels have been hedging, and you vacillate and indulge them. I shall have *nothing* to do with their editorial board or their collection and I repeat my proposal: that we put an end to this claptrap once for all.

About "guaranteeing A. for ½ year", I shall try to find out how much money he needs.*** This can't be decided at a guess. For "trips" and ½ year living it *won't* be enough; *one* trip has shown it. Transport went and will go without him through his agents. And since he is not going home, it will be more useful for him to go to America for ½ year than to sit doing nothing among idle riffraff and fret himself ill.

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* See Document 479 in this volume.—*Ed.*

** Inessa.—*Ed.*

*** See Document 479 in this volume.—*Ed.*

Scandal-mongers & Co. would drive even a healthy man to distraction, and your plans do not serve the cause, they only do harm.

Salut,
Lenin

Written May 19, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

482
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Yuri's letter has made me very pessimistic ... it's a swindle.[468]

I don't agree with your amendments, and so I have decided for the time being to send my letter to Alexander without them* (for in bargaining one must not start small when dealing with such sordid hucksters).

I'm prepared to make concessions only in the discussion and income.

Change of name is essential, as it is of a *basically* different character (not what *Kommunist* wanted to be); besides, there are vital practical reasons for a change of name.

Alexander should not be put on the Editorial Board: this would mean calling *everything* into question and risking *falling out* with A. This is extremely harmful.

It will work *only* if we *here* have the majority. Otherwise it's of no use.

(If S'il vous plaît were to remove Yuri, that wouldn't be bad; but I doubt it.)

Send me Nash Golos containing the statement of Martov *& Co.*[469]

Salut,
Lenin

* See present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 393-96.—*Ed.*

I'm in a hurry. These few lines for the time being.
No time to go and post it.
Nadya suggests 2 editorial boards: an enlarged one and a narrow one (you and I + Bukharin). But this doesn't work out.

Written May 24, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

483
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

Dear A.,

I am sending you the Japs' draft. Apparently we won't get anywhere with them.
I answer briefly:
I absolutely reject what is crossed out.
I am prepared to make concessions
(1) in regard to 7 on the Editorial Board,
(2) 15% quota for the C.C.,
(3) place of publication,
if we agree on the rest, that is:
(1) 6th and 7th are co-opted by the Editorial Board of the C.O.,
(2) new name for the collection,
(3) agreement for *one* collection.
In regard to transport, etc., I trust you will make up an addendum to the agreement and insert it (they must definitely contribute towards transport, and this must definitely be inserted; without it, *you* can't work, and I would consider it the height of meanness if capitalists were to give "their" money without ensuring the chief organiser a livelihood. This is the height of meanness! I'll never agree to it!).
Nadya has answered your questions (I was away lecturing). I hope everything has been answered. If not, write and let me know!

Be more patient with the kulaks, don't worry more than you need. It's not worth it.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

N.B. Please return this copy of the text of the agreement to me.

Written between June 3 and 6, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

484

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

It's clear that the Japs have not yielded *an inch*. I have written An—der* that I am prepared to make concessions (1) in regard to 7 (7 and not 6); (2) 15%; (3) place of publication, *if* we agree on the rest, that is (1) the Editorial Board of the C.O. co-opts both 6th and 7th (otherwise an obvious swindle; without a majority here on the Editorial Board it is no use starting); (2) new name for the *collection*; (3) agreement for 1 collection.

What is crossed out must stay out: neither 2 nor 3 are to be given the right to decide on a discussion article by a contributor. I insist on this emphatically.

I would ask A. to add a § on transport and so on.

But apparently we won't get anywhere with this kulak riffraff.

Salut,

Lenin

Written June 6, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

485
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Well, now even Alexander seems to have realised[470] that we won't get anywhere with Y.* & Co.

I suggest

(1) that we decide to issue our collection (*Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*)

(2) that we immediately draw up a list of articles;

(3) that we invite Bukh.+Yur.+A. M.**+Saf.+Varin. Type-setting to be started immediately.

Salut,
Lenin

Written between June 17 and 25, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

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486
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

(1) We shall write to Grisha that he should offer the printer to publish *part* (or an instalment) of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. This would be sensible. We could select for it articles passable by the censor (from the French point of view). I would like you to write him about it too.

Are they preparing a collection of their own?

(2) *No* answer should be given to Radek's question about the cause of the Bruch*** with Bukharin and Lyalin. Must agree on it first. Have you a copy of the C.O. Editorial Board's letter (end of 1915 to Bukharin & Co.)?[471]

To hide behind Yuri on the question of self-determination is downright meanness.

---

* G. L. Pyatakov.—*Ed.*
** Alexandra Kollontai.—*Ed.*
*** Break.—*Ed.*

(3) Letters from Russia (from the C.C. Bureau) say that Bukharin & Co. are trying to establish *their own contacts* with the P.C. over the head of the Bureau.[472] Fine fellows, eh? They not only "inform" Radek, as you write, but do worse things.

(4) A reply has come from *Neue Zeit*: freie Exemplare* are forbidden. I shall subscribe for ¼ year.

N.B. (5) What subjects are you taking for the Russian edition?

(6) I am waiting for your reply as to *exactly* how much material there now is for *Sbornik*.

(7) How strange, Grisha and Varin writing about *Kommunist* and not *Sbornik*!

(8) What is that article "Bruderorgan" in *Berner Tagwacht*?

Please send it!!

Salut,
Lenin

Written after June 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

487
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

At last I have got hold of Platten: he says it's hopeless-Guilbeaux tells Olga (after search attempts) the same thing-Nadya says *none* of her passports are any good. All you can do now is write to Olga, etc., and look out for a Russian.

Regarding the German consulate, a Polish woman told Nadya yesterday that *nobody* now was allowed passage. Very sad!

You forgot to send (1) the resolution of the Committee of the Organisations Abroad concerning the Polish newspaper

* Free copies.—*Ed.*

(*Gazeta Robotnicza**), (2) Grisha's letters on Paris affairs, on Brizon's speech,[473] etc., etc.

Salutations amicales,
Lenin

Written July 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

488
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I was ever so glad to get your plan of the collection.[474] You shouldn't grudge the 2,000 frs., really (it will bring in some money, and the money will be *ours*, not the kulaks'). It's not worth quarreling and upsetting ourselves over such perfectly lousy people. These people will be wiser after the lesson, I assure you.

I quite agree with you that Bukharin (*and* Yuri) should *formally* be asked to immediately give a discussion article on self-determination. We shall publish it. Will you write to them? I'm so furious now with Bukharin that I cannot write. Write at once. To Bukharin in addition: about Höglund and the Norwegian strike.

But we must fix the size as *strictly* as possible both *for ourselves* and for others. Essential!!

I quite agree also that Radek's theses should go in.

I should like to write about self-determination—on Junius—and about defeatism (+"imperialism and opportunism"+on the Chkheidze Duma group).

We must get Varin's article immediately. Ought we not get him to write another one about Ireland? I think we should!

George and *Tinsky* (the latter provisionally) should be commissioned to write something: we must encourage the youth.

---

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 157-60.—*Ed.*

On the *Internationale* preferably 3-4 short articles with a brief *introduction* from the editors.[475]

Let's make exact arrangements as to length.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written July 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

489

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Nadya's passports* are no good at all. (Her health is poor; the weather's bad, we can't go to the mountains.) You ask my advice about Graber. In my opinion, *no* arrangements should be made with him (after the way he let us down in 1915[476]) either about the composition of the Editorial Board or obligatory publication of our articles, as this would mean disgracing ourselves by acting a comedy. Without long, many-months experience at contributions (yours or Abramovich's or both—regularly, one or another occasionally) I don't think any serious agreement is worth talking about. We must look 10 times now "before we leap".

The letters to the prisoners of war concerning the questionnaire *did not* reach them. I wrote to Malinovsky once, suggesting a simple programme: place of residence; trade; occupation; age; attitude to the war, and so on. I got no reply. Obviously the censors don't let it through! Best regards to Popov from me and Nadya. Will you be able to send him dried crusts, etc., direct or through somebody?

All the best!
Lenin

Written July 7, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* This refers to travel documents which Krupskaya had obtained for Armand, who was planning to go to Norway.—*Ed.*

490

TO INESSA ARMAND

To Inessa

Dear Friend,

We shall manage the copying.

As regards Guilbeaux I don't know what to say. I am not clear about the plan: who exactly is on the Editorial Board? (Guilbeaux+??) Guilbeaux is *pretty* feeble and will spoil everything (I'm afraid!)....

What can I have against your article going into the collection?* I am all for it.

All the best!

Lenin

P.S. How strange that Radek does not answer you. I can't make it out.

Mind you, he answers Grigory, doesn't he?

Written July 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

491

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you MSS. with slips of notes concerning your article (it is shockingly lengthy. Im-pos-sible...) and with cuts in Varin's (he *gave* me the right to cut "non-war passages" and generalities. I think it could do with *some more* cuts).

It looks like it's going to be something measureless. It's ghastly. I don't know what to do. Yet something has still to be written about opportunism (I have ½ of it ready),

---

* This probably refers to Armand's article "Who Is Going To Pay For the War?" The article was not published.—*Ed.*

about defeatism and about Trotskyism (including the Duma group+P.S.D.).[477]

Figure out as quickly and accurately as possible how much we *already* have.

I returned to you the Italian cuttings, as far as I remember. If I didn't, I must have left them in Zurich, and won't get them until I return.

Re Bukharin & Co., we should send round to the groups (+Radek??) a confidential letter by the Editorial Board of the C.O. concerning its refusal (for Bukharin & Co. are obviously "retailing" already). Or should we wait a week or so? As for Radek, if he wants to have "our" version, let him send you theirs.

If Ryabovsky is Stark,[478] then we should wait for James's reply. For there *have been* suspicions both in regard to Stark and Miron. (Miron, as Kamenev and Malinovsky said, all but confessed to an ugly police affair.)

Salut,
Lenin

P.S. You are right not to trust Bukharin.
Is the enclosed "tab" what you want?* **Return it.**

Written after July 23, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

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Printed from the original

492

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you *Pod Starym Znamenem*.[479] When you have read it (not > 6 days), please send it to the following address:

Herrn Ussievitsch (bei Frau Frey) Nelkenstr. 21.II.
Zürich

(indicating Absender).

Send me your manuscript (of the book). I'll read it.

* The meaning of this has not been ascertained.—*Ed.*

I am writing to Pokrovsky.* I have *200* pages. I can't imagine sending it in a book-binding. I'm puzzled: 1) specially thin paper? 2) special size? 3) write on both sides?

I think the following should be written to Volna:

1) They should be asked to write *everything* in detail (attitude to Priboi, etc.) secretly (by invisible ink in a book) and send it by hand.

2) Y. Kamenev *may* go.[480]

3) N. Sukhanov? We are against (but if it is *necessary* for money or other reasons), then it should first be ascertained whether he is to be allowed as contributor or editor.

4) Is the Editorial Board wholly ours (as regards orientation) or is it a coalition? (If the latter, then with whom and exactly how?)

5) We promise to supply subjects for collections and pamphlets.

6) About my article on self-determination: I agree to offer it in pamphlet form (redrafted); please fix an exact date as quickly as possible.**

Salut,
Lenin

Have you the German pamphlet of the O.C. Secretariat Abroad (with their Kienthal draft and the shamelessly "abbreviated" declaration of Dan & Co.[481])?

N.B. I *need* for my article the issue of *Lichtstrahlen* which carried Radek's article "Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker".[482] Could you send it to me or get it for me?

Written July 24, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* See next document.—*Ed.*

** This refers to Lenin's article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 320-60).—*Ed.*

493
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

24/VII. 1916

Dear M. N.,

G. Z. writes me that you received my letter, but not the manuscript (that is, you do not mention it in your letter). It was sent to you simultaneously with a registered letter on July 2, by registered book-post. If you have not received it, what is to be done? I don't suppose you can make inquiries. I can do so through the post office, but it will take an awfully long time. Copy it again? (Maybe in duplicate, sending one copy via Sweden, would be more reliable?) There is *nothing* in it the censor could object to, and I can't make out why and how this could happen. Write to me, please, immediately or wire.

Best regards,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Flums to Sceaux (Seine) (France)

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

494
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

About the telegram from Yeniseisk*—it is necessary to get a reply by letter. It is impossible to print by guesswork. We must *get* a letter.

I am not sure whether it's worth while publishing the statement (on the Grimm affair). But if we publish it now, the text should be changed to a sharper tone.

I am sending you the German pamphlet of the O.C. Return it.

I am sending my article. Figure out *exactly* how much material you now have *altogether*. We must decide about the

* See Document 478 in this volume.—*Ed.*

rest. (If Yuri sends his in, we shall have to answer him too, worse luck.)

Safarov's article is unsuitable. I think he should be advised to rewrite it in a *legal* vein (this is not *at all* difficult) for Letopis or for Volna. Wouldn't it be better to have this done verbally, if you will be seeing him soon?

How are things to be sent to Volna? Simply direct to their address? Registered book-post? Has a new pseudonym been arranged with them?

Send me the legal pamphlets of Plekhanov and Potresov.[483]

In regard to *Neue Zeit* I have written to the forwarding office.

Written in July,
after 24th, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

495

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

We are sending back the letters of Grisha[484] and the French. The latter shows, to my great satisfaction, that you have had a great influence on the French and have left enduring marks.

As regards Guilbeaux, we shall await events; since "no one invited him to be editor", how did he get there—by crashing the gate?

We shall wait for Graber's reply to you and for your explanations!

Your plan for arranging a French paper *for us* (!?), *apart from Sentinelle* (!?), is anything *but* clear to me.... H'm, h'm....

Get George's article and mine on self-determination and on Junius from Grigory (if you have not already done so).

I wish you all the best and beg you to *take a cure*, so that you may be *quite* fit by winter. Go south, to the sunshine!!

Have you got *La Feuille*, *Ce qu'il faut dire*, *The Call*?[485] I can send them.

Salut,
Lenin

Written July 25, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

496
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending you Engels's article.[486] There is no need to return it *for the time being*.

I am sending an article on the Junius pamphlet.* I am finishing the self-determination article.**

Could you write something for the collection about the meeting of the German and Austrian social-chauvinists? (the minutes that you sent me).

I think a short report is needed.

Why don't you write:

1) About Bukharin (and about your letter to him)?

2) Ditto about Varin.

3) Did you send *Pod Starym Znamenem* to Usiyevich? (*Send me a list of the articles for our collection.*)

4) About *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*.

5) About the Volna collections; Should I write (and what?) or wait?

Have you got *Berner Tagwacht*? I haven't. Could you send me cuttings (Grimm's resignation and so *on and so forth*)?[487]

Salut!
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Ought we not commission Safarov to write something for *Sbornik*?

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* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19.—*Ed.*
** Ibid., pp. 320-60.—*Ed.*

P.P.S How feeble Guilbeaux is in the latest issue of *Demain*![488] Have you seen it?

Written in July,
after 26th, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

497
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I have received the manuscript.

I am sending *Neue Zeit* + 2 Austr. books (I shall ask for them again, but later on: will let you know).

We have written to James.*[489]

As regards writing for the legal collection, I'm afraid I won't manage it.

Send me a list of the articles for *our Sbornik*.

You can't invite Guilbeaux to contribute: he's a windbag; we may disgrace ourselves. We had better wait.

Did you send Usiyevich *Pod Starym Znamenem*?

Fru Alexandra Kollontay.

Turisthotel. *Holmenkollen*.

Kristiania.

Did you send a *formal* letter to Bukharin *offering* him to publish a discussion article?[490] It is absolutely necessary to send him a formal letter and keep a *copy* (send it to me). A polite letter, of course, saying that we are replying to Radek's theses in any case (to hint that he can wait until *this* discussion is over if he wants).

Have you a set of *Nashe Slovo*?

Since Konferenz has been substituted for Kriegs-Parteitag—this smacks of a semi-deal with the Kautskyites.

What is this about your being unwell? You must go to

* Anna Yelizarova-Ulyanova—*Ed*.

Sahli *without fail* and *strictly* carry out doctor's orders! Show this to Zina.

Salut,
Lenin

Written not earlier than July 30, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

498
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Regarding the 30 frs.—I am for *trying it* (not > 3 Nos., not more than 100 frs.), but I should like to see their sheet first; either have them send a set or let Abramovich give us fuller information.

We must go about this more carefully, we must be extremely careful (without mentioning whose, who, no names), as we disgrace ourselves hideously by starting a thing (a leap in the dark), then dropping it.

We disgrace ourselves im-pos-sib-ly!

Salutations amicales,
Yours,
Lenin

Written August 1, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

499
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending the statement. It's a pity you did not send Radek's letter. I am still in the dark about the "defence" of Grimm! (And you didn't send *all* the cuttings.)

The address to which you sent books to Pokrovsky—please, let me have it **immediately**. ||| **N.B.**

I have finished the article on self-determination; it runs into 79 pages

+"Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", which I am writing.

+"Disarmament or the Arming of the People?" (which I have written in German). About 25 pages.

Where will it go in? What's to be done? Where are the proofs?

I shall write about the Russian collection in a day or two.

I haven't got *Neue Zeit* myself.

Salut,
Lenin

Written between August 2 and 11, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

500

TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear M. N.,

I received both your postcards. Thanks very much. The terribly sad news about the loss of the MS. has compelled the author of the work written in the Plekhanov vein to resort to the G. Z. method[491] (ah, those Germans! It's they who are to blame for the loss! I wish the French beat them!).

The author hopes you will try to save the five sheets, otherwise it will be a loss of time, labour and oneness, and a good deal more. Sincere regards.

Yours,
Ilyin

Written August 5, 1916
Sent from Flums to Sceaux

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

501
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear Editor,

I am so scared by the ridiculous and incredible loss of an *absolutely innocuous* manuscript that I am afraid even to mention your name.

I am afraid that my letter, too, has been copied. I asked there, that if it was inconvenient to take the usual pseudonym (V. Ilyin), to use N. Lenivtsyn. Now we shall have to use another: V. I. Ivanovsky, let us say.

I advised there (if the word "imperialism" is so "horrifying") to change the title, say, to: "The Peculiarities of Contemporary Capitalism".

Now this will have to be changed again: "Latest Economic Data on Modern Capitalism" or something like that.

The titles (chapter headings) to be deleted (when sent to Russia). Perhaps even the chapter headings should be changed? It could be done.

I would ask you to keep the present format (which is what I was asked to do). No cuts can be made without breaking it up.

(Unless we throw out whole chapters at the end? So that I can use them in another place? This at the very worst of worsts! I am all for no cuts.)

Please leave the notes, they are important (especially No. 101*), and the literature too *should be* indicated, for in Russia you have students and suchlike people who read.

Your editorial changes and improvements, of course, I shall accept with pleasure.

My best regards,
Lenin

Written between August 5 and 31, 1916
Sent from Flums to France

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* See also Lenin's letter of July 2, 1916, to M. N. Pokrovsky (present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 226-27).—*Ed.*

502

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Dear Comrade,

Nadya is giving you a secret meeting place, password and ways of communicating with us for Marcu.[492]

Let him ask a French- or German-speaking person to come to Petrograd (through the secret address) and tell him in *greatest possible detail* all the foreign news about the movement of the *Lefts*, about *Vorbote* No. *1* and No. *2*, about our disputes on disarmament (I am sending my article*; show it to him—incidentally, write me *where Nobs is*), about the German *Arbeiterpolitik*,[493] about the arrests in Germany, about Longuet and the Longuetists in France, about the arrest of Maclean in England, and generally *all* about the movement of the Lefts and internationalists in Europe and America in greater detail.

Then let him offer his services (there, in Petrograd) to call oh the way at Moscow, Kiev, Odessa (where he is travelling) for the same purpose and for passing on the address for letters to us.

Teach him (*thoroughly*) to write with invisible ink and to *maintain* **the strictest secrecy** in Russia: he must act the part of a soldier who is going to Rumania to fight, and stick to that!

We don't know yet when we shall be back. Probably not before a fortnight.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Written at the beginning of August 1916
Sent from Flums to Zurich

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

* Nobs will correct the language *himself*.

503

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I suggest sending Yuri the following answer.*

(He makes his point, I suppose, at the end of § 2: "not to be used". If he wants us not to criticise his article now in the press, he is right.

But afterwards? If their faction builds up and a struggle develops?

If he wants us not to make a copy of his article or show it to members of the Party, we *cannot agree* to this.

We shall not conceal anything from members of the Party.)

I think the answer I propose will suffice for the time being. Let him make himself look ridiculous.

We must have his article in order to show it to Alexander, the Bureau and so on. This is essential.

I approve of your letter to Bukharin. I suggest (*not* in the form of an ultimatum) an addition.[494] I think it best for the time being to send the letter only in your own name: it is not so official and, considering the tone, more convenient. We shall discuss it; it is not so urgent as the reply to Yuri (had we not better get Yuri's answer first, before sending your letter to Bukharin?).

Salut,
Lenin

P. S. If you do not need the *maps* of all the war theatres in *Le Temps* and *The Daily Telegraph*, please cut them out and send them to me.

Written between August 10 and 20, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* See next letter.—*Ed.*

504
TO G. L. PYATAKOV

Dear Comrade,

You demand for yourself very strange privileges in the Party. It is unheard-of and, given any sort of Party attitude towards the matter, unthinkable that contributors should dictate terms making the contribution of articles contingent upon the editors inviting third persons, at the choice of the contributor, or "guaranteeing" that the Editorial Board's reply (to an article it does not know of!) will be recognised by the contributor as a "comradely" one and so on.

In the interests of the business, however, we consider it advisable, by way of exception, to accede to your ultimatum, namely:

on Point 1—we invite the comrade named by you* or anybody else you may desire, who belongs to our Party;

on Point 2—all contributors are always guaranteed publication of their articles without alteration, if they so desire, or return of the articles. Your wish here is not a privilege, but a gratuitous demand;

on Point 3—all we can do is to send you the reply of the Editorial Board (or of any other contributor) to your article and leave it to you to decide whether you want both articles published or not.

With Social-Democratic greetings

Written between August 10 and 20, 1916
Sent from Flums to Norway

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* Yevgenia Bosh.—*Ed.*

505

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Lecoin is no good at all. Can't go in.

Broutchoux[495] is a stupid anarchist; he can only be published *with a note from the editors*. (I shall write it in the proofs.)

Women's movement (?)—send the MS. I'm afraid it will have to be held over through lack of space.

I am sending imperialism and disarmament.* Return the latter *immediately*. It must go into the Berne collection without fail, as it will never be passed by the censor and is very urgent (the Young and others have made an appalling muddle here).

If you want us to discuss the differences you point out, send me your article again as quickly as possible and mark off exactly what you disagree with.

The phrases about the "epoch" have become empty phrases—Radek and others have shown this. Did the "epoch" of 1789-1871 *exclude* non-national wars?

To talk about "defence of the fatherland" *in general* is theoretically absurd. For defence of the fatherland = war *in general*. That's the crux of the matter.

Junius** cannot be referred to Paris, as this article is *inseparably* linked with both *self-determination* and disarmament.

Write *what precisely* is being set up.

P.S. I am sending *Neue Zeit* and *The Call for Inessa*.

Salut,
Lenin

Written prior to August 22, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* See V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" and "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 105-20 and 94-104).—*Ed*.

** See V. I. Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19).—*Ed*.

506
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1) I am sending Tinsky with additions (something at least should be said in the *anti-S.R.* vein, otherwise it is *not* a Social-Democratic piece of writing. And your "mottoes" are no good besides). (Mottoes, if needed, should be *different*.)

2) I have started to write "about Kautskyism" for Russian collections.[496] I have *already* written you this.

3) I shall try and sit down soon to write a reply to Yuri.[497]

4) 1,500 copies of the collections will be *enough*.

5) Re the 2nd collection, I am *against* deciding right away. Grisha's letter is not clear: 500 frs.+paper? Am writing him. *Let's wait for his reply*. The devil take him!! He isn't clear about it! !

6) Put in Saf—chik on the *Duma group* (as the item on the prisoners of war is already set up and will go *inde*).*

7) Re the article on the women's movement, I have **already** written you about my doubts (send in de Ms,** there is little space). *Instead of answering*, you write: "commissioned", although you know that I did not commission it!! This is an omission. If an article isn't written, one should *first* let one know the subject, plan and details, before advising to write it.

8) Re the national question, I would *very much* like to republish self-determination with an *addition*. Would *Volna* undertake it? *Did you write to them about it?*

9) The Gnevich collection??[498] In Polish or Russian?? You must find this out and also who else is writing and on what subject?? *This must be made clear*. What have you written him?

Best regards,
Lenin

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* After it.—*Ed.*
** de manuscrit.—*Ed.*

10) I propose the enclosed translation from *De Tribune* for inclusion in *Sbornik*.[499]

Written after August 22, 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

507

TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Dear Comrade,

We may possibly take advantage of the trip, but we must first think it over and find out to what extent he is trustworthy generally and also as regards orderliness and secrecy techniques. To ask Grimm is rather *awkward*. Let me know *your* opinion and whether you can find out anything about him in Zurich (discreetly). I can send you the pamphlet on imperialism. I have *no idea* about the "meeting" (Gr.+ Radek+??). Find out everything you can in greatest detail and let me know.

I shall send you the article for *Volksrecht*,* too, as soon as I hear that Nobs is back in Zurich. Nobs wrote me that he had gone away for *Ferien*** not far from me and wanted to let me know, *but fell silent*. I don't know where he is. Do you?

I am sending *Ausland-Politik* containing Semkovsky's article.

Were there articles of Radek's against Entwaffnung*** in *Volksrecht*? If there were, could you send them to me? Who told you that I was to be in Zurich on Sunday?? This is most piquant, *who* could say such a thing!!

Could you obtain in Zurich the Polish and Bundist Warsaw newspapers containing information (detailed information by districts) about the elections in Warsaw? It is very

* This probably refers to the article "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 77-87).—*Ed.*

** Holidays.—*Ed.*

*** Disarmament.—*Ed.*

interesting! I wrote Bronski, but he is silent. All the best, and my regards to your wife and your little girl.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. You have not answered Nadya's request about *Neues Leben*. If you are too busy, couldn't Usiyevich find out? Or is he *particularly* busy these days?

Written August 31, 1916
Sent from Flums to Zurich

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

508
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear M. N.,

I agree to your proposals. I am terribly depressed, though, at the thought of the end being cut. Couldn't the end in that case be printed in the journal without alteration? And with a note from the editors to the effect that these are deductions and conclusions from the pamphlet? It would be a great pity to *fragmentise* it!! A great pity!! If you can do something, I shall be very much obliged. I shall write about this myself, but my letter takes a long time and won't get there before several months, if it gets there at all.

My best regards,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. I heard say that Potresov has joined the staff of the publishing house!! and the famous novelist* has agreed!! What a shame, what a crying shame, eh?

Written August 31, 1916
Sent from Flums to Sceaux

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* Maxim Gorky.—*Ed.*

509

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1) On the question of the "commissioned" article, you are wrong in trying to exonerate yourself. You couldn't help noticing that I was extra-careful to avoid any sharply worded expression of displeasure in my first letter (which you have not answered).

I wrote nothing about bad faith: omission, too, is a mild, and not harsh expression, which includes simple forgetfulness and inattentiveness, and these are far removed from bad faith. Why this exaggeration, this talk about "bad faith"?

Where, in my own hand, have I written about 5 pages? Send it to me, if you are not yet persuaded that you were wrong.

2) About Franz,[500] we quite agree with you (both Nadya and myself): it seems worse at first than afterwards.

3) I am sending you the draft of a letter to N. I.* I shall not object to making it more polite: send corrections and additions, if you consider them necessary.[501]

Best regards,
Lenin

Written in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

510

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I have just read the Swedish and Norwegian articles. They cannot be separated. They should go in *together* and cannot go in *without our own* article against disarmament. It changes our plans.

I shall sit down and write (rewrite) this article for *Sbornik*, which will necessarily have to be increased within these

* See present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 230-31.—*Ed.*

limits, and the rest cut down *as much as possible*. What nonsense, this disarmament, yet it's beginning to get some people muddled in *our Party* too!

N.B. P.S. Since the question of the Paris collection has not yet been settled, we should *hold up* Strannik's article, for *if* we have to choose, it should certainly be Alexander's.

Written in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

511

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

This is Nadya's draft of the cuts.[502]

I read the article a second time (I read it once before). I am definitely against any cuts. It means spoiling the article. An integral summarising article (with minor details, mentioning the participant or interlocutor) is extremely important.

Honestly, this article cannot be cut.

What's to be done?

As a matter of fact, we can seriously "unload" only by holding over your article. Reasons:

1) It is written *not* for this collection.

2) It is part of a book, for the publication of which we already have an agreement; the chances of its being published, therefore, are real. Double publication is a luxury we can ill afford.

3) The main and important things about the history of the International have already been said by you in your article in *Sotsial-Demokrat*.

4) The collection must be *limited* (α) to Russian material + (β) to highlights of the controversy, to vexed and mooted questions of the *Party*.

5) And defeatism—where does that come in?

Write and tell me *candidly* what you think of this

proposition: from a businesslike editorial point of view (specifically) or from the point of view of grievance.

{ But our disputes and efforts towards agreement *must* continue *in any case*. }

A 160-page collection, according to my plan, would give *rich*, extremely valuable Russian material + a discussion on self-determination (without Yuri*)

+ defeatism + Trotsky,
+ about the *Interna-* (Chkheidze),
tional
that is, everything that **brooks no** *delay*.

Cost about 2,500 frs. + 400 to Ludmila (= ditto transport) + about 500 for transport = nearly 3,400. We can *just about* manage that, and *no more*.

I agree to put out a No. of the C.O. (+ another 100-200 frs.).

Written in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

512

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Well, now you've said it!! I couldn't help smiling, really. You've written yourself into "court".... In fact, any court in every case would find that to label a proposal to hold over an article as "uncomradely", would make collegiate work impossible.

Luckily for you there is no "court", otherwise you would certainly be "convicted".

We still have to "cut down" though. We have bulged out of the *former* plan of the collection (Russian material + the discussion on self-determination). Find out exactly and officially from Benteli what the cost of a sheet is. We

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* As this will mean having to write a reply to Yuri[503] and sending it to him!!

shall then calculate *exactly* how much we can print (for *nobody* prints anything free of charge—remember that!).

Salut,
Lenin

Do I have to return *Hamburger Echo* to you?

I am sending you Alexander's article: I don't undertake to cut it!

The Swedish and Norwegian articles are going in too!![504] What a bother!!

Safarchik *must* go in, though. You are right. *We shall put him in!*

Do you get *Arbeiterpolitik*? I haven't seen No. 5 and No. 7 ff.*

Written in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

513

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

There is no conflict: you are imagining too much, really. Recollect (or reread) my letter: I did not state that I was *voting* against your article, I only wrote: "write and tell me candidly" what you think of such-and-such a plan.** You wrote.

And that's all.

So the article is going in.

Yuri will "reconcile" us still more, I believe,[505] as it is precisely *his* conclusion that "in the *epoch* of imperialism" there can be no "defence of the fatherland".

In fact, "in an *imperialist war*, engendered by the epoch of imperialism, defence of the fatherland is a deception".

* Und folgende—and those following.—*Ed.*
** See Document 511 in this volume.—*Ed.*

These are "two *great* differences".

Best regards,
Lenin

P.S. Isn't it time we sent a joint letter to N. I. B. about the faction? I think it is. And about his article?
I am *for* issuing the C.O. I *agree*!

Written in August 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

514
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1) I am sending you Roland-Holst. I think she ought not to be published either.
2) Reply to Bukharin.* I agree to your changes, but *one thing should be added*, namely: that the **main thing** *for us is the article's shortcomings* **on points of principle.**
Otherwise it looks as if we are hedging.
If you agree to this insertion, then send the letter (working it in logically).
If not, we shall discuss it once more.
3) I *can't* find the sheet you refer to as having my mark there expressing my agreement to have the article commissioned. This is a mistake on your [part].**
4) Franz has left an article. In my opinion a very good and *brief* one. I am for putting it in. I shall send it to you.
5) There is *no* need to hurry with the Paris collection. Let's calculate exactly *what* can go in (5 sheets at 50,000= 250,000 printer's ems *altogether*).

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* This refers to the reply to Bukharin concerning the impossibility of publishing his article "On the Theory of the Imperialist State" in *Sbornik* (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 230-31).—*Ed.*

** Here part of the manuscript is damaged and the word in square brackets has been inserted as suggested by the context.—*Ed.*

6) I am writing the reply to Yuri. This is a *long* job, though.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written at the end of August-beginning of September 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in part in 1932 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 22

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

515

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1) I am sending George's leaflet-article. In my opinion it's very poor. I don't think it's even worth rewriting.... Vulgar, unreasoned, stilted, and "folksy". An example of how *not* to write popular things....

Perhaps you will talk to him when meeting?

2) About disarmament, I am not quite sure. If we put the Swede+Norwegian in the collection, then we must *include* an article on disarmament. It won't take me long to write, a few alterations to my article.[506] But will there be space for it?

We must decide. Answer.

Let us figure out again how much our collection will bulge—it's bulging enough as it is.

3) Reply to Bukharin. Must decide this too. If you do not wish to say that the *main thing* is differences on points of principle, then I agree to change it, giving *two* reasons (for non-publication): (α) technical and financial (β) on points of principle.

Send me such a variant (don't forget to connect both parts of the letter in good literary style) and let us decide the matter quickly. Of course, bear in mind that our reply to Bukharin is of *great* significance: it has to be well considered, and a copy must be kept.

4) We must decide about the Paris collection: make-up and size?

If 2,000 5-sheet copies (=10,000 sheets) cost 500 frs., then 1,500 copies (it's all we need) could be issued in $6\frac{2}{3}$ sheets

$$\frac{\times\ 50{,}000}{330\ \text{thous. ems.}}$$

Probably less than 330 thous., round about *300* thous.? Is that right?

N.B. We must also find out whether they take illegal stuff too in Paris? That is, do they print secretly?

This is most important! Yet there is no *full* reply from Grisha!!!

When this is all cleared up, let us draw up a list of copy for Paris.

(I don't think we need count Yuri's article and the reply to him, since 1) the reply has not yet been written; 2) we don't know whether His Merchant Majesty will give his consent to the printing.)

5) I shall sit down to Radek's theses[507] (look through them): I haven't read them yet in the proofs.

6) I am returning Strannik's additions.[508] What are we going to do about him??

Best regards,
Lenin

Written at the end of August-beginning of September 1916
Sent from Flums to Hertenstein

First published in part in 1932 in *Bolshevik* No. 22

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

516
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am sending you the manuscript. Please return it, *also registered*: it is the only copy (and I shall be needing it again rather urgently).

I shall send you the article on disarmament in a day or two, I haven't got it just now. We have started to make the acquaintance of the young here, and regret very much that we have no complete knowledge of any one language. Here is where you have interesting and fruitful work! Organisation of the youth is growing throughout Switzerland. All the very best to you.

V. Lenin

Written September 15, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

517

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

We have written to Bukharin.

I am sending you an article; it should go to Berne too, as Paris is silent.

We must calculate more exactly (you have both the MSS. and proofs) *how much* there is for Berne.

Naturally, I can't be "pleased" with your keeping my articles so long in pickle. Send them immediately to the printing shop: you hurried me with them, saying the compositor was hurrying you!!

And where are our theses?* Where are the proofs of them?

The question of *Sotsial-Demokrat* is a difficult one, as *I am afraid* this will *hold up Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*!!

When you have returned "Disarmament"** I shall think it over finally. We shall weigh *more carefully* what can go in there, how long it will hold up *Sbornik*.

I am not writing anything so far for *Voprosy*.*** But for

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* See "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56).—*Ed.*

** See "The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 94-104).—*Ed.*

*** The journal *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*.—*Ed.*

the collection (*Pod Starym Znamenem*) I want to write about Kautskyism[509] (incidentally, return the pamphlet on imperialism *as soon as possible*: I need it for quoting).

Salut,
Lenin

P.S. On business matters you answer much less.

Written mid-September 1916
Sent from Zurich to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth

Printed from the original

518
TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV*

Dear Friend,

Nadya has written in such detail,[510] that I have nothing to add. I wish you all the best, congratulate you on your success in America and ask you to keep closer in touch by letter. If Belenin wants to go there, he must be *thrice* more careful (the danger is great) and thoroughly plan his trips for establishing *contacts*. These are lacking. And where is A. M.? Best regards.

Yours,
Lenin

Written October 3, 1916
Sent from Zurich

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth

Printed from the original

519
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

I am sending your article.[511] Now that's felicitous! Should we not add two things?

(1) that the Germans have their defeatists, of whom his-

* This is a postscript to Krupskaya's letter.—*Ed.*

tory will have its say (remember Seger's story and Bloch);

(2) about the shabby trick played on us by *Gazeta Robotnicza* in regard to defeatism.

As regards the I.S.B., I think it better to wait for an invitation!

I see *Avanti!* but I don't follow it closely. Couldn't George give the *exact* No. and date?

(Wasn't that the meeting of *parliamentarians*, of which, if I am not mistaken, there was talk at Kienthal?)

The parliamentarians are *all* Kautskyites, you know.

Since Alexander has already been set up—we are in a bit of a dilemma. What's to be done?

I just can't cut Strannik! I have read it *twice*!! I can't read it any more.

I shall send you my reply to Yuri in a day or two.*

Should not more explicit arrangements be made with Paris first?

Won't it be a fiasco if we *start* sending and *won't be able* to keep it up regularly?

I am as mad as the devil with Grisha for his unpunctuality and imprecision: I can't make sense out of his letters! Sends silly telegrams!

In Zurich there's absolutely nobody to do the copying.

Best regards,
Lenin

There should be a secret letter from Grisha one of these days? Isn't that so?

Written in October, not later than 5th, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Hertenstein

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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*A reference to "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 22-27).—*Ed.*

520
TO N. I. BUKHARIN [512]

14.X. 1916

Dear N. I.,

As regards the "ill-fated" article, as you call it, you argue very strangely, really, or rather you don't argue at all, but get excited and skip your arguments. Now just look, really—from a distance—what you make of it:

"... I simply have a feeling (!) that it is not a matter (!) of points of accusation (!), but 'generally'...".

This is what you write, word for word!! How can one argue like this? It amounts to stopping the mouth of every person who wants to argue and discuss. The Editorial Board's letter gives *precise* indications and formulations of the differences, but you work yourself up: feeling, accusation, generally....

You read a lecture "On the same subject", and none of the O.C. writers "so much as mentioned anarchism".

But again—is that an argument? There is nothing about anarchism in the Editorial Board's letter either. What exactly you said at the lecture cannot be established. That the O.C. writers are foolish—is a fact. But you add: "I gave it to them hot on other points"....

"Opportunism is fear of what the liquidationist-yellow Maria Alexeyevna[513] [Potresov] will say."

Pretty strong. Yes. But it's wide of the mark! For I maintain that Potresov here is *right* against Bazarov.[514]

(1) Is this correct or not? You do not go into it.—(2) Is it a bad thing for the yellows to be *right* against the errors of our people? You disposed of the issue by the use of strong language. It works out that it is you who "fear" to give thought to the significance of Potresov's being right against Bazarov!

"...You cannot impute to me denial of the struggle for democracy...." I impute to you a number of mistakes on this question and point out exactly which. But you avoid the issue.

You formulate three "statements", alleged to be "absolutely indisputable and orthodoxically Marxist", to which the first chapter "*could be reduced*".

But these statements (1) are so general that they are still a long way off from concreteness; (2nd and most important of all) it is *not what* the article says!!

"Neither Gr. nor you even attempt to tell me where the heresy is."

Pardon me, this is untrue. This is stated *most precisely* in the Editorial Board's letter, but you *do not* answer the things we *said* and *pointed out*. Not a sound in reply to any of our numerous and precise remarks!!

One of our remarks: you break off quotations from Marx and Engels *in a way* that misrenders the sense or makes for inexact conclusions. You answer only on this point, and how do you answer? That "I know the continuation (of the quotations) perfectly well". "But on the points in question they had views which are not liable to misinterpretation."

And that's that!! It would be funny were it not so sad. "Misinterpretation" is just what we write about *precisely*; without examining a single argument or producing a *single* quotation (I compared them *purposely*; I did not write you for nothing; I compared *more than* one quotation!), you dismiss the matter: "not liable to misinterpretation". The blame rests fully upon you—instead of a discussion of differences, you wave the matter away.

No one accused you either of "heresy" or of "anarchism" in this connection, but we wrote: "let it mature". These are "two big differences". You not only do not answer our remarks, but you *read a different meaning* into them. *You can't do that!*

"The article has been lying a long time...." Now this is backdated cavilling. We corresponded with Gr. on this for a long time, as we had other articles to attend to. You had not fixed any dates yet, and no one could know of your possible departure. This is just cavilling.

As for "chucking out" and polemic in a non-break tone, I must say that I have not yet entered into polemic *with you* in the press, but *exchanged letters* with you before any polemic and *in order to avoid* it. That's a fact. *Facts are stubborn things*.* You can't beat facts by gossip. My an-

* This italicised sentence is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

swer to P. Kievsky is for the press (not to you, but to P. Kievsky) and we grant him a privilege we have *never* granted *anyone* before: we send the article to him first for his "agreement". (Unfortunately, the copyist fell ill in the middle of the work: that is why we haven't got the article yet, and you probably won't see it before your departure; but *we have the mail with America*, and P. Kievsky will probably forward it on to you. We cannot take it from this copyist and give it to another, because he is in a different town; we have no other one in view; he is hard up, and we *cannot* deprive him of even these tiny earnings promised him beforehand.)

P. Kievsky's article is very bad and he's hopelessly muddled (generally on the question of democracy).*

That we always thought highly of you and spent months, many months, corresponding in detail and pointing out *since the spring* of 1915 that on the question of a minimum programme and democracy you were vacillating—you are aware. I would sincerely be pleased if we had a polemic *only* with P. Kievsky, who started it, and if our differences with you were ironed out. To achieve this, however, it is necessary that you should go into the questions at issue carefully and attentively, and not wave them away.

I am very, very pleased that we both see eye to eye against "disarmament". I was also very glad to make the acquaintance of Franz: he must have had some good work done on him in the way of Bolshevik propaganda; no small credit for this is probably due to you. The man tries to go deep into things and promises well.

I am enclosing the certificate. Correspondence with America can be conducted *only* through Scandinavia: otherwise *everything* gets lost; the French censorship is *brazen*.

Regarding America. I wrote a number of letters there in 1915: *all* were confiscated by the accursed French and British censors.

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* I don't know what Grigory wrote you, and I cannot answer you on this point. You call what he has written you "impertinent nonsense".... H'm.... H'm! Aren't you afraid of this being a "break" tone? I *never push* things that far in my polemic with P. Kievsky.

I would very much like

(1) To have the manifesto of the Zimmerwald Left published there in English.

(2) Ditto—our pamphlet on the war (revised for the new edition).

(3) To arrange, if possible, for the most important publications and pamphlets of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Party (I have *only* the *Appeal to Reason*) to be sent gratis to the C.C.

(4) Cahan, editor of a *Jewish* New York newspaper, visited me in Cracow in 1912 and promised me, among other things, to send publications of official economic statistics of the United States (these publications are given out to newspaper offices free of charge there), saying that his paper had such a huge forwarding office that this would be no trouble. He did *not* keep his promise. If you meet him, put out feelers as to whether it is hopeless or not.

(5) It would be a good thing to form a small group of Russian Bolsheviks and Lettish Bolsheviks capable of following *interesting* literature, sending it, writing about it, *translating and printing* what we send from here, and in general discussing together and "pushing" all kinds of questions about the III International and about the "Left" in the international socialist movement.

If a couple of Bolsheviks were actively linked with a couple of Letts possessing a good knowledge of English, then the thing might work.

(6) Generally, give special attention to the Letts. Try in particular to see *Berzin*. He can probably be traced through Strahdneks.

(7) At the end of 1914 or in 1915 I received from America a leaflet of the Socialist Propaganda League with a profession de foi *in the spirit* of the Zimmerwald Left. I am enclosing their address. I sent them a *long* letter in English. Probably went astray? I shall try and find the copy and send it to you, if you think it worth while on inquiry. I also wrote to the Letts about the League through Strahdneks: must have gone astray too.

(8) There should be a *base* in America for work against the *English* bourgeoisie, which has carried the censorship to crazy lengths. This to §5.

(9) Try and answer us without delay, if only by a couple of lines in a postcard, so that we can make an attempt to establish *proper* contact with America; and give us notice (1-1½ months) *beforehand* of the date of your return.

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published in 1932 in *Bolshevik* No. 22 — Printed from the original

521

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

We received the pamphlet on imperialism and your long letter. Received everything. Thanks very much. We shall send you *The Call*. Grigory will probably send something new from Berne. Nadya is busy with the League congress; she sends her regards. Yesterday she sent you a long letter. *Don't* sit in Sörenberg, you'll freeze and catch a cold.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Maybe you have no money for your fare? Mind you let us know: we can easily get what you need....

Written October 21, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49 — Printed from the original

522

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I sent you *Letopis* No. 7 yesterday.[515] When you have done with it, return it or forward it to Berne to be returned from there *without fail* and without it going any further. Abramovich was here and we talked quite a lot. The chap

is working very well *from below*; independently of Huber, "*agreements*" with whom, of course, are worthless. If you sent me occasionally any *interesting* Nos. of *l'Humanité* containing criticism of the "minoritaires", etc., I would be much obliged.

Friendly greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

Written October 28, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

523

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I intend to address the congress of the Swiss party (on Saturday 4.XI) with a message of greetings.* I am enclosing the text. Will you please translate it into French**; in the event of your not being able to make out my scribble, I have copied out two of the most slovenly passages (p. 4).

If, for any reason, you cannot do this, please *wire* Uljanow—Kammerer—Spiegelgasse. *14*).

If you can, please answer *at once* by postcard confirming receipt of this letter and saying *when* you will finish it and when you will send the translation, so that I get it by Friday, as I am afraid to be late: time is short and the mail service with Sörenberg is poor.

I have copied out the translations of the quotations from the pamphlet, but they should be inserted in the *connected* French text of the speech.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written October 30, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 121-24.—*Ed.*

** See also Document 525 in this volume.—*Ed.*

524

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Please insert the following two additions in the text:
After the words:
the use of violence by the oppressed classes
add: "*against their oppressors*".
After the words:
Four years before the revolution we supported the use of violence by the masses
add:
"*against their oppressors*".*

Nadya intends to write to you tomorrow.

Written October 31, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

525

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Thank you very much for the translation. I did not have a chance to read it; I spoke at the very beginning of the congress, when the French delegates had not yet arrived and no French translations were being made. I shall nevertheless try to make use of the translation. I shall send it to Abramovich, etc., and we shall try to get it published somewhere.

I missed the post today: the P.O. closed at 7 p.m., and I was engaged at the congress.

The congress impressed me favourably. For the first time during the war, not only a Left emerged at the Swiss

* This refers to additions to the translated text of Lenin's speech at the congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 121-24).—*Ed.*

congress (in 1914 it did not exist at all, and in 1915 it only began to take shape) but it started to *build up* into an opposition to both the Rights and the Centre (Grimm). No little credit for this is due to Radek; previously, in the summer, he had got things mixed up a bit, for Grigory wrote me positively that Radek had written him boasting that he had "reconciled Grimm with Platten" (a fine service!). But Bronski is following a line that is three times more vacillating and three times more foolish than Radek's.

Radek arrived and we "made it up" (relations had been strained to the verge of a break). On the eve of the congress we managed to arrange a private meeting of the Left delegates (which I had been urging for three weeks, but unsuccessfully until then!). This meeting was attended by *all* the Left leaders, the Young included.* Radek and I easily carried through a resolution of ours, acting in concert and agreeing to acceptable concessions. At the congress the struggle has already begun. The first fight was over an appraisal of the Nationalrat group. The Lefts attacked. The speeches of Naine and Platten were splendid. Greulich's defence of the Right was extremely feeble. Grimm played at Centre again and by aid of "little amendments" obtained a unanimous vote (spoiling the game a bit). He saw that the majority was obviously on the side of Platten. Tomorrow there should be a fight on the question of Kienthal; we have taken a hand here in drafting a Left resolution; it is much better than the one of Nat.-rat. We shall see what will come of it! I'm like an old war horse in battle.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written November 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* See next letter.—*Ed.*

526
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Instead of "imperialist economism", you write that you don't understand the expression "economic imperialism".

The old "economism" wrongly posed the question of the attitude of capitalism to the political struggle.

The new "economism" wrongly poses the question of the attitude of capitalist imperialism to the political struggle.

I am writing about this at greater length in my article against Yuri (this "merchant" has "consented" to being published—that means, he will go into *Sbornik* No. 3 or No. 4).

The differences with Radek are of *more* than mere theoretical interest *for Russia* (as well as for Germany, Britain, for countries with colonies). For Switzerland—yes.

Grimm is an insolent beggar and a swine: he meanly attacks, not me (as Grigory mistakenly believes, being poorly informed by Zina), but *Radek*. It was like this (entre nous): Friday evening we arranged a meeting of the Lefts (where Radek and I acted fully in concert) and adopted (setting up a committee) a resolution on Kienthal. It was attended by Platten, Nobs, Münzenberg and some others, i.e., *all* the leaders of the Lefts. On *Saturday* afternoon, when the congress was on (it started Saturday morning), a meeting of the "Young" (and also congress delegates) was held *outside* the congress premises. Münzenberg was in the chair. The report on (*our*) resolution was made by *Radek*. I did not speak. The resolution was *adopted*. To this meeting (the door not being locked!) some ladies came *uninvited*—(Genossin Block (Bloch), a lady friend of Grimm's and a gossip), Dimka (another gossip and a lady friend of Martov's) and others. Obviously, they "reported back" to Grimm. And Grimm decided (believing this old wives' silly tittle-tattle) that the "actual mover"=Radek, and wrote in the press that this mover (Urheber) spoke "Vor einem anderen Forum".[516] Kharitonov is publishing a refutation in *Volksrecht*.

I carried on strong agitation with Platten and Nobs for

organising (or rather, rallying) the Lefts.* I am making a report *to them* on this (Platten has *promised* to arrange it). I wonder whether I'll cope with the language and whether anything will come of it.

Radek has *promised* to come out *directly* against Grimm in *Arbeiterpolitik*[517] (I advise you to subscribe to this weekly journal, it costs 15 pfg.=20 cent.).

We'll see whether he does!

Keep well.

(It was me who wrote the article in the C.O.**)

All the best,

Lenin

P.S. I sent my "theses" to Berne for you (to Grigory's address) asking you to translate them into French (for Geneva, Lausanne, La Chaux-de-Fonds, etc.). Did you receive them? What's your opinion of them?

Written November 7, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

527

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Entre nous—privately!—I don't advise you to send *such* a letter.[518] You can talk with *such* straightforwardness only with *absolutely* reliable and absolutely friendly Left-wingers.

Where are they? Who are they?

"We wish to take into our hands"—why, this will get into the press and you will be made a laughingstock!!

My advice: you can write like this *only* to absolute friends (through Radek, for instance, if **he** undertakes

* On November 20 and 30, 1916, Lenin had talks with Left Zimmerwaldists on the theses "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party".—*Ed.*

** What article this refers to has not been established.—*Ed.*

on his responsibility to send it to *friends* and to no one else).

For the S.D. public *at large*, it should be redrafted with the greatest care.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written prior to November 26, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

528
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

About the book by Delaisi, I regret to say that I haven't got it. I must have left it in Berne, or else somebody has "appropriated" it.

About your letter to the women, you have taken offence at my remarks, haven't you? And even stretched their meaning just a wee bit?

I wrote that I would advise deleting the passage which says "we wish to take into our hands" as it would look absurd. If you do *not* agree to deleting it, *then* I advise sending it *only* to closest and most reliable friends in Germany, *for example*, through Radek.

Should you agree to alter the unguarded expressions (the letter, in view of the present postal systems, arrests in Germany and France, etc., may get into *other* hands), then my advice simply falls away. That was what my advice amounted to. That, and nothing more. *Not the slightest* "displeasure" at your letter, *none whatever*.

You asked my opinion; I gave it to you and *merely* suggested *only* slight alterations.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written November 26, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Sörenberg

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

529
TO M. G. BRONSKI

Dear Comrade,

I think it desirable to have the following logical construction of the resolution (based on Platten's resolution[519]) (the phrase in brackets is from Platten *word for word*):

1. "The present world war is an imperialist war."

2. ("The criminal policy of peace"), namely, of Switzerland, which may *also* become involved in the imperialist war, on the one hand as a result of this policy, on the other owing to the imperialist environment.

3. Therefore, "defence of the fatherland" is a "hypocritical phrase" for Switzerland too.

4. Rejection in principle of defence of the fatherland, and "the strongest methods of proletarian class struggle". A fullest possible list of these methods.

Immediate *demobilisation*.

5. "The complete destruction of militarism" *not* in the pacifist sense, but in close bearing on the socialist revolution and as a *result* of it.

In my opinion, this may give us a good five-point resolution.

It goes without saying that I give no formulations here, and merely point out logical sequence and train of thought.

With sincere greetings,

Lenin

Written at the beginning of December 1916
Sent from Zurich

First published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

530
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

6/XII. 1916

Dear Mikh. Nik.,

I received your postcard and two hundred francs, which I have forwarded to Zinoviev (I received 869 frs. = 500 rubles

from Petrograd), i.e., apparently the whole fee; *unless* part of it is payment for the agrarian work.* It is very, very sad that intrigants are working next to the "boss"** of the publications against publications!!...

My sincere regards,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Zurich to Sceaux

First published in 1958 in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

531
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I have just received your postcard. I sent a postcard to you in Berne, poste restante, a very short one containing a single request for your response, as your silence began to worry me a bit.

I am very keen now on the idea of publishing leaflets on Swiss affairs.

Something in the nature of a circle of Left-wingers has formed here. This term is inaccurate, though: so far just a number of meetings (evoked by my theses). Attended by Nobs, Platten, Münzenberg and several others of the Young. We discuss the war resolution in connection with the tasks of the Lefts. These talks have brought home to me most clearly: 1) how devilishly weak (in *all* respects) the Swiss Lefts are; 2) how poor is the "system" of influence of Bronski and Radek, who have been writing articles about the Lefts *in other* countries! The whole point is that everyone is willingly Left when it comes to *foreign countries*: it's cheap!! But when it comes to Switzerland... nothing doing!

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* This refers to the fee for *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture.—Ed.*

** Maxim Gorky.—*Ed.*

Abramovich promises to distribute 1,500 copies of pamphlets and leaflets (*will you undertake to translate them*? Systematically and regularly? Answer!), while Münzenberg, with whom I spoke yesterday, the head of the *organisation* of the Young with *4,000!!* German members, undertakes to distribute a *maximum* of 1,500!!

Guilbeaux, to whom I sent the theses,* writes that he is very pleased with them and will use them as a *basis* for his newly formed Committee of Internationalists. We shall see!

I have read Humbert-Droz's *Plaidoirie*!![520] My God, what a muddle in his head! And this in 1916! A *hopeless* Tolstoyan, I'm afraid.

Grigory writes me that in No. 25 of *Arbeiterpolitik* there is a paragraph on "Three Editors of *Kommunist*"[521] and that "Radek is taking the same line with Y. B.+Bukharin as Tyszka with Lyova".... At last Grigory too has come to see it, although he still hangs back on the grounds that "despite this we ought not to break with Radek". Ha, ha!

I wonder how you are fixed up. It's a cold flat, Maison Vincent, isn't it? Do you go skiing? I strongly recommend it—it's very good for the health. Go skiing in the mountains near Rocher de Naye.

My best regards,
Lenin

P.S. What sort of person is Usiyevich's wife? An energetic woman, I believe? Will he make a Bolshevik of her or she make a neither-this-nor-that of him?

Written December 17, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

* See "Tasks of the Left Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 137-48).—*Ed.*

532

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV*

Regarding *Kommunist*, it's not worth arguing any more, seeing that you deny the fact that they insisted to the last on *equality* and *refused* to make any change in the Editorial Board. You can't get away from the facts: (1) equality; (2) Tyszka im Hintergrunde.**

I sent the 200 frs.

The Shklovsky scandal makes me furious and worries me.[522] And you wanted to hand all the funds over to him!! Energetic action is called for: he should be told that the money is needed by the New Year, and you should keep at him until he returns it all! What a damned scandal! A real "financial swindle", and right under our noses.

I agree to your plan for a collective letter to *Arbeiterpolitik*.

Best regards,
Lenin

P.S. What about the letter to Paris?
Hasn't Inessa sent it yet?

N.B.

P.S. Re "*Soviet of Workers' Deputies*" and other material on 1905 please **send to me.**

Written after December 20, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Berne

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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* This letter was preceded by "Remarks Concerning the Article on Maximalism" (see *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 30, pp. 385-88).—*Ed.*

** In the background.—*Ed.*

1917

533
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear M. N.,

I received your postcard and thank you very much for the trouble you have taken to save my pamphlet. Really, you are mistaken in thinking that I blame you in any way. Not at all! I am sure that without your intervention it would have been much worse, as the publisher* evidently gives an ear to "outside" advice from the philistine camp. It can't be helped. One good thing—you have succeeded nevertheless in saving some part of it (and a fairly large part). All the best wishes for a happy New Year.

Yours,
Lenin

Written January 3, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Sceaux

First published April 22, 1958, in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 95

Printed from the original

534
TO INESSA ARMAND

I'd like to share with you my ideas concerning the following plan.

I have set going my theses on the tasks of the Swiss Lefts, both in German and in French. In this connection I have hit on the plan of founding a small publishing business and issuing sheets, leaflets and *small* pamphlets elaborating these theses.

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* Maxim Gorky.—*Ed.*

I wrote to Abramovich. He answers that he undertakes to distribute 1,500 copies. He has credit in Imprimerie coopérative for six months. A leaflet will cost 50-70 frs. He promises to find out the details and let me know (I asked for details as to the cost of 2, 4 and 8 pages for 2,000 and 5,000 copies; the cost of the matrices; and~ how soon they can be issued). *But so far I have heard nothing from him!*

Told Abramovich in reply that the plan would have to be abandoned *for the time being* owing to difficulties, of which more below. I was compelled, or rather impelled, to answer in this way by the fact that Abramovich appears to be in the blues or something: he sometimes doesn't answer *for weeks*!! He's not used to carrying on correspondence, if you please, and is in the blues!! You can't work like this.

To rely solely on Abramovich in this business seemed to me rather risky.

Further. I wrote to Guilbeaux—he answered: the theses are "excellent". Very well: will you help distribute the leaflets!? How many copies?

No reply to this day! (Obviously, because of the plan for *their own* little journal.)

I went to Münzenberg: will you help? I will. But we can't handle more than *1,500* (this is terribly little!!)—we are overloaded with literature!

I have no German translator. Nobs half-promised, but *obviously* won't do it.

What's more, the party (i.e., the Parteivorstand) is deciding only tomorrow (7.I) whether to postpone the congress or not. A lot depends on this, of course.

Such is the state of affairs that produced my "bold plan" and then its abandonment (for a time).

Would you care to tackle this business?

Tentatively and approximately in the following manner:

You will be publisher of the French pamphlets. I take upon myself the editing (writing and editing). You will also be the translator. You would go to La Chaux-de-Fonds (for a short time, for a few days; I don't think there would be any need to live there) and ascertain the financial and technical details. You would also find out whether you could raise money (or get an advance) for this publishing business (how much?—I don't know. I think from 100 frs. *to seve-*

ral hundred, up to 300-500 frs. depending on the answer of the printing shop and on what scale the business is contemplated).

You could visit several centres of French Switzerland (La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fribourg, Genève, Lausanne, Bern, Neuchâtel and *so on*—this list is given *only as an example*) forming distributing groups, reading lectures, etc., making contacts and arrangements, checking.

I repeat: this is a tentative plan of work at its widest scope (probably only part of it would be practicable). A French publishing business *might* get the Germans moving.

I don't think Abramovich is lying—he will distribute 1,500. We can add a minimum of 500 for Geneva, etc. Total=2,000. We could make matrix-moulds so as not to risk losing money on a large number. The youth leagues to be paid 20% for distribution.

(a) Will it pay? (b) And how long will it take for the money to come back?

Everything depends on these two questions ($a+b$).

If (a) it does not pay at all, then we should not start it, for we have no donors. We can only go in for what can pay for itself. If (b) the money takes a long time in turning over, i.e. (this is most important), if the pamphlets are not paid for punctually and regularly, then the business *either* cannot be started altogether *or else* a large sum must be assigned to put *several* leaflets into circulation (there may always be need for issuing a polemical reply, as our enemies will not keep silent; the enemies have newspapers; to answer them we should have the possibility of issuing an extra pamphlet or leaflet). [The situation in the Party is such that a **furious** struggle may flare up.]

These are the advantages and disadvantages, the bright prospects and difficulties.

If this idea generally does not interest you, or if, for one reason or another, you do not consider it possible or suitable for you to undertake and organise this publishing business, then please drop the thing *without ceremony*. This will remain just a talk of mine with you on the subject of one of my plans (until I am eventually able, perhaps, to find a chance of resuming my plans).

If you *are* interested, then go and see Abramovich, go

into all this in a businesslike manner and drop me a line at once giving the results. We shall then discuss the plan again together most thoroughly and exchange letters.

The leaflets, in my opinion, should be of two kinds: (αα) for the masses and (ββ) for socialists.

Both of them small: *from 2 to 8 printed pages* of small size (small close-set type).

Subjects (tentatively):

(αα)—against defence of the fatherland; against indirect taxation; high cost of living; introduction of socialism as an immediate aim; expropriation of the banks, etc.

(ββ)—poor and sound arguments for rejecting defence of the fatherland; against the social-patriots and the Centre; against the *Grütlianer*[523] people outside and inside the party, etc., etc.

How to prepare for the party congress; a bourgeois-reformist labour party or a socialist party?

The leaflets could all be under a single trade name, Svet, say, or any other name.

Münzenberg told me that they (the "Young") would distribute even without commission charges, but that, I think, is impossible. At 20% (1 c. per every 5 c. of sales price) they would probably distribute *energetically*.

I hope I have made this all clear to you now, that is, I have written everything I know (as regards plans and information) to help you form an opinion of the whole enterprise.

I would consider it extremely important to publish *the same things* in German and Italian. But for that we need (1) translators; (2) more money. So far we have neither. I think that if the French job started, the Germans *would find* translators, maybe.

Possibly, the thing may not work with us simply because we may not be able to take the right tone as far as the French mentalité is concerned!

This worries me *greatly* and scares me *very much*.

Written January 6, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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Printed from the original

535
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Thanks awfully for the news from Geneva. I wrote a very excited letter to Olga, which Karpinsky called abusive. I'm afraid she took offence. I shall write her an apology.

It has been hard to bear the fact that Brilliant has won Guilbeaux away from us.

But I see from your letter that this was unavoidable: given Guilbeaux's weakness, *we could not*, of course, make head against the joint influences of Lunacharsky (poet!)+ Brilliant (he has *money*, Grigory writes me)+Naine+ Graber.

We shall wait and see what sort of organ they will have.

If you get *l'Humanité* and have no further need of it after reading, please send me cuttings (the *text* of congress resolutions; articles on the congress; the speeches of Longuet & Co.; *their* resolutions; *interesting* articles, which are generally rare. And so on).[524]

On what a shameful resolution Longuet+Renaudel have found common ground (2,800 against 120!!) and Bourderon +Raffin-Dugens have *gone over* to them!! And Merrheim? Didn't he vote together with Jouhaux for the pacifist resolution of the C.G.T.!!

Disgraceful!

I connect this with Kautsky's 5 articles on peace (the same claptrap)+the Italian Socialist Party and Turati's speech of 17/XII. 1916 (the same claptrap).

The victory of Kautskian pacifism *over* Zimmerwald, which Grimm (appeal of the I.S.C. of 30.XII.1916)[525] paints over with r-r-revolutionary phrases!! Just as in the II International: a revolutionary signboard+reformist essence.

I am starting a campaign (or rather, I wish to start it) to expose this lie.

And what a disgrace in the Swiss party! 10 days ago the War Committee (specially elected by the Central Committee of the party) drew up 2 resolutions: 5 votes against defence of the fatherland and 4 *in favour*.

Up till now **not one** has been published!!

The opportunists (and Grimm!) are trying their hardest to get this question shelved and the congress put off (on the excuse that the workers are not prepared! Actually, it is they, the opportunists, who are *dragging out* the preparations...).

They don't want to conduct the elections to parliament (autumn 1917) under the slogan of non-defence of the fatherland!!

A shame and utter depravity....

All the very very, best. I wish you good cheer and the best of everything in the New Year.

Yours,
Lenin

Written in January, after 6th, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

536
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am sending you the promised No. of *Volksrecht* containing the resolution of the meeting of protest against postponement of the congress.[526] If there are any Swiss Lefts in Clarens and Lausanne, it would be a good thing to translate this resolution and get them to protest too.

Return Kamenevs[527] directly to me when you have read it, as I have not read it yet.

I am sending you the catalogues for 2 days: look through them and write out (the titles and numbers) *what is of interest to you*. I shall be able to send you one book at a time from this library. I also have the *big* main

catalogue: I can send you *this too* if you are interested and if it is not available at the local public library.

All the best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written January 7, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

537
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Dear M. N.,

I had just sent you a postcard about the pamphlet (in reply to yours) when I started receiving the money and have now received 500 frs. in 2 instalments, for which I thank you very much.

I have also received a formal answer (from the P.O.) that my manuscript on economics,* which I sent you on 2.VII.1916, *saisi l'autorité militaire*!!!**

Simply incredible!! Can anything be done about it, or is it hopeless?

Best regards and best wishes,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written January 8, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Sceaux

First published in 1958
in *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* This refers to the manuscript of the book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304).—*Ed.*

** Confiscated by the military authorities.—*Ed.*

538

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. A.,

You've given me a proper "wigging" over Nicholas II. haven't you?*

As regards *Garton Foundation* I have seen no mention of it and I don't know where and how to look for it. Don't you remember where you have read it? Couldn't you find that No. of the newspaper—I would then be able to trace it in the library here.

I am enclosing *Volksrecht* where, in addition to the declaration of the C.C., take note of the resolution of the Zurich meeting *against postponement of the congress*.[528] Will Olga please move this in the Geneva group of the Zimmerwald Lefts and support it in every way, translate the resolution, get a similar one adopted, and so on (we drafted this resolution here in the circle of Zimmerwald Lefts. It is desirable that we act jointly).

I should *not* like to go to Geneva: (1) I am unwell; bad nerves. I *shy* at lectures; (2) I am engaged here on 22.I, and must prepare for a *German* report. Therefore, I cannot promise to come. (Let me know what's this meeting Guilbeaux proposes, a meeting *of whom*, when? Can I be useful? In what way?)

All the very best to both of you. Kindest regards.

Yours,
Lenin

Written between January 10 and 22, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

* What this alludes to is unknown.—*Ed.*

539
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Yesterday we had a meeting of the Left Germans. Mostly workers, some young people. We haven't got the work running smoothly yet: I have a dual, uncertain impression. He's a nice one, Nobs! A worker sent him a Left article about the mean trick in putting off the congress. Nobs put the article in over the man's signature, and the next day printed another article of a different trend; he *mutilated* the *Left* article, pruned it away, and I discovered this by accident at the meeting, when I criticised the article in *just* those passages which Nobs had mutilated!

And these are "Lefts"!

Incidentally, it emerged at the meeting that there were contacts with the Lefts in Neuchâtel, who had previously come out against the opportunists. It wouldn't be a bad idea to take a trip there with addresses (or letters of introduction, which I could get here) and brief them, read them a lecture, make contacts and so on.

Did I write you that Naine, at a meeting of the Parteivorstand (7.I), had the honesty to speak *against* Grimm to reproach him precisely as "international secretary"?

Olga writes me today that Guilbeaux delivered a report on the French congress, scathingly criticised the Longuetists ("he out-does you", as she writes) and stood for a split. That's good, but he, Guilbeaux, has no *base*, he is a man of moods, he has no foundations, no theory. That is dangerous. He is expecting his wife from Paris, who is carrying on agitation there. Guilbeaux and Brilliant have agreed to adopt a resolution of protest against postponement of the congress. They are having a meeting of delegates on 22.I to vote this resolution.

The day after tomorrow, Sunday, we here are having a meeting of the Bureau of Lefts (Grigory, Radek and I) on the question of a protest against Grimm. We shall see!

I wish you all the very best, and ask you again to make a trip somewhere, if only for a time, if only with lectures or anything else, so as to have a change, to throw yourself

into some absorbing occupation, something useful to new and fresh people. Believe me, work among the French is extremely needful and extremely useful.

I have received the book and catalogues. Merci.

Yours,
Lenin

Written January 13, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

540
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter and the cutting from *Russkiye Vedomosti*. Thanks very much.

Dear friend! I know how terribly bad you feel and I am eagerly anxious to help you in any way I can. What- about your trying to live at some place where there are friends and where you could chronically have talks on Party affairs and chronically take part in them?

I received a letter today from Guilbeaux, a short one. He writes that they are preparing a meeting on the question of peace. I have written 4 articles (or chapters) on this for *Novy Mir* (they are said to pay 5 dollars for an article, which would be most welcome, by the way).[529] I am sending them to you. Will you consider the following plan: I could let you have further material and you would prepare a French lecture on this subject, a highly topical one, and make the round of French Switzerland with it? It would be extremely useful to the cause, as there is *no end* of pacifist muddle in everybody's head, and this muddle can be dissipated only by steady, systematic influence. No really, tackle this, draw up the most *detailed* theses for your lecture (we could discuss them together) or else write out the whole lecture. The French workers in Switzerland have *no one* to lecture them on the Marxist attitude to pacifism, and *you* could do that and give the workers plenty of food for thought. Start

preparing little by little right now; the work will *absorb* you. Believe me, absorbing work is most important and soothing for health and mind! I'll send you cuttings from *Bataille*,[530] the texts of resolutions, texts from *Avanti!* (I can obtain back numbers of *Avanti!*—you can *easily* learn to read Italian; that, too, would be **extremely** *important*, as there are very many Italian workers in Switzerland, and they, too, have *no one* to teach them Marxism).

Grimm is calling (this is between ourselves) a conference of socialists of the *Entente* for 23.I (to discuss their conduct at the conference of chauvinist socialists of the Entente). We are preparing a sharp protest against Grimm (even to the extent of demanding his resignation from the I.S.C.) for his despicable behaviour in the matter of congress postponement.* I strongly advise you to look for *Volksrecht* (I shall send you the issue containing the resolution), *Berner Tagwacht* (you can have that sent from Berne, can't you? Especially the issue of 8 or 9.I) and *Grütlianer* (4.I and 9.I). I shall be writing you more about this. The meeting of the Swiss party's Executive (Parteivorstand) of 7.I. 1917 was an *historic* one: they have postponed for an indefinite time a congress devoted precisely to the Militärfrage!! And Grimm took the lead *coming out in favour* of postponement together with the social-patriots!! No, this is a thing we shall make him pay for. We are having a meeting of the Lefts here today. Grigory and I have written to Radek, inviting him and Roland-Holst and others to protest against Grimm. We shall invite Guilbeaux too, but he is right out of his depth on this question, and your lecture (whether a public lecture or a talk in the Geneva group of Lefts to begin with) would be useful in the extreme.

Olga has written me that some Left Frenchman is arriving to see Guilbeaux (and she has put Guilbeaux up to the idea of inviting me to meet him. I feel awkward about it, it's inconvenient; I am not going). But is it a Frenchman arriving for 23.I?? If you could spend some time *around* that date (23.I) in Geneva and read (or prepare) your lecture there, you could probably run into the Frenchman from Paris *by accident* (the accidental part of it is important) and teach

* See next letter.—*Ed.*

him quite a lot. Prepare your lecture or talk for 25.I, will you?? (And if "*they*" are not to return by 25, then, after your talk with Guilbeaux, put it off until their return: in this way you could "catch" both Guilbeaux and the Frenchman, eh??)

You had better wait going to see Abramovich, as he wrote me yesterday that he was *sending* information from the printing shop. We had better wait till it arrives.

All the very very best, and wishing you to come to speedy grips with your lecture (it will come in useful to you later in any case).

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. *Pacifism* now is the question of the day. It is *here*, i.e., on this question, that we must now teach (Guilbeaux and the French in particular) to present it in a Marxist manner. Answer me on this point without delay.

Written January 14, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

541
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Only today, Monday, we finished the conferences on the anti-Grimm protest which we had started yesterday. It was attended also by a German, a member of *Die Internationale* group, fully a "Left".

We adopted such an emphatic statement against Grimm (demanding his removal from the I.S.C.) that Platten called it "political murder".

This is strictly between ourselves for the time being.

It will take a week or two to have this sent to Roland-Holst and the others and get their reply.

I am pretty tired—I have got unused to meetings!

I trust that you are not answering my suggestion about your French lecture trip not because you are absolutely against it, but simply because you are considering this plan with the idea of accepting it. I am not hurrying you, and shall not repeat my persuasions, but I would very much like you to take a change of air, to visit new and old friends, I would dearly love to say a lot of kind words to you to make things easier for you until you get into your stride with work that will engross you completely.

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am expecting this anti-Grimm protest to do a lot of good.

Written January 15, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

542

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Friends,

I am badly in need of *Diskussionny Listok* issued by the C.O. of the R.S.D.L.P. (*Paris*, 1910 or 1911), containing my article against Martov and Trotsky on the Russian revolution (giving statistics on strikes and % of uyezds with a peasant movement).* Only a few Nos. of *Diskussionny Listok* were issued, and you *should* have them. It would not be difficult to find the article. Please send it to me at once. I

* See "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia" (present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 374-92).—*Ed.*

shall return both this and the previous material sent to me very soon.

Best regards,
Lenin

Written January 15, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1925
in German in the collection
Lenin *W. I. Rede über die Revolution von 1905*, Leipzig

First published in Russian
in 1929 in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Printed from the original

543

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

If Switzerland is drawn into the war, the French will occupy Geneva immediately. To be in Geneva then is to be in France, and from there, to be in touch with Russia. I am therefore thinking of turning over the *Party* funds to you (for you to keep *on your person*, sewed up in a special little bag, as the bank won't let you draw it during the war). I am writing to Grigory about this. These are merely plans, between ourselves for the time being.

I think that we shall remain in Zurich, that war is improbable.

My very best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Written January 16, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

544

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Please translate the enclosed resolution into French and *return* it to me (after having a copy made for the Lausanne *German* group).[531]

The resolution has been adopted here by the *Lefts* and is going all round Switzerland.

We must try and get it circulated among all Party *members* and passed through all Party organisations, however small.

Should even a *single* organisation, however small, adopt this resolution, it should be sent *officially* to both the local and central headquarters of the Party (Geschäftsleitung der Soz. Partei. *Zürich*. Volkshaus) with a *demand* that it be published.

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am sending a copy to Olga for Guilbeaux and one to Abramovich.

Written January 19, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

545
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing Abramovich's letter (*return it immediately*) and an American leaflet (return when finished with, not urgent).

Abramovich's letter shows that things are going well (here too: yesterday a resolution was adopted against the congress being put off and calling for a referendum on the congress[532]).

This shows that we must make great haste with *our* publishing business (leaflets and sheets). Great haste!! (and start a German publishing business of *our own* through the German groups both in La Chaux-de-Fonds and in Lausanne).

Hurry up with your trip to La Chaux-de-Fonds for a few days, get an exact estimate from the printing shop (not your-

self, but through Abramovich) and write to me as soon as possible. How much money can you raise and how soon: 50 frs.? 100 or 200?

Hurry! Best regards,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. About the war, there is *no* danger: general mobilisation is not expected until the spring.

Written January 20, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

546

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I received the translation. Thanks awfully. I have sent it on.*

As regards the censorship to which you have subjected my French article,** I am surprised, really. As you did not send me the original, and I would hardly undertake a French translation myself, I sent it, of course, as you suggested, omitting the passage about Engels.

"The mere thought that I am defending Engels's point of view on war and on the stand the Germans took at the time, makes your blood boil and you cannot translate it .... "

Well, well! I *am* surprised! We, Grigory and I, quoted this passage—more than passage: statement, declaration of Engels—many times, directly and indirectly, in 1914 and 1915.

Engels, it should be remembered, wrote this first for the *French* socialists and it was published in *their Almanach du Parti Ouvrier*.[533] At that time the French did not protest,

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* See Document 544 in this volume.—*Ed.*

** See "An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine" (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 195-204).—*Ed.*

feeling—if not realising clearly—that the war of Boulanger+Alexander III against Germany of those days would be anti-democratic *only* on their part, but on the part of Germany (of whose imperialism there *could be no question* at the time!!) it would really be only "defence", really a war for national existence.

And now, what the French themselves acknowledged in 1891 to be correct, you suddenly cry down, and how! And just before that, at a meeting of the Swiss Lefts, they (semi-pacifists, what can you do?) dismissed my reference to this statement of Engels's with amazing frivolity of their own peculiar brand.

You did not say anything either about my article in reply to Kievsky.

My work with the Swiss Lefts, like my reflections on the absurdities which Radek has talked himself into, convince me more and more that on the vital question of *motives* for rejecting defence of the fatherland our stand is the *only* correct one. Have you seen No. 6 of *Jugend-Internationale*, of which I wrote in *Sb. No. 2* (did you get it?) and *Arbeiterpolitik* No. 25?[534]

I have received a postcard from Kamenev. I shall send it to you. Olga writes that things are looking up with the Lefts, that an organisation of Zimmerwald Lefts, French+Italian (!! I am ever so pleased about this)+Russian, has been founded and that Guilbeaux will write to me about it (I shall forward it on to you, if you like). I try to follow *Avanti!* and am becoming convinced that Souvarine is right: Turati is quite a Kautskyite and he is switching the whole Italian socialist parliamentary group onto these lines. His last speech (17.I) is smart: he's a smart alec of bourgeois pacifism, and not a socialist at all.

I wish you the very, very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written January 22, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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Printed from the original

547
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

It was very interesting yesterday at Olten. Non-attendance of the French and Italians enabled Radek+Levi+Grigory+Münzenberg to tell Grimm the whole truth to his face. Radek told me this today, and Grigory will probably write to you about it.

Re *Arbeiterpolitik*, write to Radek—he has already left (Herrn Sobelsohn. Zur Stelle. *Davos-Dorf*).

On what "central point" I did not answer you, I cannot even guess.

Am waiting for you to explain.

I know about Marx's English works; they are special things that I shall have to read in due course (I bought some of them in London and started to read them, but did not finish), but *now I have no time*.

That Grimm "does not want a mass movement", or rather does not want revolutionary work, you are quite right. His article is generally and wholly Kautskian, Centrist, fraudulent.

That Berne Kautskyite and O.C. man Spectator has issued a small pamphlet in Berne on *Vaterlands-Verteidigung** (25 cts) in which he tries to play off Radek and me against each other (I haven't read it all yet. I have only seen this),[535] as Martov tried to do yesterday (defending!!! Grimm). A futile, vain attempt!

All the best,
Lenin

Written February 2, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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*A filthy Kautskian-O.C. thing! Will I answer him! He'll be pleased!

548
TO KARL RADEK

Dear Radek,

Spectator's pamphlet* is so absurd that at first I had doubts whether it was worth answering. But as this petty intrigant is trying, by the most despicable and stupid means, to make capital out of our differences, I presume—especially since he names me, *and only* me, personally—that it is *my* right and *my* duty to answer him. I shall do everything to have this reply published *not only* in Russian.

As regards *our* draft resolution against defence of the fatherland (for Switzerland),** I forgot to tell you the following: my draft (the opening §§ in my theses) satisfied you, that is, I succeeded then in expressing our common point of view. Why not adopt *it* as a basis for our joint draft?

My best regards,
Ulyanov

P.S. I have received from America No. 1 of the new weekly *Internationalist*. They announce in the Manifesto their solidarity with the "Lefts in Europe". The publisher is Pannekoek of *Vorbote*. What should I send you—the English original or the Russian translation?

Written February 3, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Davos

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* See previous document.—*Ed.*

** This refers to "Theses on the Attitude of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Towards the War" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 149-51).—*Ed.*

549
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I haven't had a single line from you for a long time. You promised almost a week ago to write "tomorrow"—and not a sound. Has there been anything special to prevent it? Drop me at least a line, if you aren't in a writing mood, otherwise I feel worried.

Re 1.II, I wrote you briefly, if I am not mistaken.

On 3.II there was a meeting (strictly private) between Grimm and his friends+Nobs and Platten. (Münzenberg and Bronski were invited, but refused to go to these Zentrumsleute, and a good thing too.) Nobs and Platten are weak-willed men (if not worse), and are dead "afraid" of Grimm.

They adopted some amendments to the resolution (of course, Grimm "tricked" Nobs and Platten). I haven't seen these amendments yet. They should be published tomorrow (Thursday).[536] On the whole, the Lefts here, I must say, are super-trash.

Yesterday there was a meeting (meetings tire me; nerves no good at all; headaches; left before the end)—a general meeting. Re-elected the executive of the whole Zurich organisation. Elected Bronski *too*. And would you believe it—the social-patriot scoundrels (with Baumann at the head) got up and walked out.* We don't want to work with Bronski!!

And Nobs+Platten swallowed the pill and put through a postponement!! What a disgrace!! And these are Lefts!! And the Young are "afraid" of Nobs and Platten!!

I hear that Humbert-Droz has lectured already in Geneva and is seducing the young people with his idiotic pacifism. It would be a good thing if you gave him a number of public battles, politely but firmly pointed out to him the

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* See present edition, Vol. 23, p. 285.—*Ed.*

whole infamy of pacifism, its whole staggering banality, and put forward a revolutionary programme!

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written February 7, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

You are right about the "majority's" corrected resolution (of the Swiss party): it's worse than bad. It's a fully Centrist, Kautskian resolution. Grimm made a mess of it, and Nobs and Platten *backed down*. On Sunday there was a congress of the cantonal Zurich S. D. party; our ("Young") people moved a Left resolution drafted by us, which collected 32 votes. This is a great success.

Abramovich was to have sent you the text of my resolution (the practical part of which was largely included in the resolution tabled at the congress the day before yesterday (you will get it from the newspapers if you haven't learned about it already)).[537]

I think you ought to prepare a lecture (in French) on the three trends in the Swiss party. The material—referendum+ three resolutions (that of the Right, Grimm's and the Left). It's worth it, really.

Humb.-Droz, seeing that he is a Tolstoyan, should be fought *all along* the line. Most definitely!

It isn't true that revolutionary mass action in Switzerland is "impossible". What about the general strike in Zurich in 1912? And we had this action in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds too. Now, during the war, action by the masses and even a revolution in Switzerland are *still more* possible (this would be of importance for France and Germany).

There is ground in the Swiss party for building up a *Left trend*. This is a fact. It will be rewarding, though not easy, work.

Where did you find the documents on Engels's preface to the class struggle? In *Neue Zeit*? Do you know that the Berlin "leaders" have *struck out* of this preface its revolutionary end?

Re the war (of '91) I am waiting for your remarks on that "central point" on which you say I was silent.

Jaurès, Disc. parlem.* Volume Two *missing*.

Could you get the *Works* of Fourier and find for me what he has to say about the merging of nationalities?

All the very best,
Lenin

P.S. Have you been able to influence *Mrs*. Belousov (*he*'s a fool, you know) and Usiyevich's wife?

Written February 14, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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Printed from the original

551

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am sending you a leaflet. Will you please translate it into French and English.[538] The German translation will be made for me in Berne, I hope.

I am greatly interested in the idea of such propaganda, especially of the May Day strike—a strike like this was suggested by one of the Lefts in Switzerland (*Holzarbeiter-Zeitung*, Schweizerische, von 27.I.1917). I'd very much like to send this leaflet to Paris. I hope Grisha will be able to get it published, and it will find its way to Germany, too, afterwards, I think.

* Parliamentary speeches.—*Ed*.

Please translate it in vigorous language, in short sentences. Please write it in duplicate on thin paper as clearly as possible to avoid misprints. If possible let Usiyevich (keeping the thing secret) make a copy from the *Russian* text to be forwarded to Abramovich (together with one copy of the French translation). The two English copies, one French copy and my Russian text return to me *as soon as possible*. We must hurry, because in view of mailing difficulties, there is not much time left until 1.V, and we must start agitation beforehand.

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Nadya feels better today, though she is still in bed. She sends you warm regards. Read the enclosed and forward it to Abramovich together with the Russian text and the French translation.

Written between February 19 and 27, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

552

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

If you send me your theses on the war question, I shall be glad to discuss them, of course. As for your coming out against Golay, I don't see why the idea of its being "awkward" should occur to you. In my opinion, on the contrary, it's anything but awkward and extremely useful. We have got to come out as strongly and bluntly as possible against the ridiculous pacifism of the French (achieving socialism without revolution, and so on) and the ridiculous belief in democracy. Golay, in my opinion, should be given a special and public trouncing for recanting the valuable

admissions in his pamphlet *Le Socialisme qui meurt*. I consider this pamphlet excellent material for criticising the weakness and shallow thinking of the French Lefts.

I have received from you a copy of the Russian text of the leaflet (I am very pleased that you liked it). But there is no sign of the French text!! Yet I asked for it to be done in duplicate!!! The thought that we shall be late preys on my mind—there is only 2 months to go until 1.V and the difficulties of communicating with the warring countries are enormous.

As regards Usiyevich, you write yourself that he is "spineless". So I did not scold him for nothing (and I asked for the letter to be shown to you so that we could agree on methods of influencing him).

So please hurry up *as much as you can* with the French and English translations of the leaflet. If for any reason you couldn't do it in duplicate, then at least let me know exactly when you sent the leaflet (French) to Abramovich.

I am ever so pleased to hear that you are coming out more often before the youth. A useful thing! The young are the only people worth working on! Everything must be done to break down their pacifism and disbelief in the mass movement (what about the Zurich strike of 1912? And in Geneva in 1900 or 1902?). It would be a good thing if you could collect material on the big strikes in the history of the labour movement in French Switzerland.

Nadya has recovered.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. I have read Pannekoek's discussion with Kautsky in *Neue Zeit* (1912). Kautsky is despicably mean, and Pannekoek, but for some *inaccuracies* and slight mistakes, is *almost* right. Kautsky is the acme of opportunism.

Written February 27, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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553
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I haven't heard from you for a long time.

Things here in Zurich with the *German* Lefts are as bad as ever. After Nobs and Platten crossed "back to Grimm" the leaders of the Young tagged along after them. Münzenberg *turned down* Radek's articles against Grimm; Bucher and other friends of Münzenberg repeat the same phrases about the danger of a "split"!! It would be funny, were it not so disgusting....

I am urging Grigory to try a German newspaper (he is *being offered* 300 frs. for it?), but it looks as if this last card will be beaten too.

I envy you and Grigory, because you are both able to lecture publicly. After all, when you deliver a public lecture you have *fresh* people in front of you, workers, a crowd, and not just officials or officials-to-be, or a handful of people browbeaten by officials. In a public lecture you speak to the *mass*, you make *direct* contact with it, you see it, meet it and *influence it in your own way*.

Apparently here, in Zurich, the fuss and bother over the German Lefts is *over*. The referendum motivation and the resolution of the Lefts in Töss are the *only* fruits. I don't regret the time wasted, though (I am in a very angry state of mind just now, as I have come in from a meeting of the Lefts *that did not take place*: our people scattered!). I don't regret it because to my theoretical understanding of the rottenness of the European parties has now been added a *practical* understanding of some use.

Public lectures are a good thing, anyway, and they should be used for a direct fight against both the Centre (Grimm & Co.) and the "Lefts" (like Nobs, Platten, Naine, Graber, Droz, etc.).

I suppose you don't feel like working on the translation of the leaflet into English? In that case, drop it: I'll send it as it is to Paris, maybe they'll find some Englishman there.

Abramovich is a good chap, that's where work is going well!

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

Written March 8, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

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Printed from the original

554
TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

Obviously my former explanations of your silence were erroneous.

You did not "take offence", did you, at my writing you about your not having gone over the French text? Incredible! Incredible because Abramovich, too, wrote to me on the same subject. Besides, is it conceivable that anyone can *take offence* at such a thing?? Inconceivable!!

And on the other hand, the complete silence, for instance on the question of the English translation is strange....

Of course, if you don't feel like answering, or even if you do, and have decided not to, I shall not pester you with my questions.

The Lefts in Switzerland have now scattered away from us both here and in Berne. (Things are good only with Abramovich and with you, as you have *direct* means of approach to the *mass* in lectures and Abramovich has them in personal contacts.)

The talks with Yuri & Co. for the publication *by them* of pamphlets endorsed by the C.C. section abroad are finished. *This is welcome news!*

From Russia—nothing, not even letters!! We are making arrangements via Scandinavia.

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am writing Usiyevich today in reply to his letter, in a spirit of "reconciliation".

Written March 13, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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555
TO INESSA ARMAND[539]

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you on my way back from a lecture. Yesterday (Saturday) I lectured on the amnesty.[540] We are all dreaming of leaving. If you are going home drop in to see us first. We'll have a talk. I would very much like you to find out for me in England discreetly whether I would be granted passage.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

Written March 18, 1917
Sent from Ambulant (Switzerland) to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am writing you in reply to the letters I received from you today and in connection with the talk we had on the telephone.

I must say I am keenly disappointed. In my opinion everybody these days should have a single thought to rush off. Yet people are "waiting" for something!!...

I am sure that I will be arrested or simply detained in England if I go under my own name, as it was England that not only confiscated a number of my letters to America, but asked (her police) Papasha in 1915 whether he corresponded with me and whether he was in touch with the German socialists through me.

It's a fact! Therefore, I cannot personally make any move unless very "special" measures have been taken.

What about the others? I was certain that you would rush off to England, as only there could you find out how to get through and how great the risk is (they say via Holland, London—Holland—Scandinavia, the risk is slight) and so on.

Yesterday I wrote you a postcard on my way back,* thinking that you were doubtlessly planning and had decided to go to Berne to see the consul. But you write that you are undecided and want to think it over.

My nerves, naturally, are overstrung. No wonder! To have to sit here on tenterhooks....

Probably you have special reasons, your health maybe is bad, and so on.

I shall try to persuade Valya to go (she came running down to see us on Saturday after having kept away for a year!). But the revolution doesn't interest her much.

Oh, yes, I nearly forgot. What you could and should do immediately in Clarens is to start looking out for passports (α) among Russians who would agree to give theirs (without them knowing it's for me) to enable another person to leave the country; (β) among Swiss men or women who would give theirs to a Russian.

Anna Yevg. and Abram should be made *immediately* to go to the embassy to get a pass (if they are refused, to complain *by wire* to Milyukov and Kerensky) and leave, or, if they don't intend to leave, to let us know on the basis of *facts* (and not words) what the procedure is for getting a pass.

All the best,

Yours,

Lenin

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* See previous letter.—*Ed.*

In Clarens (and the vicinity) there are many wealthy and not-so-wealthy Russian social-patriots, etc. (Troyanovsky, Rubakin, etc.), who should ask the Germans to allow the passage of a railway coach to Copenhagen for various revolutionaries.

Why not?

I cannot do it. I am a "defeatist".

But Troyanovsky and Rubakin+Co. *can*.

Oh, if I could only teach sense to these noodles and riffraff!...

You will say, perhaps, that the Germans *won't* give a coach. I bet you they *will*!

Of course, if they get to know that this idea comes *from me* or from *you*, the thing will be ruined....

Are there any fools in Geneva for this purpose?...

Written March 19, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear Comrade,

I thank you very, very much for the information. I shall not go now either to read the lecture or to the meeting,[541] as I have to write daily for *Pravda* in Petrograd.

My best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Please continue to keep me informed of news and speeches of the different trends.

Written March 21, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

558

TO JAKUB HANECKI

22/III. 1917

Dear Friend,

I have just sent off by express post to Christiania (Vidnes, *Social-Demokraten*, for Kollontai) two letters enclosing two articles* for the Petrograd *Pravda*. I hope both letters will find Kollontai in Christiania before her departure (she is leaving 27.III in the morning). If they don't, will you kindly, first, check whether the forwarding machinery in Christiania is working well; secondly, if need be, forward it all *yourself*. I am using only one Petrograd address for the time being: Mr. Vlad. Bonch-Bruyevich, Zhizn i Znaniye Publishing House, 38 Fontanka, Flat 19, Petrograd: This publisher will deliver it at once to *Pravda*.

I hope you will *immediately* start sending me *Pravda* and *everything* else of the same kind. Please wire me immediately on receipt of this letter: "letter received, dispatch arranged."

Greetings and congratulations!

Yours,

Vl. Ulyanov

P.S. I ask you most earnestly to keep me informed.

Sent from Zurich to Christiania

First published January 21, 1928, in *Pravda* No. 18

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

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* This refers to "*Letters from Afar*. First Letter. The First Stage of the First Revolution. Second Letter. The New Government and the Proletariat" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 295-319).—*Ed.*

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TO THE EDITORS OF THE SWEDISH *SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN*

To the Editors of *Social-Demokraten*

Dear Comrades,*

You are aware that grave revolutionary events are taking place in Russia. The Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party considers it very important, therefore, that foreign comrades should be correctly informed about this movement. The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. recommends to you Comrade *A. Kollontai*, whose information is absolutely trustworthy.

With Social-Democratic greetings,
on behalf of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.

Written March 22, 1917
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

560

TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I am sending you Kamenev's postcards, to be returned when you have read them.

Have you seen extracts from the C.C.'s Manifesto in *Frankfurter Zeitung* (and in *Volksrecht*)? Good, aren't they!

Congratulations.

My best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Buy *The Times*: the best information.

Valya has been told (at the British embassy) that there is no passage at all through England.

What if *no passage whatever* is allowed *either* by England or by Germany!!! And this is possible!

* The first two lines are in the hand of Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

P.S. Read the enclosed copies of my articles* at once, give them to Usiyevich to read and send them *immediately* to the Karpinskys in Geneva, who are to return them *immediately*!

N.B. I must have these copies by Monday.

Written March 23, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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TO INESSA ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I received today from Karpinsky my First Letter, which you apparently managed to send him. Thanks.

There is no Second Letter. You received it, didn't you?? Then where is it?

Letters 3 and 4 for *Pravda* I shall send to you tomorrow, Wednesday. When you have read them and shown them to Usiyevich, please forward them to the Karpinskys. I have a lecture here today.**

It's interesting what you will have to say about Letter No. 3—during our talks.

All the very best,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I thought you would inform me by postcard that my letter had been forwarded to Karpinsky and yesterday I wrote to Usiyevich, believing that you had gone away.

Written March 27, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

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* This refers to *Letters from Afar* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 295-319).—*Ed.*

** Lenin read a lecture "The Tasks of the R.S.D.L.P. in the Russian Revolution" at a meeting of Swiss workers in the Zurich People's House on March 27, 1917 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 355-61).—*Ed.*

562
TO SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Olga,

Please see that Vyach. Al. does not make a fuss over the typing*—he will receive the manuscript from Grigory tomorrow. *The arrangement* is: payment *no less* than before.

To be typed *in duplicate*, quarto size desirable (not obligatory).

Your marriage plan[542] sounds very reasonable to me, and I shall stand (in the C.C.) for 100 frs. being issued to you: 50 frs. in the fist of a lawyer and 50 frs. to a "convenient old man"** for marrying you!

No, really!! To have the right of entry **both** into Germany and into Russia!

Hurrah! A brilliant idea of yours!

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

Please type my letters to *Pravda* on the *thinnest* paper.

Written March 27, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

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TO JAKUB HANECKI[543]

Please let me know in greatest possible detail, first, whether the British Government will allow passage to Russia to me and a number of members of our Party, the R.S.D.L.P. (Central Committee), on the following conditions: (a) The Swiss socialist Fritz Platten receives permission from the British Government to conduct any number of

* This refers to the typing of the MS. of Lenin's book *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907* (see present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431).—*Ed.*

** Take Axelrod!

persons through England irrespective of their political allegiances and their views on war and peace; (b) Platten alone answers both for the composition of the conducted groups and for maintaining proper order, and receives a railway coach for travelling through England, which he, Platten, is to keep locked. No one can enter this coach without the consent of Platten. This coach shall have exterritorial rights; (c) From a port in England Platten conveys the group by the steamer of any neutral country, with the right to notify *all* countries of the sailing time of this special ship; (d) Railway fares shall be paid by Platten according to the tariff and the number of seats occupied; (e) The British Government undertakes not to place obstacles to the chartering and sailing of a special steamer with Russian political emigrants and not to detain the steamer in England, enabling the passage to be made in the quickest possible way.

Secondly, in the event of agreement, what guarantees can England give that these conditions will be observed, and whether she has any objection to these conditions being published.

If telegraphic inquiries have to be made in London we agree to bear the expenses of a telegram and a prepaid reply.

Date....

Written prior to March 30, 1917

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Printed from the original

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TO INESSA ARMAND

I dashed off the previous sheet the day before yesterday in answer to your letter with questions, but I didn't want to send it without amplifying it.

However I was so busy that I had no time to do it until this evening.

I hope we shall be starting out on Wednesday—together with you, I hope.

Grigory was here. We have arranged to travel together.

I trust you have received the money (100 frs.) sent this morning by express.

We have more money for the journey than I thought, enough for 10-12 persons. The comrades in Stockholm have been a *great* help.

It is quite possible that the *majority* of the workers in Petrograd are now social-patriots.

We shall fight.

The war will agitate **for** us.

A thousand greetings. Au revoir.

Yours,
Lenin

Written between March 31 and April 4, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Clarens

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

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TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI

Earmark two thousand, better three thousand, kronen for our journey. Intend leave Wednesday* minimum ten persons. Wire.

Ulyanov

Written April 1, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

566

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH

Dear Friends,

Things are going well. The plan, of which Comrade Minin knows, is being carried out. Platten takes everything upon himself. Below I am giving you a copy of the conditions which Platten has submitted. Apparently they will be accepted. Otherwise we shall not go. Grimm is still trying

* April 4.—*Ed.*

to persuade the Mensheviks, but we are acting entirely on our own, of course. We think we shall leave on Friday, Wednesday and Saturday. And now this. We want a detailed protocol to be drawn up about everything before we leave. Platten, Levi (of *Berner Tagwacht*, representing the press) and others will be invited to sign it. French participation would be highly desirable. N.B. Talk it over immediately with Guilbeaux, explain the situation to him, show him the terms, and if he sympathises, ask him to *come* at a wire from here (expenses defrayed). This would be very important. It is highly probable that we shall also invite Charles Naine (Platten will talk it over with him on the telephone).

Still more important: if Guilbeaux sympathises, perhaps he could get Romain Rolland too to sign. *Extremely important*: there was a paragraph in *Petit Parisien* that Milyukov has threatened to prosecute everybody who comes in through Germany. Tell Guilbeaux this. French participation, in view of this, is especially important. Answer immediately. Sincerely yours. N.B.

4/IV—1917

We have received a telegram from Perm: "Salut fraternel Ulianow, Zinowieff. Aujourdhui partons Petrograd etc.* Signed: Kamenev, Muranov, Stalin."

Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the original

567

TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Delay absolutely impossible. Come without papers. Mikha, Brendisten too must leave Berne 10.40 a.m.

Ulyanov

Written April 6, 1917
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form
Translated from the German

* "Fraternal greetings to Ulyanov, Zinoviev. We are leaving today for Petrograd."—*Ed.*

568

TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Leaving Berne tomorrow 10.45 a.m. Come immediately.

Ulyanov

Written April 6, 1917
Sent from Berne to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the text of
the telegraph form
Translated from the
German

569

TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI

Twenty people leaving tomorrow. Make sure Lindhagen and Ström meet us in Trelleborg. Gall Belenin, Kamenev out urgently to Finland.

Ulyanov

Written April 7, 1917
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1924
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 1

Printed from the text of
the telegraph form
Translated from the
German

570

TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI

Final departure date Monday.* Forty people. Make sure Lindhagen, Ström in Trelleborg.

Ulyanov

Written April 7, 1917
Sent from Berne to Stockholm

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the text of
the telegraph form
Translated from the German

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* April 9, 1917.—*Ed.*

571

TELEGRAM TO M. M. KHARITONOV

Platten must get permission to take provisions with him, phone execution 12.11* tomorrow 12 o'clock.

Ulyanov

Written April 7, 1917
Sent from Berne to Zurich

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*, Fifth
(Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from the text
of the telegraph form
Translated from the
German

572

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. A.,

I am enclosing a letter for you and *for Guilbeaux*. See to it that a copy is sent to Grimm and a reply received from him. Radek has sent Grimm's letter of protest[544] to Guilbeaux. The Russian text of the farewell letter** will be sent to you by Axelrod (his new address is: Ottikerstr. 37).

Yours,
Lenin

I enclose Platten's letter.[545]

Written April 9, 1917
Sent from Zurich to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

573

TELEGRAM TO M. G. BRONSKI AND KARL RADEK

To Warszawski, Radek. Kluzweg, 8. Zurich

Have all documents translated immediately.[546] Send

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* These figures are a telephone number.—*Ed.*

** "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 367-73).—*Ed.*

beginning to Guilbeaux today certain, the rest tomorrow.*———Copy Berne.

Written after April 9, 1917
Sent to Zurich en route from Switzerland to Russia

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

574
TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI

Arriving Trelleborg today 6 o'clock.

Platten, Ulyanov

Written April 12, 1917
Sent to Stockholm
en route from Sassnitz (Germany) to Trelleborg (Sweden)

First published in 1924
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*
No. 1

Printed from the text of the telegraph form
Translated from the German

575
TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY

German Government faithfully guarded exterritoriality of our coach. Continuing journey. Publish farewell letter. Greetings.

Ulyanov

Written April 14, 1917
Sent to Geneva en route to Russia

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the text of the telegraph form
Translated from the German

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* Lenin wrote Guilbeaux's address on the back of the manuscript: "Guilbeaux. 15. Rue Merle d'Auligné. 15. *Genève*".—*Ed.*

576

TO V. A. KARPINSKY

Dear V. A.,

I trust you have already received our telegram* (*have forwarded it for publication* to Züricher *Volksrecht*) and have sent the "Farewell Letter" to be set up.

I trust also that you have sent Radek (address: Fürstenberg—inside: for Radek—Birgerjarlsgatan, 8. Stockholm) the missing document for the minutes, namely: the resolution of the meeting of Mensheviks, *Nachalo* people[547] and others against the journey.

Did I give you the address of my people? Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova (for V. I. U.), Petrograd, 48/9 Shirokaya Ulitsa, Flat 24. Write me a postcard at this address saying whether the Abschiedsbrief** has come out (and in what languages), whether it has been sent to Stockholm and so on.

Don't forget to contact Grisha and get from him the French and English opposition newspapers for Radek.

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

Written April 15, 1917
Sent from Haparanda
(Sweden) to Geneva

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Printed from the original

577

TO JAKUB HANECKI

Dear Comrade,

Letter No. 1 (dated April 22-23) has been received today 21/IV—old style.

The money from Kozlovsky (2 thous.) has been received. The packets have not arrived yet. Delivery of newspapers from the provinces is terribly irregular, and we have no

* See previous document.—*Ed.*
** Farewell letter.—*Ed.*

sets ourselves, just odd numbers. Altogether about 15 Bolshevik newspapers are issued: in Helsingfors, Kronstadt, Kharkov, Kiev, Krasnoyarsk, Samara, Saratov and other cities. In Moscow a daily appears—*Sotsial-Demokrat*. In Kharkov, Kronstadt and Helsingfors, too, there are dailies. The All-Russia conference starts tomorrow; up to 300 delegates are expected. Petrograd is seething; meetings and demonstrations are going on since yesterday over the government's Note. It is very difficult to get organised in this ferment. Everyone is swamped with work. Arranging messengers is no easy job, but we shall nevertheless take measures. A special man is coming now to organise the whole business, and we hope he will get things moving. Telegrams take a terribly long time, telegraphic communication even inland is difficult. Since a person is going, no telegram confirming receipt of letter No. 1 has been sent. As regards Steinberg, we shall take steps.

We send greetings to Radek. It's such a busy day today that we simply cannot write a detailed letter and resolutions concerning the conference, and so on. You will learn it all from *Pravda*, which we are sending you. Telegrams don't reach destination. The question of organising telegraphic communication therefore remains open. Communication must be arranged some other way. What news have you of Platten? Has he returned and did he arrive safely?

Best regards.

Reports about huge demonstrations, shooting and so on have just come in.

Written April 21 (May 4), 1917
Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm

First published in 1923
in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 9

Printed from a
typewritten copy
found in police records

578

GREETINGS TO COMRADE HÖGLUND

On the day of your release from prison, the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. greets in your person a staunch fighter against

the imperialist war and a wholehearted supporter of the Third International.

Central Committee
*Lenin**

First published April 23 (May 6), 1917 in *Pravda* No. 39

Printed from the newspaper text

579

TO THE PRESIDING COMMITTEE OF THE FRONTLINE CONGRESS[548]

To the Presiding Committee of Delegates of the Frontline Congress

Dear Comrades,

I received your invitation and thank you for it with all my heart. I regret that I am absolutely unable to attend your congress today in view of my commitments to the All-Russia conference of our Party.

The conference proceedings have dragged out, there will probably be an all-night sitting, and I cannot get away for a minute. Please forgive me.

With comradely greetings,
N. Lenin

Written not later than April 29 (May 12), 1917

First published in 1958 in the book *Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks). Petrograd City Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks). April 1917. Minutes*, p. 364 Note 175

Printed from the original

* The message of greetings was also signed by Zinoviev.—*Ed.*

580

TO KARL RADEK[549]

To Comrade Radek

29.V. 1917

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you for the first time, letter No. 1, and ask you to let me know whether you have received it. Try and send *Bulletin* No. 1 (*Pravda Bulletin*)[550] as soon as you can—then an answer as to whether you have a reply from Karpinsky in Geneva (I asked him to send me the end—the "conclusion"—of the book on the agrarian question and the two articles: Yuri's, "Pyotr Kievsky's", and my own on self-determination).

I fully agree with you that Zimmerwald has become a hindrance and that the sooner we break with it the better (you know that I disagree with the conference on this point).[551] We must speed up a meeting of the Lefts, an international meeting and *only* of the Lefts. Write what you can do in this direction: we shall send the money (a sum of about 3-4 thous. rubles) soon.

If we could speed up an international meeting of the Lefts, the Third International would be established.

Can we count on the Scandinavian Lefts? Have you enlightened Höglund & Co.? Is there any hope of getting the English and Americans? What about your Stockholm trio publishing **immediately** in the name of our C.C., plus the Poles, plus *Arbeiterpolitik*, plus Höglund & Co., an international appeal for a meeting of *only* Lefts (see our resolution for the list) on an international scale?

Let us know what steps you are taking.

Forgive me for not writing more often: I am devilishly busy. I trust you have been told everything now.

All the very best,

Yours,

Lenin

Written May 29 (June 11), 1917
Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm

First published in 1932 in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 5-6

Printed from the original

581

TO THE LEGAL COMMITTEE[552]

With regard to the statement by the Executive of the S.D.P.L.* groups submitted to the Legal Committee, I ask the Committee to take into consideration that the point in this statement "demanding an explanation" from Hanecki is an absolutely impermissible attack on the honour of an absent comrade (absent on *Party* business) and an agent of the C.C. at that.

To "demand an explanation" at the word of an avowed slanderer, Mr. Zaslavsky, who has repeatedly been called a slanderer in the newspaper, is *generally* impermissible, and especially impermissible is it to have this done through the press.

Mr. Zaslavsky acted only as a scandalmonger. A clear legal line should be drawn between the notion of a scandalmonger or slanderer and a denouncer (who demands the establishment of demonstrable facts).

The principle should be established that the *Party* should not answer scandalmongering and slander (if only by repeating that a slanderer is a slanderer) *until* (1) a precise accusation is made in the press over the signature of a definite person who is not an avowed slanderer, (2) an accusation which should allow *both* parties to appear in a court of law, (3) an accusation of a serious nature supported by political organisations.

Failing this, the *comrade* affected, and not the *Party*, should answer the accusation either in a special pamphlet (or leaflet: *with documents*) or merely sweeping aside the scandalmongering.

Especially impermissible is the shadow of any doubt as to the honesty of a Party functionary or the slightest attempt to rummage ("demand an explanation") in his private life without a *preliminary* questioning of witnesses (Rozanov, Chudnovsky, Schter and other Copenhageners) and a study of *documents*.

I request the Legal Committee to consider this statement of mine concerning the absolute impermissibility of such

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* Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania.—*Ed*.

publications (the more so when emanating not from the *C.C.* of the Poles) as that of the statement submitted to the Legal Committee.

13.VI. 1917

N. Lenin

Written May 13 (26), 1917
First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49
Printed from the original

582

TELEGRAM TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU ABROAD

Manifestation of the whole revolution on Sunday. Our slogans: Down with the counter-revolution, the Fourth Duma, the State Council, the imperialists, who are organising the counter-revolution. All power to the Soviets. Long live workers' control over production. The arming of the whole people. No separate peace with Wilhelm, no secret treaties with the British and French governments. Immediate publication by the Soviets of really just terms of peace. Against the policy of offensives. Bread, peace, freedom.

Written May 16 (29), 1917
Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm
First published in 1937 in the book: Lenin, V. I. *Works of 1917* in three volumes, Vol. II
Printed from the text of the telegraph form

583

TO KARL RADEK

17.VI. 1917

Dear Radek,

Owing to illness I was unable to follow reports during the last few days. I therefore have a vague idea of Zimmerwald affairs.

If it's true that that muddled wretched Grimm (no wonder

we never trusted that ministeriable scoundrel!) has handed over all Zimmerwald affairs to the Left Swedes and that the latter are convening a Zimmerwald conference within the next few days, then I—personally (I am writing this only in my own name)—*would strongly warn* against having anything to do with Zimmerwald.

"What a good chance this is to seize the Zimmerwald International now," Grigory said today.

In my opinion, this is super-opportunist and harmful tactics.

"Seize" Zimmerwald? That is, to take *upon ourselves* the dead weight of the Italian party (the Kautskyites and pacifists), the Swiss Greulich & Co., the American S. P. (even worse!), all kinds of Peluso, Longuetists, etc., etc.

This would mean throwing overboard all our principles, forgetting everything we wrote and said against the Centre, getting ourselves muddled up and disgraced.

No, if the Left Swedes have taken Zimmerwald into their own hands and if they want to muddle along, we should put an ultimatum *to them*: *either* they declare Zimmerwald dismissed at the very first Zimmerwald conference and found a Third International, *or* we quit.

In any case, that vile ("Grimm-controlled"—it is Grimm's after all) Zimmerwald should be buried at all costs and a *real* Third International founded of the Lefts *alone* and *against the Kautskyites alone*. Better a small fish than a big beetle.

Read this letter to Orlovsky and Hanecki. My best regards.

Excuse the brevity—I'm ill.

Things here mostly resemble the eve of the June days of 1848. The Mensheviks and S.R.s are surrendering all and everything to the Cadets (=to the Cavaignacs). Qui vivra verra.*

Yours,
Lenin

Written May 17 (30), 1917
Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm

First published November 7, 1932, in *Pravda* No. 309

Printed from the original

* The future will show ("we shall live and see").—*Ed.*

584

TO THE BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[553]

Only just now, at 3.15 p.m., July 7, I learned that a search was made at my flat last night, despite the protests of my wife, by armed men who produced no warrant. I register my protest against this and ask the Bureau of the C.E.C. to investigate this flagrant breach of the law.

At the same time I consider it my duty to confirm officially and in writing what, I am sure, not a single member of the C.E.C. can doubt, namely, that in the event of the government ordering my arrest and this order being endorsed by the C.E.C., I shall present myself for arrest at the place indicated to me by the C.E.C.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov
(*N. Lenin*)
Member of the C.E.C.

Petrograd, 7/VII.1917

Written July 7 (20), 1917

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 49

Printed from a typewritten copy

585

TO KUSTAA ROVIO

Comrade Rovio,

Will you kindly pass the enclosed letter to Smilga (only personally, *not* by post).*

The comrade handing you this letter will be returning very soon: *send* the remaining newspapers *with him* and *anything else that has been received* for me.

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* See "Letter to I. T. Smilga, Chairman of the Regional Committee of the Army, Navy and Workers of Finland" (present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 69-73).—*Ed.*

Did you forward on to the north what I gave you to be handed over to our Swedish friends?* Please answer through the bearer.

My best regards,
Yours,
K. Ivanov

Written September 27
(October 10), 1917
Sent from Vyborg to Helsingfors

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

586
TO KUSTAA ROVIO

Dear Comrade Rovio,

I am taking this opportunity to find out whether you received my letter enclosing a letter to Smilga** and whether you passed that letter on to him.

The bearer is returning in a couple of days. Will you please pass this letter on to Smilga, as I would like him too to know that I am anxious about whether he received my letter and am waiting for his reply.

Greetings,
Yours,
K. Ivanov

Could you send me a set of (1) *Priboi*[554] and (2) *Sotsialist-Revolutsioner*[555] for the last 1½ weeks?

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* Apparently this refers to Lenin's letter "To the Bureau of the Central Committee Abroad" (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 318-24).—*Ed.*

** "Letter to I. T. Smilga, Chairman of the Regional Committee of the Army, Navy and Workers of Finland" (see present edition, Vol. 26, pp. 69-73).—*Ed.*

P.S. Did you send the letter and newspapers through friends to Sweden?

Written after September 27
(October 10), 1917
Sent from Vyborg to Helsingfors

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXI*

Printed from the original

587
A NOTE TO MARGARITA FOFANOVA

I am going where you did not want me to go. Good-bye.

Ilyich

Written October 24
(November 6), 1917

First published in 1934
in the book: Krupskaya, N. K.
Reminiscences of Lenin,
Part III, Moscow, Partizdat

Printed from the text
of the book

NOTES

[1] A reference to articles by N. Y. Fedoseyev examining the economic and political situation in Russia and criticising the erroneous views of the Narodniks. Lenin had the manuscripts. p. 37

[2] *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought)—a literary and political monthly published in Moscow from 1880 to 1918. Until 1905 it adhered to a liberal-Narodnik orientation, and in the nineties occasionally published articles by Marxists. p. 38

[3] *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth)—a monthly published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to 1918. In the early nineties it was taken over by the liberal Narodniks headed by N. K. Mikhailovsky. It propounded reconciliation with the tsarist government and waged an implacable struggle against Marxism and the Russian Marxists. p. 41

[4] In this letter Lenin evidently refers to his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, which was proposed to be published abroad (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 129-332). The two works mentioned are Frederick Engels's *The Housing Question* and "Afterword to *On Social Relations in Russia*" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1962, pp. 546-634, and Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, S. 421-35).

In the summer of 1894 Lenin stayed with relatives in the country in Kuzminki, near Moscow, and in August returned to St. Petersburg. p. 42

[5] *Rabocheye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause)—a journal published by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad in Geneva from April 1899 to February 1902. It was edited by B. N. Krichevsky, P. F. Teplov (Sibiryak), V. P. Ivanshin and later also A. S. Martynov. A total of 12 issues (nine books) was put out. The Editorial Board of the journal was the Economists' centre abroad.

Lenin gave a critique of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* viewpoint in his *What Is To Be Done?* (see present edition. Vol. 5, pp. 347-529). p. 44

[6] *The Emancipation of Labour group* was the first Russian Marxist group. It was founded in Geneva by G. V. Plekhanov in 1883 and included P. B. Axelrod, L. G. Deutsch, Vera Zasulich and V. N. Ignatov.

The group did much to spread Marxism in Russia, and dealt a serious blow at Narodism. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the group announced its dissolution. p. 44

[7] A reference to the Marxist scientific and political journal *Zarya* (Dawn) published legally in Stuttgart by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* in 1901-02. p. 44

[8] A St. Petersburg group of revolutionary Narodniks named after one of its members—N. V. Chaikovsky. Its aims were self-education and revolutionary propaganda among the youth. It published and circulated works by Karl Marx, N. G. Chernyshevsky, D. I. Pisarev, and N. Flerovsky (V. V. Bervi); it had a printery of its own in Switzerland. Later the group conducted revolutionary work among the workers and peasants, acquainted the workers with the history of the international proletarian movement, and sponsored the study in circles of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*. They failed, however, to understand the historical role of the proletariat, regarding it merely as an intermediary between the revolutionary intelligentsia and the peasantry. The group's activities came to an end with the mass arrests of early 1874. p. 44

[9] The "*resolution of the twenty-three*" evidently was adopted at a meeting of Social-Democrats in exile in Orlov, Vyatka Gubernia (V. V. Vorovsky, N. E. Bauman, A. N. Potresov, and others), as an expression of solidarity with the "protest of the seventeen" ("A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats") written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82). p. 45

[10] A reference to the talks with S. S. Trusevich, a member of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, on the organisation of the transport of literature through Poland of which Y. M. Steklov had written to Lenin. Transport was not arranged. p. 46

[11] The publication in question is *Iskra* (The Spark), the first all-Russia illegal Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900. It played the decisive role in the establishment of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class in Russia.

The editors were Lenin, P. B. Axelrod, Vera Zasulich, Y. O. Martov, G. V. Plekhanov and A. N. Potresov. At first the Secretary of the Editorial Board was Inna Smidovich-Lehmann, and from the spring of 1901, Nadezhda Krupskaya, who also attended to all of *Iskra*'s correspondence with Russian Social-Democratic organisations.

After the Second Congress of the Party, beginning with issue No. 52, the newspaper became the mouthpiece of the Mensheviks. p. 48

[12] A reference to the talks between the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and the liberals concerning the publication of *Sovremennoye Obozreniye* (Contemporary Review) as a supplement to *Zarya*. Announcements on the publication of the supplement were issued by G. V. Plekhanov on behalf of *Iskra* and *Zarya* and by P. B. Struve on behalf of the "democratic opposition" group. The project was never realised, however, since Dietz refused to print the announcements as not conforming to censorship requirements. Further talks between the representatives of *Iskra* and Struve were interrupted and never resumed (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 380-82; Vol. 36, pp. 67, 71; Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 4, pp. 389-90). p. 50

[13] The *Borba* group (D. B. Ryazanov, Y. M. Steklov, E. L. Gurevich) originated in Paris in the summer of 1900 and took shape as an independent group in 1901, after the "Unity" Conference. In its publications it distorted Marxist theory, rejected the revolutionary tactics of *Iskra*, and was opposed to Lenin's principles of Party organisation. Owing to its deviations from Social-Democratic views and tactics, its disruptive actions and lack of contact with Social-Democratic Organisations in Russia, the group was not admitted to the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which decided to dissolve it. p. 50

[14] A reference to student demonstrations in protest against the introduction of the provisional rules of July 29, 1899, and the drafting of 183 students of the Kiev University into the army (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 414-19). A meeting of the Russian colony in London held on February 6, 1901, adopted a protest against this action by the government, which was published in the journal *Nakanune* No. 26-27 under the title "London Protest". p. 50

[15] *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought)—a newspaper published by the Economists from October 1897 to December 1902. It was edited by K. M. Takhtarev and others. p. 51

[16] A reference to the *Rabocheye Znamya* (Workers' Banner) group, formed in late 1897. The group was opposed to Economism and made it its aim to conduct political propaganda among the workers. It published the newspaper *Rabocheye Znamya* (three issues were put out) and printed several pamphlets and proclamations. Among its leading members were S. V. Andropov, V. P. Nogin and M. B. Smirnov. In January 1901 the St. Petersburg Rabocheye Znamya group merged with the Sotsialist group, but in January-April the leaders of the united group who were in Russia were arrested. Most of the members of the St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Znamya* group came over to the *Iskra* organisation. p. 51

[17] An unsigned item printed in *Iskra* No. 1 in the "Our Public Life" column. It cautioned workers against unorganised strikes in the crisis conditions then prevailing, for the employers seized upon them as a pretext for wholesale dismissals. p. 51

[18] *Yuzhny Rabochy* (Southern Worker)—an illegal Social-Democratic newspaper published by a group of the same name from January 1900 to April 1903. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the delegates from this group took a Centrist position.

The Second Congress dissolved the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group along with all other Social-Democratic groups and organisations which had functioned independently.

The reference is to reports on a strike at the Prokhorov mines (on the Donets) carried by *Iskra* No. 2 (February 1901) and *Yuzhny Rabochy* No. 3 (November 1900). p. 52

[19] V. P. Nogin had suggested that L. Martov's article "New Friends of the Russian Proletariat" should end in a more pointed analogy between the preachments of S. V. Zubatov and the treatment of economic struggle in the programme of *Rabochaya Mysl*. p. 52

[20] V. P. Nogin had pointed out that although *Iskra* had chosen as its motto words first used by the Decembrists, it made no mention of the uprising of December 14, 1825. p. 52

[21] *Byloye* (The Past)—an historical journal devoted mostly to the history of Narodism and earlier social movements, published in 1900-04 and 1906-07, first abroad, then in St. Petersburg. p. 52

[22] *Justice*—a weekly published in London from January 1884 to the beginning of 1925; organ of the Social-Democratic Federation and, from 1911, of the British Socialist Party. From February 1925 to December 1933 it was published under the name of *Social-Democrat*. p. 52

[23] On his way to Russia in May 1901, V. P. Nogin spent a week in Munich where he discussed with Lenin the work to be conducted in Russia. p. 53

[24] *Nakanune* (On the Eve)—a monthly with a Narodnik orientation published in Russian in London from January 1899 to February 1902; edited by Y. A. Serebryakov. A total of 37 issues came out. p. 53

[25] A reference to comments on issue No. 1 of *Iskra* by members of the *Borba* group (see Note 13). p. 54

[26] *Aus Weltpolitik*—a weekly published by Parvus in Munich from 1898 to 1905. p. 54

[27] *At the Post of Honour*—a collection of writings put out by the Narodniks on the fortieth anniversary (1860-1900) of the literary

and public activities of the Narodnik ideologist N. K. Mikhailovsky. The book was not reviewed either in *Iskra* or in *Zarya*. p. 55

[28] The letter refers to the *Iskra* promotion group founded in Berlin in the autumn of 1900. The group played a major role in the organisation of the transport of the paper to Russia and the collection of funds. Similar groups were set up in other European cities (Geneva, Zurich, Paris, etc.) where there were student youth and revolutionary emigrants from Russia. They collected funds for *Iskra*, arranged for the shipment of illegal publications to Russia, obtained passports, established contacts and carried on other work for *Iskra*.

The *neutral group of Social-Democrats in Berlin* formed around V. A. Bazarov in the autumn of 1900. Its aim was to overcome the split between the supporters of the journal *Rabocheye Dyelo* and the Emancipation of Labour group, which developed following the Second Congress of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. Among others, the group included M. G. Vecheslov and I. B. Basovsky. According to Bazarov, the group sent its representatives to Geneva early in 1900 to persuade the *Iskra* and *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisations to effect a reconciliation with the Union. The group published three or four proclamations on political topics and existed until the summer of 1901. p. 56

[29] See Note 13. p. 57

[30] A conference of representatives of S.D. organisations abroad was held in Geneva in June 1901. It drew up a resolution recognising the need to consolidate all the Social-Democratic forces of Russia on the basis of the revolutionary principles of *Iskra* and to unite the Social-Democratic organisations abroad, and condemning opportunism of all varieties and shades: Economism, Bernsteinism, Millerandism, etc. (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsii i plenumov Tsentralnogo Komiteta* [C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee], Part 1, 1954, pp. 22-24). After the conference the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and its organ, the journal *Rabocheye Dyelo*, intensified their efforts to propagate opportunism, making it impossible for the supporters of *Iskra* to unite with those of *Rabocheye Dyelo*, and thereby predetermined the failure of the "Unity" Conference. p. 57

[31] The Berlin *Iskra* promotion group planned to put out bulletins but the idea was never realised owing to lack of funds and material. p. 57

[32] The reference is to K. E. Klasson's part in putting out the symposium *Material for a Characterisation of Our Economic Development* printed in April 1895. p. 61

[33] *Vorbote* (The Herald)—a monthly journal, Central Organ of the German sections of the First International, published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871. p. 62

[34] *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii. Sotsialno-politicheskoye obozreniye* (Herald of the Russian Revolution. A Socio-Political Review)—an illegal journal published abroad (Paris and Geneva) in 1901-05. Four issues came out. The first was published by the Old Narodovoltsi Group and edited by N. S. Rusanov (K. Tarasov). Beginning with issue No. 2 it became the theoretical organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. p. 63

[35] A reference to the "Unity" Conference of R.S.D.L.P. organisations abroad held October 4-5, 1901, in Zurich. It was attended by 6 members of the *Iskra* and *Zarya* organisation abroad, 8 members of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation (including 3 members of the Emancipation of Labour group), 16 members of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats (including 5 members of the Bund's Committee Abroad), and 3 members of the *Borba* group. On the first item on the agenda "Agreement in Principle and Instructions to Editorial Boards", Lenin delivered an eloquent speech, censuring the opportunist activity of the Union. When the opportunist amendments and addenda to the June resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats were announced at the conference, the revolutionary section of the conference (members of the *Iskra* and *Zarya* and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisations) read out a statement saying that unity was impossible and left the conference. On Lenin's initiative these organisations in October 1901 united into the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. p. 64

[36] A reference to the wholesale arrests of members of the Social-Democratic organisation in Moscow. A. Y. Finn-Yenotayevsky was arrested on November 11, 1896. The provocateur Ruma was instrumental in setting the police on the organisation. p. 66

[37] A reference to the "Unity" Conference of R.S.D.L.P. organisations abroad (see Note 35). p. 69

[38] The St. Petersburg *Iskra* group at the time included Y. E. Mandelstam, A. N. Minskaya, and K. M. Rubinchik, who had been sent from Berlin to arrange for the circulation of *Iskra*, and also members of the *Sotsialist* group in St. Petersburg. The group was led by V. P. Nogin until his arrest on October 2, 1901. Contact between the group and the League in St. Petersburg was maintained by S. I. Radchenko. All members of the group were arrested on December 4, 1901. p. 70

[39] A reference to the preparation of the pamphlet *Documents of the "Unity" Conference*. The preface was written by Lenin (see

present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 302-05). The pamphlet was put out in Geneva in the printery of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. The reference to G. D. Leiteisen and F. I. Dan suggests that at the conference they were secretaries from the *Iskra* and *Zarya* organisation. p. 70

[40] *The League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad* was founded on Lenin's initiative in October 1901 as an organisation uniting revolutionary Marxists abroad. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. the Mensheviks gained control in the League and in October 1903, after its Second Congress, the Bolsheviks left it and founded their own organisation abroad. p. 71

[41] Lenin had been invited to speak in Berne on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of G. V. Plekhanov's speech on Kazan Square in St. Petersburg on December 6, 1876. p. 75

[42] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's trip to Brussels to attend a conference of the International Socialist Bureau, to which he had been elected, together with B. N. Krichevsky, at the Paris Congress of the Second International in 1900. The conference opened on December 30, 1901, and Plekhanov's report on its proceedings was published in *Iskra* No. 15 dated January 15, 1902, under the title, "From Brussels. Letter to the Editors of *Iskra*" (see G. V. Plekhanov, *Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 12, 1924, pp. 193-98). p. 76

[43] *Vorwärts*—a daily, central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Berlin since 1891. In the late nineties, after the death of Engels, it fell into the hands of the Right wing of the party and regularly printed articles by opportunists. Giving a tendentious picture of the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in the R.S.D.L.P., it supported the Economists, and later, after the split in the Party, the Mensheviks. p. 79

[44] The polemic referred to was between the editors of *Vorwärts*, Central Organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, Karl Kautsky, and *Zarya* over the article "The Lübeck Parteitag of German Social-Democracy" by Martov (Ignotus) in *Zarya* No. 2-3, December 1901. p. 79

[45] The delegate arrested was F. I. Dan, who represented the Editorial Board of *Iskra* at the Belostok conference of R.S.D.L.P. committees and organisations held March 23-28 (April 5-10), 1902. p. 83

[46] A reference to a May Day leaflet which the Belostok conference of R.S.D.L.P. committees and organisations decided to put out. It was based on a draft drawn up by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh...*, Part 1, 1954, pp. 28-31). p. 83

[47] On June 27, 1902, Lenin delivered a lecture criticising the Socialist-Revolutionaries at a meeting of Russian political emigrants in Paris. p. 84

[48] Probably a reference to G. V. Plekhanov's trip to attend a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. p. 85

[49] Y. O. Martov (Berg) conducted talks in Paris with members of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats concerning the formation abroad of a section of the Organising Committee to prepare for the convocation of a Party congress, as envisaged in the decision of the Belostok conference. p. 86

[50] A reference to the inheritance left by a Russian who had died abroad. V. G. Shklyarevich had written to Lenin about it in a letter dated June 5, 1902, suggesting that the Editorial Board of *Iskra* find a lawyer to handle the case, for which *Iskra* would have received one-third of the property involved. The Editorial Board turned down the proposition. p. 86

[51] A reference to the Social-Democratic organisation in the Crimea, which V. G. Shklyarevich put in touch with the Editorial Board of *Iskra*. The letters from Simferopol, Feodosia and Yalta published in *Iskra* Nos. 24 and 25 afford an idea of the activities of this organisation. p. 87

[52] *Kolya*—a code name for the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. The reference here probably is to V. P. Krasnukha, a member of this committee, who came to see Lenin in London in August 1902. p. 89

[53] The "old friend" evidently was P. A. Krasikov. The 500 rubles brought had been collected for *Iskra* by its representatives in St. Petersburg. p. 89

[54] The commission mentioned here was set up in July 1902 at a joint meeting of representatives of *Iskra*, the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and the Workers' Organisation to reorganise the St. Petersburg Committee. p. 90

[55] Lenin is referring to his lectures in Lausanne and Geneva on November 10 and 11, 1902, on the programme and tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. p. 93

[56] *Krasnoye Znamya* (Red Banner)—an organ of the Economists, published in Geneva by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad from November 1902 to January 1903 as the successor of *Rabocheye Dyelo*. Three issues of the journal came out. p. 94

[57] At the end of 1902 there were two organisations in Odessa—a Social-Democratic committee of an anti-*Iskra* trend and the

Southern Revolutionary League of Social-Democrats, founded in September 1902. In December 1902 the Southern League ceased to exist as an independent organisation. As a result of persistent work on the part of the *Iskra* supporters in Odessa (Rozalia Zemlyachka, K. O. Levitsky and others) to combat the Economists and the *Borba* group, it merged with the *Iskra* organisation in April 1903. Lenin examines the question in a letter to Lyubov Axelrod dated December 18, 1902 (see this volume, Document 59). p. 97

[58] A reference to the session of the International Socialist Bureau held in Brussels on December 29, 1902. G. V. Plekhanov did not attend. p. 97

[59] *The Organising Committee* (O.C.) for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was established on Lenin's initiative at the conference of Social-Democratic committees held in Pskov on November 2-3, 1902. The majority of the new committee were *Iskra* supporters. P. A. Krasikov, F. V. Lengnik, P. N. Lepeshinsky and G. M. Krzhizhanovsky from the *Iskra* organisation in Russia and A. M. Stopani from the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P. were co-opted to the committee. p. 97

[60] The living room shared by all in the London flat occupied by Vera Zasulich, Y. O. Martov and I. S. Blumenfeld was called the "den" in jest because of the permanent disorder in it. p. 100

[61] The *Iskra organisation in Russia* united all followers of *Iskra* in the country. When the Organising Committee for convening the Party's Second Congress was established at the Pskov conference, the *Iskra* organisations placed all their contacts at its disposal. The *Iskra* organisation in Russia existed up to the Second Congress and played an important part in preparing for and convening this Congress which founded the revolutionary Marxist party in Russia. p. 100

[62] A reference to letters from Russia collected by the editors of the journal *Zhizn* (Life) which V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich passed on to the Editorial Board of *Iskra* after *Zhizn* ceased publication. p. 102

[63] *Zhenya*—a code name for the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group.
The *Announcement* Lenin refers to below was made in December 1902 by the Organising Committee for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 305-09). p. 105

[64] The *three Rostov comrades* were I. I. Stavsky, Mochalov and Z. Mikhailov. *Iskra* No. 35 of March 1, 1903, carried a letter from the Don Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. announcing its solidarity with *Iskra* and *Zarya* on all questions relating to programme, tactics and organisation. p. 105

[65] A reference to the "Announcement of the Formation of an Organising Committee", published in *Iskra* No. 32, January 15, 1903, and L. D. Trotsky's article, "High-Mindedness Instead of a Programme and Nervousness Instead of Tactics", in *Iskra* No. 33, February 1, 1903. p. 106

[66] The article "On Two-Faced Democracy", by A. N. Potresov, printed in *Iskra* No. 35, March 1, 1903. p. 106

[67] *Proletariat*—an illegal newspaper in Armenia, organ of the Union of Armenian Social-Democrats. Only one issue was put out in October 1902 in Tiflis (for reasons of secrecy the place of publication was given as Geneva). The publication was founded by S. G. Shahumyan, and B. M. Knunyants helped with the organisational arrangements. p. 107

[68] Lenin never wrote the article criticising A. Rudin. His *Revolutionary Adventurism* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 184-205) came out as a separate pamphlet without the other articles against the Socialist-Revolutionaries (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 170-73). p. 108

[69] The *Organising Committee Section Abroad* comprised L. G. Deutsch from the Editorial Board of *Iskra*, A. I. Kremer from the Bund, and N. N. Lokhov (Olkhin) from the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. p. 109

[70] *S.-Peterburgskiye Vedomosti* (St. Petersburg Recorder)—a newspaper founded in St. Petersburg in 1728 as the successor to the first Russian newspaper *Vedomosti* founded in 1703. Ceased publication at the end of 1917. p. 112

[71] Kautsky's pamphlet *Die soziale Revolution* was published in Geneva in 1903 in the Russian translation by N. Karpov, edited by Lenin. The editors' note on pages 129-30 reads: "To show the reader how great is the concentration of industry in contemporary Russia we shall give two examples. In 1894-95 the number of factories and workshops (i.e., enterprises using mechanical power or employing no less than 16 workers) in European Russia was estimated at 14,578, with 885,555 workers and output totalling 1,345 million rubles. Of these the big factories, i.e., with 100 or more workers, numbered only 1,468, i.e., one-tenth, but they employed 656,000 workers, nearly three-fourths of the total and the value of their output amounted to 955 million rubles i.e., seven-tenths of the total sum. From this one can judge how radically we could raise productivity of labour, increase wages and reduce working hours if we expropriated all the manufacturers, closed down the small enterprises, and left only one and a half thousand big factories working two eight-hour shifts or three five-hour shifts! Another example. In 1890 there were about *nine and a half thousand* handicraft tanneries in European Russia

with 21,000 workers and output totalling 12 million rubles. At the same time 66 steam-powered tanneries with 5½ thousand workers also produced 12 million rubles' worth of output!" p. 114

[72] A reference to Engels's "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* in one volume Moscow, 1968, pp. 633-50). p. 115

[73] The reference is to the report "Division and Sectarianism in Russia" written by V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich at the request of Lenin and Plekhanov for the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Later the report was published in the Social-Democratic paper for members of religious sects *Rassvet* (Daybreak) No. 6-7 for 1904. The draft resolution on the publication of a periodical for members of religious sects was written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 473). p. 115

[74] This refers to the "*personal conflict*" between Lenin and Martov at the Second Congress of the League. Martov charged that in his report to the congress of the League Lenin had presented him as an intriguer and a liar on the question of the method of organising the Editorial Board of the Central Organ at the Second Congress of the Party, and he challenged Lenin to put the matter to arbitration. Lenin lodged a protest against this method of struggle, accepted Martov's challenge, and in his turn pressed for arbitration. The conflict was settled through the mediation of G. M. Krzhizhanovsky during his stay abroad in the second half of November 1903 by means of a mutual exchange of statements between Lenin and Martov. These statements were published in *Commentary on the Minutes of the Second Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad*, Geneva, 1904. p. 115

[75] A reference to *Rassvet*, a Social-Democratic publication for members of religious sects, put out in Geneva by V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich in accordance with a decision of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 117

[76] A reference to the "July Declaration" of the C.C. and the violation of the decisions of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. by the conciliators in the C.C.

The "*July Declaration*" was a resolution adopted by the conciliators in the C.C., L. B. Krasin, V. A. Noskov and L. Y. Galperin, in July 1904 without the knowledge of the two remaining members, Lenin and Rozalia Zemlyachka, who were not given an opportunity to defend in the C.C. the position of the Majority of the Party. In this resolution the conciliators endorsed the Menshevik composition of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* which G. V. Plekhanov had co-opted, and co-opted into the C.C. three other conciliators—A. I. Lyubimov, L. Y. Karpov and I. F. Dubrovinsky. The conciliators opposed the convocation of the

Third Congress of the Party and dissolved the Southern Bureau of the C.C., which was conducting agitation for the congress. They deprived Lenin of the right to represent the C.C. abroad and prohibited the publication of his writings without the collegial permission of the C.C.

Local Party committees—in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga Baku and elsewhere—supported Lenin and strongly condemned the "July Declaration" (see this volume, Document 85). p. 119

[77] The pamphlet in question is *Our Misunderstandings* by Galyorka (M. S. Olminsky) and Ryadovoi (A. Bogdanov) which had been sent to the Party printers.

In a letter dated September 12, 1904, V. A. Noskov informed V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich that the pamphlet would be handed over (see *Lenin Miscellany XV*, p. 167). p. 119

[78] The *Southern Bureau of the Central Committee* was set up in February 1904 with the direct assistance of Lenin. Among its members were V. V. Vorovsky and I. K. Lalayants. The Bureau, the permanent headquarters of which was in Odessa, waged a consistent struggle against the Mensheviks and the conciliators, and was in favour of the immediate convocation of the Third Party Congress despite the wishes of the central bodies—the C.C., the Central Organ, and the Council of the Party.

In mid-August 1904 the Bureau was dissolved by the improperly adopted "July Declaration" of the C.C., but later in the autumn the first Bolshevik conference of R.S.D.L.P. committees held in the South reconstituted it. Together with the Northern and Caucasian bureaus, it formed the core of the All-Russia Bureau of Committees of the Majority established in December 1904. p. 122

[79] The reference is to the V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishing House of Social-Democratic Party Literature founded by the Bolsheviks in late March 1904, after the Menshevik editors of *Iskra* refused to print the opinions of Party organisations and members upholding the decisions of the Second Congress and demanding the convocation of the Third Congress of the Party. p. 125

[80] The reference is to the dissolution of the executive department of the C.C. as constituted until then, together with its agents abroad, in connection with the appointment of V. A. Noskov to take charge of all its functions. p. 125

[81] Lenin is referring to a letter written by F. V. Lengnik on August 22, 1904, in Taganka prison in Moscow (see *Lenin Miscellany XV*, pp. 159-62). p. 126

[82] *Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Until October 1917 it was edited by Karl Kautsky and then by Heinrich Cunow. p. 127

[83] A reference to letters from V. A. Noskov and V. N. Rozanov a Menshevik co-opted to the C.C., which I. A. Pyatnitsky promptly forwarded to Lenin in Geneva. Lenin quotes these letters in his pamphlet *Statement and Documents on the Break of the Central Institutions with the Party* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 527-33). p. 135

[84] In the resolution referred to, adopted in the autumn of 1904 the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. voiced its full support of Lenin's views and wholly endorsed his work towards the "*creation of a really strong proletarian party*", and promised him every assistance in organising a publishing house of Bolshevik literature. p. 141

[85] Many members of the Moscow Party organisation were arrested in the summer and autumn of 1904. Because of this, Lenin feared that the clandestine address of the Moscow Committee he had might be known to the police and the letter might fall into their hands. p. 141

[86] A reference to the unlawful actions of a Menshevik member of the Baku Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. who co-opted Mensheviks into the Committee to replace members who had been arrested. The Chairman of the Caucasian Union Committee and the representative of the C.C. dissolved the Baku Committee, in accordance with the Rules of the Caucasian Union, as having been improperly constituted. For details see the pamphlet *The Council Against the Party* by Orlovsky (V. V. Vorovsky), Geneva, 1904, pp. 24-30. p. 143

[87] A reference to the illegal Bolshevik paper *Vperyod*, published in Geneva under Lenin's guidance from December 22, 1904 (January 4, 1905) to May 5 (18), 1905. p. 144

[88] In a letter from the editors of the Menshevik *Iskra* published in November 1904, the Mensheviks put forward as the Social-Democrats' main task the "organised influencing on the bourgeois opposition" by presenting demands to the government through bourgeois liberals and Zemstvo leaders. p. 145

[89] In an article "Our Misfortunes" published in *Iskra* No. 78, A. N. Potresov (Starover), criticising Lenin, cited the programme of the French Radical Party, of which Georges Clemenceau was leader. p. 145

[90] The statement Lenin sent to the Bolshevik conciliators L. B. Krasin, V. A. Noskov and I. Y. Galperin, members of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., was written in connection with the "July Declaration" of the C.C. (see Note 76).

In July 1904 the three C.C. members passed, without Lenin's knowledge, a resolution recognising as lawful the co-opting by

Plekhanov into the *Iskra* Editorial Board of Mensheviks who had been voted down by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., and forbidding Lenin to take any important action as C.C. representative abroad unless empowered to do so by the C.C., thereby depriving him of his powers as the Party's representative abroad.

Although Lenin on August 18, 1904, challenged the resolution inasmuch as he had not been invited to the C.C. meeting or even informed that the question would be taken up, the resolution was printed in *Iskra* No. 72 on August 25.

On November 5, *Iskra* No. 77 carried a statement of the C.C. accusing Lenin, who continued to consider himself a member of the C.C. and said so publicly, of doing so allegedly "with the object of disorganising the Party". The C.C. proposed that the conflict be submitted to arbitration by leaders of international Social-Democracy. p. 152

[91] A reference to Zemstvo meetings at which the liberal opposition adopted petitions to the tsar to grant a constitution. Lenin criticised the plan for the Zemstvo campaign in his article "The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*'s Plan" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 497-518). p. 153

[92] During the 1904 strikes in Russia, Russian Social-Democratic organisations in London set up a Russian Strike Relief Committee, which appealed to British trade unions for assistance. It was also decided to turn to the Labour Representation Committee, of which Ramsay MacDonald was secretary. The Committee responded, on condition that part of the money be used to help the widows and orphans of the numerous victims of the January 9 (22), 1905, massacre. p. 153

[93] The reference is to the Congress of the French Socialists held April 23-25, 1905, in Paris, at which the followers of Guesde and Jaurès united. p. 156

[94] This refers to Y. O. Martov's article "A Party Congress or a Congress of Groups?" in *Iskra* No. 94, March 25, 1905. In it Martov held up the Guesdists as an example to the "Leninists", falsely asserting that the Guesdists had recourse to mediation by Bebel and the German Social-Democrats. Leiteisen replied to Martov in an item entitled "A Slight Correction!" in *Vperyod* No. 15, April 20 (7). p. 156

[95] Kautsky's article "Die Differenzen unter den russischen Sozialisten", published in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 29, was printed in Russian translation in Iskra No. 97 under the heading "The Differences Between Russian Socialists". The article said: "... there are no revisionists in the Russian party.... He (Lenin.—*Ed.*) stands for strict centralism and dictatorial rights for the Central Committee, while Axelrod and his friends want to give more leeway for the activity of the local committees." p. 156

[96] "Overcoming the obstacles"—not allowing the Mensheviks to take over the Bolshevik underground printing shop in Samara which the Menshevik agents of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. were bent on doing. p. 156

[97] Lenin was a neighbour of A. A. Preobrazhensky's when he spent the summer months of 1889-93 in Alakayevka. Preobrazhensky stayed a few versts away at the Shornel farmstead. p. 157

[98] The illegal Bolshevik weekly *Proletary* was the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. after its Third Congress. On April 27 (May 10), 1905, a plenary meeting of the C.C. appointed Lenin its Editor-in-Chief. The paper was published in Geneva from May 14 (27) to November 12 (25),1905. V. V. Vorovsky, A. V. Lunacharsky and M. S. Olminsky were its regular contributors. A prominent share in the work of the editorial office was taken by Nadezhda Krupskaya, V. A. Karpinsky and Vera Velichkina. p. 158

[99] Paul Lafargue outlined his attitude to the question of the participation of the Russian Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government in an interview given to G. D. Leiteisen during the First Congress of the United Socialist Party of France on October 29 (16), 1905 (see this volume, Document 130 and Note 116). p. 159

[100] A reference to the second edition of Frederick Engels's *Ludwig Feuerbach* translated by G. V. Plekhanov and with an introduction by him. Lenin never wrote the article in which he proposed to comment on Plekhanov's introduction. For Lenin's criticism of some of the propositions advanced by Plekhanov, see *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (present edition, Vol. 14, pp. 151-53). p. 161

[101] *Sketches on the History of the Revolutionary Struggle of the European Proletariat* were printed in *Vperyod* and *Proletary* and later published in pamphlet form in Geneva with an afterword by the author. p. 161

[102] A. V. Lunacharsky's article "The February Revolution and Its Consequences", dealing with the events of 1848, was printed in *Proletary* No. 20, October 10 (September 27), 1905. p. 161

[103] A reference to a letter dated May 26, 1905, from D. S. Postolovsky, a member of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., in which he wrote: "It would be most desirable for Voinov to write, under your guidance, at least once a week a political leaflet which could be sent in manuscript form to the organisations for printing." p. 161

[104] "*Lushin letter*"—"Open Letter to the Delegates of the Third Congress". Konstantin Sergeyevich (N. V. Doroshenko) was removed from work in the St. Petersburg Committee for having

signed it. He was reinstated after Lenin had explained the circumstances. p. 163

[105] The contract with the publishing firm of Maria Malykh (Edelman) was drawn up after the latter had approached Lenin with an offer to publish a number of works by him and other Bolshevik writers.

The contract never materialised since, as P. P. Rumyantsev informed Lenin in his reply to the present letter, the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. had simultaneously begun negotiating in St. Petersburg with the Znaniye Publishers, founded by K. P. Pyatnitsky and Maxim Gorky. In his reply, Rumyantsev asked Lenin for permission to sign the contract with Znaniye. On October 2 (15) Lenin cabled his agreement (see Document 125). The contract with Znaniye was signed on October 21 (8), 1905, by L. B. Krasin and P. P. Rumyantsev. p. 163

[106] A reference to a conference proposed by the International Socialist Bureau with a view to uniting the R.S.D.L.P. (see Lenin's letter to the I.S.B. of September 16, 1905, present edition, Vol. 9, p. 252). p. 164

[107] The C.C., R.S.D.L.P. informed Lenin in a letter dated October 3 (16), 1905, that it had appointed as its representatives at the conference Lenin, F. V. Lengnik and P. P. Rumyantsev. Lenin informed the I.S.B. of this on October 14 (27), 1905 (see present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 390-91). p. 164

[108] *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* (Diary of a Social-Democrat) was published in Geneva by G. V. Plekhanov at irregular and lengthy intervals from March 1905 to April 1912, 16 issues in all. *Dnevnik* resumed publication in Petrograd in 1916, but only one issue came out.

No. 2 of the publication (August 1905) carried an article by Plekhanov, "Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends (A Letter to the Editors of *Proletary*)", intended as a reply to Lenin's "On the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Article One. Plekhanov's Reference to History" (see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 463-74) and accusing Lenin and the Bolsheviks of Blanquism. p. 164

[109] A reference to preparations for the publication of a legal edition of the pamphlet *To the Rural Poor* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 359-430).

The names *Petrov*, *Belov* and *Nolin* mentioned in the letter stand, respectively, for the Maria Malykh, Molot, and Znaniye publishers. p. 165

[110] The feuilleton, entitled "Letter to Workers. II", in *Rabochy* No. 2 was signed "Trety" (Third). The name of the author has not been established.

Rabochy (The Worker)—an illegal popular Social-Democratic paper published, in conformity with the decision of the Third Congress of the Party, by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in Moscow in August-October 1905. The actual editor was A. A. Bogdanov. p. 167

[111] *The Scholtz affair*—an impending suit for damages filed by the Geneva printer Scholtz against the Social-Democratic Demos Publishers for violation of a contract for the printing of Maxim Gorky's play *The Children of the Sun*. Demos Publishers was founded abroad in September 1905 and its editors were I. P. Ladyzhnikov, Yelena Stasova, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and R. P. Avramov.

The Party printing shop which was to set up the play in type did not observe the time limits stipulated in the contract with Scholtz's printery owing to a shortage of type, whereupon the latter presented a claim for damages.

According to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, the matter was settled out of court by paying Scholtz a certain sum of money. p. 167

[112] After Lenin's departure for Russia in the beginning of November 1905, the Economic Commission wound up its affairs and sent the library and Party archives to the address of Branting in Stockholm, where they were stored for some time in the People's House (see this volume, Document 135). p. 169

[113] *The Committee of the Organisations Abroad* (C.O.A.) was elected at a meeting of R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad in December 1911. The composition of the committee changed several times. At the conference of R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad held in Berne from February 27 to March 4, 1915, Nadezhda Krupskaya, Inessa Armand G. L. Shklovsky, and V. M. Kasparov were elected to it. During the war the committee was in Switzerland where it conducted, under the direct guidance of Lenin, extensive work to co-ordinate the activities of the R.S.D.L.P. sections abroad, to combat the social-chauvinists and to unite the internationalist Left of international Social-Democracy. p. 170

[114] G. D. Leiteisen attended the First Congress of the United Socialist Party of France which opened on October 29, 1905, in Châlon. As a token of solidarity with the revolutionary proletariat of Russia he was included in the presidium and was unanimously applauded as he took his place on the platform. A telegram of greetings from *Proletary* was given a warm reception. The congress adopted a resolution moved by Paul Lafargue voicing solidarity with the Russian revolution. p. 171

[115] *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life)—the first legal Bolshevik newspaper published daily from October 27 (November 9) to December 3 (16) 1905, in St. Petersburg. After Lenin's arrival from abroad in the beginning of November it came out under his direct guidance. *Novaya Zhizn* was in effect the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.

On December 2, after 27 issues had come out, it was suppressed by the tsarist government. p. 171

[116] During the Châlon Congress of the Socialist Party of France, G. D. Leiteisen interviewed Bracke-Desrousseaux, Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde. To the main question concerning their attitude towards the participation of the Russian Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government they all answered that they considered such participation obligatory.

The replies were published in full in *Proletary* No. 26, November 25 (12), 1905, under the heading "Guesdists and the Participation of the Russian Social-Democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government". p. 171

[117] A reference to papers that had belonged to Lenin's brother, Alexander Ulyanov, among which were photographs taken in prison, shortly before his execution, at the request of his mother, Maria Ulyanova.

The photographs are now in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., C.P.S.U. p. 173

[118] Etienne Avenard was a correspondent of *l'Humanité* who had interviewed Lenin on February 17 (March 2), 1907, on the subject, "Tactics of the R.S.D.L.P. in the Election Campaign", and sent the text of the interview for Lenin to look over.

As can be seen from the interview as carried by *l'Humanité* all of Lenin's corrections and comments were taken into account by the correspondent see present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 145-51).

L'Humanité—a daily founded in 1904 by Jean Jaurès as the organ of the French Socialist Party. During the imperialist world war (1914-18) the newspaper took a social-chauvinist position.

In 1918 Marcel Cachin, the prominent leader of the French and international working-class movement, became its political director. Since December 1920, after the French Socialist Party split and the French Communist Party was formed, the paper has been the Central Organ of the latter. p. 174

[119] *Novoye Vremya* (New Times)—a daily published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to 1917. At first moderate liberal, it turned into a mouthpiece of reactionary groupings of the nobility and the bureaucratic officialdom after A. S. Suvorin became its publisher in 1876. From 1905 it was the organ of the Black Hundreds. p. 174

[120] *R., Raduga* (Rainbow)—a literary, scientific and political monthly put out in Geneva from June 1907 to February 1908. Its contributors included Maxim Gorky, N. A. Semashko and M. G. Tskhakaya. The "two comrades" referred to probably were B. M. Knunyants and N. A. Semashko, with whom Lenin may have had talks during the Stuttgart Congress of the Second Interna-

tional. The former was a member of the Bolshevik delegation and the latter attended the Congress in a private capacity. p. 175

[121] The reference is to Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, who was abroad in October 1907. She had been asked to send to Lenin from Stockholm Bolshevik publications (the complete file of *Iskra* and issues of *Vperyod* and *Proletary* for 1905) containing articles by Lenin needed for the third volume of the first, three-volume collection of his writings he was preparing for the press. p. 177

[122] Probably Karl Hjalmar Branting, who helped the Bolsheviks to communicate with Russia. p. 178

[123] *Proletary* (The Proletarian)—a Bolshevik illegal newspaper published from August 21 (September 3), 1906, to November 28 (December 11), 1909, and edited by Lenin.

The first 20 issues were set up in type in Vyborg and printed from matrices in St. Petersburg. For reasons of secrecy, the place of publication was given as Moscow. Later, when it became extremely difficult to put out a clandestine publication in Russia, the editors, in conformity with a decision taken by the St. Petersburg and Moscow committees of the R.S.D.L.P., moved the paper first to Geneva and then to Paris. p. 179

[124] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article "A Critique of the Theory and Practice of Syndicalism" published in *Sovremenny Mir* Nos. 11 and 12, 1907, claiming that the neutralist viewpoint on relations between political parties and the trade unions gained the upper hand at the Stuttgart Congress.

Sovremenny Mir (The Modern World)—a literary, scientific and political monthly published in St. Petersburg from October 1906 to 1918. The Mensheviks were closely associated with it. During the bloc between the Bolsheviks and the pro-Party Mensheviks, Bolsheviks also contributed to the journal. In 1914 it became the organ of the social-chauvinists. p. 179

[125] A reference to one of the two official copies of the minutes of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which was left abroad and never recovered. p. 181

[126] *Berner Tagwacht*—a newspaper published by the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland. p. 184

[127] The arrests in Geneva were connected with the changing of money expropriated in Tiflis on June 13, 1907. The organiser of the expropriation, Kamo (Ter-Petrosyan), and all the participants in it managed to escape. But the tsarist authorities informed the police abroad of the serial numbers of the 500-ruble banknotes seized in the expropriation; in December 1907, persons changing these banknotes were arrested simultaneously in Berlin, Munich,

Paris, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Geneva. In November 1907 Kamo was betrayed by the provocateur Y. A. Zhitomirsky and arrested in Berlin. The Russian Government, having established Kamo's identity, secured his extradition as a criminal. During the search for the Tiflis expropriators, arrests were made in the Russian Social-Democratic colonies in Berlin, Paris, Munich, Geneva and Stockholm. Protests against the violation of the right of asylum for political emigrants compelled the West-European police to release the arrested shortly after. p. 184

[128] *Proletary* No. 24 was dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. A. V. Lunacharsky informed Lenin that he could not write the article about the Paris Commune. p. 185

[129] A reference to the inquiry undertaken by the Party into the slanderous accusations levelled by the Mensheviks against M. M. Litvinov in connection with the changing abroad of banknotes seized in the Tiflis expropriation organised by Kamo (see Note 127). Leon Tyszka was a member of the investigation commission at the initial stage of the inquiry. Later the investigation was conducted by the Central Bureau Abroad, but owing to the indiscreet behaviour of Bureau members, the matter was taken out of its hands by decision of the August 1908 plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., and handed over to a special C.C. commission of five members, one each from the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and the national organisations. p. 187

[130] An editorial article containing slanderous accusations against the Bolsheviks in connection with the Tiflis expropriation.

Golos Sotsial-Demokrata (Voice of the Social-Democrat)—a Menshevik organ published abroad from February 1908 to December 1911, first in Geneva, then in Paris. In May 1909 it finally crystallised as the ideological centre of the liquidators. p. 187

[131] *Central Bureau Abroad*, the centre of all R.S.D.L.P. promotion groups abroad, was at the time in the hands of the Mensheviks. In August 1908 a plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., adopted a general decision on the promotion groups and the functions and organisational status of the Central Bureau Abroad. The Bureau consisted of 10 members appointed by the C.C. (including one C.C. member with veto right), and its activities were confined to attending to the needs of the promotion groups abroad and carrying out general Party assignments given it by the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau Abroad. p. 188

[132] The article "The Assessment of the Russian Revolution" was printed in *Proletary* No. 30, May 23 (10), 1908.

Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny (Social-Democratic Review)—a journal published by the Polish Social-Democrats in Cracow in 1902-04 and 1908-10. p. 188

[133] Evidently a reference to the record of M. M. Litvinov's testimony. Litvinov lodged a protest with the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., on March 10, 1908, against the handing of his testimony over to the Central Bureau Abroad. Leon Tyszka, assuming that the C.C. would discuss the protest, had warned F. Kon that the matter was to be kept confidential. p. 188

[134] Lenin evidently stopped over in Brussels on his way to London where he worked on his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in the British Museum. p. 189

[135] The publishers of the Granat Brothers' Encyclopaedia were interested at the time in studies on Russian history. Lenin was invited to contribute in the autumn of 1907, when one of the editors of the Encyclopaedia, A. V. Trupchinsky, made a special trip to Finland to negotiate with him. Lenin agreed to write the essay "The Agrarian System in Russia Towards the Close of the Nineteenth Century", which was published only in 1918 by the Zhizn i Znaniye Publishers under the title "The Agrarian Question in Russia Towards the Close of the Nineteenth Century".

Trupchinsky also visited Lenin in Geneva, where he evidently asked him to write an article on the history of factory industry. The article was never written. p. 191

[136] See Note 127. p. 192

[137] Where Lenin went in the beginning of September 1908 has not been established. p. 193

[138] A reference to the annual dues of the R.S.D.L.P. to the International Socialist Bureau. p. 194

[139] *Le Peuple*—a daily newspaper, the Central Organ of the Belgian Labour Party, published since 1885 in Brussels. At present, organ of the Belgian Socialist Party. p. 195

[140] When the proceedings of the International Socialist Bureau session were published as a separate volume (see *Compte-rendu officiel.* Cand, 1909, pp. 44, 61-62) the text of Lenin's amendment to Kautsky's resolution was corrected in accordance with the enclosure to this letter.

The gist of his speeches at the International Socialist Bureau on the admission of the British Labour Party to the Second International Lenin outlined in his article "Meeting of the International Socialist Bureau" published in *Proletary* No. 37, October 16 (29), 1908 (see present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 231-46). p. 196

[141] A reference to the delegates of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., to the Sixth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, held early in December 1908. p. 197

[142] A reference to arrangements for the membership of the Social-Democratic deputies to the Third Duma in the Inter-Parliamentary Association of the International Socialist Bureau, and payment of their dues. p. 198

[143] A school organised on the Island of Capri by the otzovists, ultimatumists and god-builders as an attempt to create an ideological and organisational centre for a new anti-Bolshevik faction. For more about the Capri school see the resolutions "The Party School Being Set Up Abroad at X" and "The Breakaway of Comrade Maximov" adopted by a conference of the enlarged Editorial Board of *Proletary* in June 1909, and Lenin's articles "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building" and "A Shameful Fiasco" (present edition, Vol. 15, pp. 450, 451; Vol. 16, pp. 29-61, 85-86). p. 201

[144] Evidently the reference is to the M. M. Litvinov inquiry in which representatives of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party were also involved (see this volume, Document 146). p. 203

[145] What the "Yuri-Nikitich" incident was about has not been established. Yuri was the pseudonym of D. S. Grozhan, who toward the end of 1907, on instructions from L. B. Krasin, arranged a private loan to the Party treasury. The incident may have been connected with delay in payment of the debt. p. 203

[146] A reference to Volsky's book *Philosophy of Struggle*, Moscow, 1909. p. 206

[147] After receiving this letter, which was signed also by I. Rubanovich, the representative of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in the International Socialist Bureau, the Bureau called on all socialist parties to protest against the tsar's projected visit to their countries, and if the visit took place, to demonstrate the European workers' attitude towards it.

The Socialist and Labour groups in the Swedish, British, French, Italian and other parliaments introduced interpellations concerning the visit of the tsar, and in Sweden, Germany, Britain, France, Italy and other countries protest meetings and demonstrations were organised. p. 210

[148] *Le Socialisme*—a journal put out in Paris from 1907 to June 1914. Its publisher and editor was the French Socialist Jules Guesde. p. 211

[149] The inter-party hearing of the charges against B. Gertsik by representatives of the Geneva groups of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks), the Bund, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, representatives of the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania and the Zurich group, and Latvian Social-Democracy, found Gertsik unworthy of membership in any revolutionary

organisation. The Geneva Bolshevik group found him to be a provocateur. p. 213

[150] *Rech* (Speech)—a daily, the Central Organ of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, founded in St. Petersburg on February 23 (March 8), 1906, and closed by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917. It continued publication until August 1918 as *Nasha Rech* (Our Speech), *Svobodnaya Rech* (Free Speech), *Vek* (The Age), *Novaya Rech* (New Speech), and *Nash Vek* (Our Age). p. 215

[151] A reference to reviews of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in the journal *Vozrozhdeniye* No. 7-8, May 1909, and *Sovremenny Mir* for July 1909, signed respectively "A—ov" (A. I. Avramov) and "Orthodox" (Lyubov Axelrod).

Vozrozhdeniye (Regeneration)—a journal published legally by the Menshevik liquidators from December 1908 to July 1910 in Moscow. p. 216

[152] *Vorwärts*, the Central Organ of the German Social-Democrats, carried daily in late July and in August 1909 articles and detailed reports on the Barcelona uprising (beginning with No. 174, July 29) and the general strike in Sweden (beginning with No. 178, August 2). Lenin sent the issues to Zinoviev to be used as source material for articles in *Proletary*.

The article by L. B. Kamenev referred to was his "The Liquidation of the Hegemony of the Proletariat in the Menshevik History of the Russian Revolution (How A. Potresov Liquidated G. Plekhanov and *Iskra*)" reviewing the five-volume *The Social Movement in Russia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* put out by the Mensheviks, edited by L. Martov, P. Maslov and A. Potresov. The article was printed in *Proletary* Nos. 47-48 and 49, September 5 (18) and October 3 (16), 1909. p. 216

[153] Probably a reference to the September 1909 issue (No. 2) of *Golos Bunda* (Voice of the Bund), organ of the C.C. of the Bund published illegally in Russia. *Proletary* carried nothing on the subject. A news item about *Golos Bunda* No. 2 appeared in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 9, November 13 (October 31). p. 217

[154] No mention of inviting a representative or students from the Capri school to Paris for talks was made in the reply from the editors of *Proletary* "To the Comrades Workers Who Have Arrived at the School at X", published in the Supplement to *Proletary* No. 47-48, September 11 (24), 1909. p. 219

[155] This letter was written in connection with the circulation abroad by some otzovists of a leaflet alleging that the Bolshevik Centre had declined to render assistance to persons suspected of being involved in an expropriation in the Urals.

In the Supplement to *Proletary* No. 47-48 the editors refuted

the allegation and announced that the Editorial Board of *Proletary* had asked the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., to investigate the matter. p. 220

[156] Karl Kautsky's reply of August 20, 1909, to an invitation to lecture at the Capri school was printed as a separate leaflet and later in the Supplement to issue No. 5 of the Vienna *Pravda* of September 20 (October 3), 1909. Kautsky declined to lecture but welcomed the organisation of the school. Observing that "it would be gratifying if the R.S.D. could at last overcome factional division which weakens it so much", Kautsky urged that philosophical differences should not be brought to the fore in either propaganda or the organisational sphere. p. 222

[157] *Yerogin hostel*—a hostel for peasant deputies to the First Duma in St. Petersburg sponsored by Duma deputy Yerogin, a wealthy landowner, where the peasant deputies were indoctrinated in the spirit of loyalty to the autocracy (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 45-46). p. 222

[158] Evidently a reference to the stand taken by M. N. Pokrovsky as reflected in his conditional and partial support of the leaflet "Report of the Members Removed from the Enlarged Editorial Board of *Proletary* to the Bolshevik Comrades" put out by A. A. Bogdanov and L. B. Krasin. A critique of the leaflet was given by Lenin in his article "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 29-61). p. 224

[159] The letter sent to the Council of the Capri school read as follows: "Dear Comrades! Of the two prospects noted in our letter to you the second has materialised: you do not wish to carry out the decisions of the local organisations but propose to negotiate with the Bolshevik organ only as a separate exclusive group. You know full well that by taking this stand you yourselves are impeding further talks. We can give you only one advice: publish your last letter to us."

However, the School Council published its letter only after the end of the course in "Report of the First Higher Social-Democratic Propaganda and Agitation School for Workers" in Paris late in 1909. p. 225

[160] A reference to the transfer from Geneva to Paris of the Russian Proletarian Library collected by the Social-Democrat G. A. Kuklin, who sided with the Bolsheviks in 1905, and presented by him to the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., in July 1905. A Statement by Kuklin announcing that the library was now the full property of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., was published in *Proletary* No. 7, July 10 (June 27), 1905.

In his reply of October 18, 1909, V. A. Karpinsky, who was in charge of the library, agreed to the transfer to Paris on con-

dition that the library remained independent and would not function under the auspices of the Editorial Board of the Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, but would merge with one of the existing libraries in Paris. p. 225

[161] A reference to a Bolshevik library organised by V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich. In July 1905 Lenin presented it with over 400 titles from his own personal library. p. 226

[162] The background of this letter is as follows: The Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* refused to print Lenin's article "On Methods of Consolidating Our Party and Its Unity" as an editorial and suggested that he submit it as a signed article. In reply Lenin submitted the question of methods of consolidating the Party and its unity for discussion by the Editorial Board and proposed a draft resolution on it (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 77). Lenin and Kamenev voted for the resolution, Martov and Warski were against, and Zinoviev, who in general objected to the adoption of a political resolution on this question, abstained. Since the article and the resolution were rejected, Lenin submitted his resignation from the Editorial Board of the C.O.

The Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Centre drew up a collective statement to the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* from the Bolshevik members of the Board and the representative of the Polish Social-Democrats to the effect that the "incident", being based on a misunderstanding, should be considered closed (see *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 47, p. 287). p. 229

[163] Who asked Lenin to write an essay on the history of Social-Democracy in Russia has not been established. It may have been the editor of "*Schulthers*' *Europäischer Geschichts-Kalender*". p. 231

[164] *Leipziger Volkszeitung*—a Social-Democratic daily published from 1894 to 1933. For a number of years it was edited by Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg and was the organ of the Left Social-Democrats. From 1917 to 1922 it was the organ of the German Independents, and after 1922, of the Right-wing Social-Democrats. p. 231

[165] *Der Kampf*—a monthly, organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, published in Vienna from 1907 to 1934. Its orientation was opportunist, Centrist, camouflaged with Left phraseology. p. 231

[166] A. Ekk (Mukhin) was accused of unseemly behaviour. The case was examined in 1909 by a special commission which found that there was "no grounds for bringing Ekk before a Party court". Ekk was not informed of this decision; in reply to an inquiry addressed to F. E. Dzerzhinsky (Yuzef), he received an answer dated March 9, 1910, that the C.C. of the Party had "endorsed the decision of the commission as it stood". Later, however, the

Ekk case was reopened; the last commission was unable to complete the investigation in view of the outbreak of the First World War. p. 234

[167] A reference to L. B. Kamenev's article "Another 'Critic' of the Proletarian Movement", printed in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 14, June 22 (July 5), 1910. p. 235

[168] The Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. consisted, as decided by the January 1910 plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., of 2 Bolsheviks, 2 Mensheviks, and one representative of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. Its composition was as follows: from the Bolsheviks, Lenin and G. Y. Zinoviev; from the Mensheviks Y. O. Martov and F. I. Dan, and from the Polish Social-Democrats, A. Warski. When Martov and Dan found themselves in the minority on one or another question, they created conflicts and complained to the Central Committee Bureau Abroad about the Bolsheviks and the representative of Polish Social-Democracy. The C.C. Bureau Abroad addressed an inquiry to the C.C. concerning the "extent of the jurisdiction of the C.C. Bureau Abroad in matters relating to conflicts arising in the Editorial Board of the Central Organ". The Bolsheviks proposed to the C.C. that a plenary meeting of the C.C. be called to replace Martov and Dan in the Editorial Board of the Central Organ with pro-Party Mensheviks (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 191-94). p. 235

[169] The journal *Mysl* (Thought), started publication in Moscow in December 1910. It was closed in April 1911, the last issue, No. 5, being confiscated. p. 235

[170] A reference to the Menshevik liquidationist paper *Pravda*, Trotsky's factionalist organ, published in 1908-12. The first issues came out in Lvov and from No. 4 on it was published in Vienna. p. 235

[171] A reference to publication by the Editorial Board of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* in February 1910 in Paris of a leaflet entitled "Letter to the Comrades" and signed by Axelrod, Dan, Martov and Martynov. The authors of the leaflet charged the paper *Sotsial-Demokrat* with having become an affiliate of *Proletary* and declared their intention to continue publishing *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. Lenin analysed this document and gave it a political appraisal in the articles "*Golos* (Voice) of the Liquidators Against the Party (Reply to *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*)" and "Party Unity Abroad" (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 156-64 and 185-89). p. 236

[172] *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 12 carried an unsigned article "On the Party Conference". The letter referred to, "To the Party Organisations (on the Coming Party Conference)", was written by

a commission consisting of G. Y. Zinoviev, I. F. Dubrovinsky and Y. O. Martov. p. 239

[173] A reference to a letter from M. M. Rosen (Ezra), a member of the C.C. of the Bund, addressed to G. Y. Zinoviev. p. 241

[174] *Azefism*—a synonym for political betrayal, from the name of E. F. Azef, a Socialist-Revolutionary leader who proved to be a secret police agent. p. 242

[175] A reference to Lenin's article "*Golos* (Voice) of the Liquidators Against the Party (Reply to *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*)" giving documentary proof of the refusal of the Menshevik liquidator members of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., to take part in the work of the C.C. and even in the session held to co-opt new members (see present edition, Vol. 16, pp. 156-64). p. 243

[176] L. B. Kamenev was delegated to the Editorial Board of Trotsky's *Pravda* after the January 1910 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which put off the question of making the paper an organ of the C.C. until the next Party conference, but decided to subsidise it and to send its representative to the Editorial Board "as a third editor". After the publication in the paper's issue No. 14 of "Letter from *Pravda* to Thinking Workers" in which Trotsky sided with the liquidators and the otzovists, Kamenev withdrew from the Editorial Board. p. 243

[177] A reference to G. V. Plekhanov's article "The Latest Plenary Meeting of Our Central Committee" published in *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* (Diary of a Social-Democrat) No. 11 (March 1910) in which he wrote: "... what is *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* for Mensheviks of a certain orientation? It is in effect their factional—and, moreover, irresponsible—centre. By voting for the resolution pledging the closure of *Golos* ... our 'Mensheviks'—members of the C.C.—laid down on the altar of the Party the heart, so to say, of their faction. The skeptic will say that not all promises are carried out. But, I repeat, we have no right to think that the comrades who gave this promise were insincere." p. 244

[178] The disruption of Party unity by C.C. Bureau Abroad member B. Gorev-Goldman (Igor) referred to here consisted in the following. On March 16, 1910, the C.C. Bureau Abroad published as a leaflet the letter "To All Comrades Abroad" urging all groups to abide by the decisions of the January 1910 plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., to take the most vigorous steps to put an end to the organisational division, to follow the example of the Bolsheviks and close factional organs. Together with the representative of the Bund in the C.C. Bureau Abroad, Gorev-Goldman voted against endorsing the letter. This was made public by the Editorial Board of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* in its "Letter to Comrades". p. 246

[179] A reference to draft resolutions and proposals relating to the agenda of the Eighth International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, and to the report of the R.S.D.L.P.

The report was published in French in pamphlet form under the title "Rapport du Parti socialiste-démocrate ouvrier de Russie au VIII-e Congrès Socialiste International à Copenhague (28 août-3 septembre 1910)"—(Report of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to the Eighth International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen [August 28-September 3, 1910]). p. 247

[180] See Note 127. p. 247

[181] Lenin obtained guest tickets in Copenhagen. One of them was for Inessa Armand. p. 249

[182] A reference evidently to an announcement issued by the Organising Committee for the convocation of the Copenhagen Congress. p. 249

[183] A reference to Lenin's trip to Stockholm to meet his mother, Maria Ulyanova. He left for Stockholm on September 12 and returned to Copenhagen on September 26, 1910. p. 251

[184] The report by Tria (V. Mgeladze) which was to be appended to the R.S.D.L.P. report to the Copenhagen Congress was printed later in Russian by special decision of the Central Organ (see letter to Maxim Gorky of November 14, 1910, present edition, Vol. 34, p. 433). The Tria report is not among the supplements to the Copenhagen Congress report. p. 252

[185] A reference to the anonymous article "Die russische Sozialdemokratie (Von unserem russischen Korrespondenten)" published in *Vorwärts* No. 201 on the opening day of the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International, August 28, 1910. The author was L. Trotsky. Lenin recalls it in his article "The Anonymous Writer in *Vorwärts* and the State of Affairs in the R.S.D.L.P." written in 1912 (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 535). p. 253

[186] The chairman of the meeting of the Editorial Board of the C.O. probably was either A. Warski or his deputy V. Leder. p. 257

[187] One of the questions taken up at the January 1910 plenary meeting of the C.C. was the case of V. K. Taratuta (Victor), a member of the Bolshevik Centre, who demanded that the C.C. institute an inquiry concerning the rumours circulated in the Party defaming him. The plenary meeting appointed an investigation commission which after a thorough inquiry unanimously agreed that there were no grounds whatever for accusing Victor of being a provocateur and cleared his name completely. p. 257

[188] A reference to preparations for the publication of the newspaper *Zvezda* (Star) in St. Petersburg. It came out from December 16 (29),

1910, to April 22 (May 5), 1912. Its successor was *Nevskaya Zvezda* (The Neva Star), started because of frequent confiscations of *Zvezda*. The last issue of *Nevskaya Zvezda* came out on October 5 (18), 1912. The Editorial Board of *Zvezda* originally consisted of V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, N. I. Jordansky (a Plekhanovite) and I. P. Pokrovsky (a representative of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma, a Bolshevik sympathiser). The publisher was Duma deputy N. G. Poletayev, a Bolshevik. p. 258

[189] A reference to the intention of some Bolsheviks in Russia to make *Zvezda* the organ of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma, to which end the Menshevik Duma deputies Gegechkori and Kuznetsov were invited to contribute to it. This led to misunderstandings in the Editorial Board. p. 259

[190] *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn)—a legal monthly published by the Menshevik liquidators in 1910-14 in St. Petersburg. p. 259

[191] It had been learned from V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich that the misunderstanding was due to I. P. Pokrovsky's opposition to the inclusion in the *Zvezda* Editorial Board of the Bolshevik Turutin, for which Lenin's consent had been obtained beforehand. p. 259

[192] A reference to the journal *Mysl* (See Note 169). p. 259

[193] A reference to money needed to publish *Zvezda*. In his letter to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich of December 9, 1910 (see this volume, Document 214) Lenin informed him that the money had been sent. p. 261

[194] On December 17, 1910, Lenin received a circular letter dated December 15, 1910, from the International Socialist Bureau to the parties affiliated with the Second International asking them to consider an amendment to the Copenhagen Congress (1910) resolution on arbitration and disarmament which the Congress had referred to the I.S.B. Since the amendment dealt with strikes of war industry workers as an expedient means of preventing the outbreak of war, the I.S.B. proposed that the parties approach the trade unions concerned and report back to the I.S.B. Lenin made marginal notes on the circular (see *Lenin Miscellany XXV*, pp. 260 and 261). He sent it to the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* for publication, together with the present letter. Neither the circular nor Lenin's letter were published in *Sotsial-Demokrat*. p. 262

[195] The beginning of Kautsky's "Tactical Trends Among German Social-Democrats" was published in the journal *Mysl* No. 5, April 1911. p. 263

[196] A reference to the "Points of Agreement" drawn up by the Polish Social-Democrats, on the one hand, and the Bolsheviks and the conciliators, on the other, and adopted on February 11, 1911, in

Paris, concerning the composition and the immediate tasks of the central Party bodies, and especially to Point 2 of the agreement, which read as follows: "The C.C. is to consist of 4 Bolsheviks+1 Polish Social-Democrat+2 Plekhanovites (variant: 1 Plekhanovite +1 from *Golos*)+1 from the Bund+1 Latvian." This was followed by the reservation which Lenin criticises as reducing the first part of the point to nought: "Only after the Latvian and Bundist have formally announced on behalf of their organisations that they are withdrawing from the C.C. if it is thus constituted, will we demand as the ultimate minimum: 3 Bolsheviks+1 Polish Social-Democrat+1 from *Golos*+1 Plekhanovite+1 Latvian+1 Bundist." The agreement was signed by Leon Tyszka, A. Rykov, G. Zinoviev, and others. p. 266

[197] *Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers' Gazette)—an illegal popular Bolshevik paper published irregularly in Paris from October 30 (November 12), 1910, to July 30 (August 12), 1912. All told nine issues came out. Launched on Lenin's initiative, it was officially founded in August 1910 by decision of a conference of representatives of the Bolsheviks, pro-Party Mensheviks, the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, and other sections of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin was the paper's guiding spirit and editor.

The Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. commended the paper's vigorous and consistent defence of the Party and Party principle and proclaimed it an official organ of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. p. 267

[198] A reference to the plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., known as the "Unity Plenum" held January 2-23 (January 15-February 5), 1910, in Paris. For more detailed information on this meeting see present edition, Vol. 16, Note 76. p. 267

[199] A reference to a statement submitted by B. Gorev (Igor) on February 17, 1911, to the C.C. Bureau Abroad on the question of where to hold the plenary meeting of the C.C. and the candidates put forward by the Mensheviks (see *Lenin Miscellany XVIII*, pp. 16-17). p. 268

[200] According to the rules of the C.C. adopted by the January 1910 plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., alternate members of the C.C. elected by the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and "carrying out Party work of any kind in Russia" could take part in the work of the plenary meeting. The Mensheviks advanced the candidacy of Roman (K. M. Yermolayev), who together with other liquidators had sabotaged the work of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., in Russia for a year and a half. p. 268

[201] The "*58 Mensheviks*" were the members of the "first" (Menshevik) R.S.D.L.P. promotion group in Paris who adopted at a general meeting of the group an appeal "To All Members of the R.S.D.L.P." framed as a resolution on the state of affairs in the Party and later

published as a supplement to *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 24, February 1911. p. 269

[202] A reference to the leaflet "Letter to the Comrades" put out in Paris in February 1911 by the Editorial Board of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. p. 270

[203] The by-election to the Third Duma held in Moscow on March 20 (April 2), 1911. The Social-Democratic candidate was I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, who had been arrested in February and exiled just about the time of the elections for three years to Astrakhan Gubernia. p. 271

[204] A reference to the protests registered by the Bundists Yudin (member of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., in Russia) and Lieber (Ber) (member of the C.C. Bureau Abroad) against the convocation of a C.C. plenary meeting abroad. p. 272

[205] On February 9 (22), 1911, Lydia Knipovich, Lyubov Radchenko V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and others were arrested in St. Petersburg. p. 272

[206] A letter from Tyszka to Lenin and Zinoviev dated March 20, 1911 indicated that Nogin's proposal to hold the meeting of the "Russian members" of the C.C. abroad, made at the end of February or the beginning of March 1911 on the insistence of the Bolshevik Centre Abroad, met with opposition from Yudin and Lindov. After a time Yudin went to the Caucasus to fetch the Menshevik Adrianov with a view to holding the meeting in Russia on their return. The meeting did not take place because Nogin, noticing that his movements were being watched, left Tula and went into hiding for a time. p. 273

[207] A reference to a campaign for what was purported to be a Party conference started in issue No. 18-19 for 1911 of *Pravda*, published by Trotsky in Vienna. The campaign later resulted in the convocation in Vienna of an anti-Party conference of liquidators in August 1912. p. 273

[208] A reference to Lindov (G. D. Leiteisen) whom Rykov in one of his letters to Lenin in 1911 called "a philistine and coward". Lindov, then a member of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Russia, took an indecisive, vacillating position on the question of calling a plenary meeting. p. 275

[209] Out of the eight members of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Russia, four Bolsheviks and one representative of the Polish Social-Democrats. p. 275

[210] The Party School Commission, established by decision of the January 1910 plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., was to

arrange in 1911 additional lectures in Paris for graduates of the *Vperyod* school.

M. L. Veltman-Pavlovich (Volontyor), one of the lecturers at the *Vperyod* school in Bologne, was a member of the party school commission in March 1911. By giving a one-sided, factionalist picture of the work of the commission, he incited the students against it with the result that studies were disrupted. p. 275

[211] *Trybuna*—organ of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, published in Warsaw in 1910 and 1911. The actual editor of the newspaper was Leon Tyszka. p. 276

[212] In a letter to A. I. Rykov dated March 10, 1911 (see this volume Document 220) Lenin refers to a copy of a letter from N. A. Semashko (Alexandrov) a member of the C.C. Bureau Abroad. Lenin here is evidently asking about the same letter. p. 276

[213] Evidently a suggestion that Pokrovsky and Gegechkori should sign the official reply of the parliamentary group to the present letter. p. 277

[214] *Trust funds*—money belonging to the Bolsheviks held by trustees. At the January 1910 ("Unity") plenary meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., held in Paris, an agreement was reached under which the Bolsheviks dissolved their group and turned over its property (funds, printing shop, etc.) to the Central Committee on condition that the other groups likewise disband and pursue a single Party line directed against liquidationism and otzovism. The funds were held in trust by the German Social-Democrats Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin. p. 278

[215] The R.S.D.L.P. Second Promotion Group in Paris formed on November 18 (new style), 1908, separated from the previous Paris group which had included the Mensheviks as well. In 1911 the group included Lenin, Nadezhda Krupskaya, N. A. Semashko, M. F. Vladimirsky, Inessa Armand and other Bolsheviks; A. I. Lyubimov, M. K. Vladimirov and other conciliators, and some *Vperyod* supporters.

A meeting of the group held on July 1 (new style), 1911, discussed the situation in the Party and adopted a resolution drafted by Lenin (see present edition Vol. 17, pp. 216-24) with a majority of 27 votes. Ten votes were cast for a conciliatory resolution submitted by the minority. It is the conciliatory speeches of Lyubimov and Vladimirov at this meeting that Lenin calls "the worst repetition of the worst speeches of the Economists". p. 278

[216] *The "bloc" of the conciliators with the Polish Social-Democrats* (in the present letter the reference is to Tyszka and Leder) was directed against the Bolsheviks. After the June 1911 conference of members of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., abroad at the time, the conciliators Lyubimov and Vladimirov, together with the Polish Social-

Democrat Tyszka, challenged the composition of the Organising Commission Abroad, for the convocation of the Party conference seeking with the support of the Polish Social-Democrats to win the majority in it for the conciliators.

The "*play of intrigue*" on the part of the conciliators and the Polish Social-Democrats with the *Golos* group was expressed in the support they gave to Martov and Dan, who had withdrawn from the Editorial Board of the Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, after the June conference. The fifth member of the Editorial Board, Leder, issued an ultimatum that he would "withdraw" unless two other Mensheviks were brought in. The conciliators sided with the Polish Social-Democrats. p. 278

[217] A reference to a telegram dated December 5, 1911, received by the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. from the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Persia protesting against the intervention of Russian tsarism and British imperialism in the internal affairs of the Persian people. p. 283

[218] *Pravda* (The Truth)—a legal Bolshevik daily; first issue appeared in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), 1912.

The decision to put out a daily mass-circulation workers' paper was taken at the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.

Lenin gave ideological guidance to *Pravda*, wrote for it almost daily, advised its editors. He wanted it to be a militant, revolutionary organ.

The paper was constantly hounded by the police, and on July 8 (21), 1914, it was closed down.

Publication was resumed only after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1917. On March 5 (18), 1917, *Pravda* became the Organ of the Central and St. Petersburg Committees of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 289

[219] *Nevsky Golos* (Neva Voice)—a legal Menshevik-liquidationist weekly published in St. Petersburg from May 20 (June 2) to August 31 (September 13), 1912, by D. F. Kostrov in lieu of *Zhivoye Dyelo* (Vital Cause). All told nine issues came out. p. 290

[220] *Russkiye Vedomosti* (Russian Recorder)—a newspaper voicing the views of the moderate liberal intelligentsia, founded in Moscow in 1863. Beginning with 1905 it was the organ of the Right wing of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. The paper was closed down in 1918 together with other counter-revolutionary publications. p. 291

[221] *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary)—a literary and political monthly published in St. Petersburg in 1911-15. It was a rallying centre for Menshevik liquidators, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular Socialists and Left Liberals. In 1914 Lenin described the orientation of the journal as a "mixture of Narodism and Marxism" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 296). p. 293

[222] *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a daily, the Central Organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, founded by Victor Adler in 1889 in Vienna. It was closed down in 1934 and resumed publication in 1945 as the Central Organ of the Socialist Party of Austria. p. 293

[223] *Nevskaya Mysl* (Kiev Thought)—a bourgeois-democratic daily published from 1906 to 1918. p. 294

[224] *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment)—a legal theoretical Bolshevik monthly published in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914. It was founded on Lenin's initiative as a successor to the journal *Mysl*, which had been closed down.

On the eve of the First World War *Prosveshcheniye* was closed down by the tsarist government. Publication was resumed in the autumn of 1917, but only one double issue came out. p. 294

[225] A reference to Lenin's pamphlet *The Present Situation in the R.S.D.L.P.* (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 203-20). The pamphlet was sent to the delegates to the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany held September 15-21, 1912, in Chemnitz. p. 295

[226] *Russkoye Slovo* (Russian Word)—a daily, founded in 1895 and published in Moscow by I. D. Sytin. Formally independent, it championed the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie from moderate liberal positions.

The newspaper was closed down in November 1917, but it resumed publication in January 1918, first as *Novoye Slovo* (New Word) and then as *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), until July 1918, when it was finally closed down. p. 295

[227] A reference to the so-called August conference of the liquidators held in Vienna in August 1912. The anti-Party August bloc organised by Trotsky was formed there. For more on the August conference of the liquidators see present edition, Vol. 18, Note 109. p. 296

[228] *Zavety* (Behests)—a legal literary and political monthly of Socialist-Revolutionary orientation, published in St. Petersburg from April 1912 to July 1914. p. 297

[229] *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung*—a Social-Democratic daily published from 1890 to 1919. Until 1916 it was under the influence of the Bremen Left Social-Democrats and then was taken over by the social-chauvinists.

The article referred to has not been found. p. 301

[230] A reference to charges of unethical behaviour made against Karl Radek in an inquiry organised by the Chief Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. By decision of the board of inquiry, Radek was expelled from the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

In early September 1913 a commission was set up in Paris on the initiative of the Bureau of the Sections Abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania (Rozlamists) to review the decision.

Lenin supported the review of the Radek case, believing that the charges laid by the Chief Executive stemmed from the acute struggle it was waging against the Rozlamists.

The commission worked for five months and arrived at the conclusion that there were no grounds for the party trial of Radek and his expulsion from the party, and recommended that Radek be considered a member of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and of the R.S.D.L.P. (see the pamphlet *Sprawozdante komisji badajZce jsprawę czlonka S.D.K.P.i.L. Karola Radka*—Report of the Commission Investigating the Case of S.D.P.K.P.L. Member Karl Radek—published in March 1914 by the Bureau of the Sections Abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania).

For background information on the differences between the Chief Executive and the Rozlamists see Lenin's article "The Split Among the Polish Social-Democrats" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 479-84). p. 301

[231] A reference to V. P. Litvinov-Falinsky's book *New Workers' Insurance Laws*, St. Petersburg, 1912, and I. Chistyakov's Workers' Insurance in Russia. *From the History of Workers' Insurance in Connection with Some Other Welfare Measures*, Moscow, 1912. p. 303

[232] On October 17 (30), 1912, the second congress of delegates from the worker curia of St. Petersburg was held to choose the electors from among whom the worker deputy to the Fourth Duma was to be elected. p. 304

[233] *P. I. Sudakov*, a worker, was elected at the first congress of delegates of the workers of St. Petersburg Gubernia held on October 5 (18), 1912, thanks to the vote of *Pravda* supporters. On October 6 (19) he wrote an item entitled "At the Meeting of Delegates" (*Pravda* No. 136) in which he declared himself a supporter of *Pravda* and *Zvezda*. On the following day, October 7 (20), *Luch* No. 19 carried a letter to the Editor from Sudakov in which he went back on the statement he had made in *Pravda*. For more about the Sudakov incident see Lenin's "On Political Spinelessness (Letter to the Editor)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, pp. 266-67. p. 304

[234] A typewritten copy of the present letter verified by Maxim Gorky was preserved among the personal papers of V. A. Desnitsky. It was written in reply to a project sent by Gorky for the collection of material on the history of the revolution. Gorky wrote about this project to V. V. Veresayev on October 8 (New Style) 1912 (Maxim Gorky, *Collected Works*, 30-volume Russian edition, Vol. 29, p. 255).

Gorky proposed to acquire for a museum the library and archives collected by Prince I. D. Bebutov, a Social-Democratic sympathiser. Bebutov had willed the collection to the R.S.D.L.P. and turned it over for safekeeping to the Executive (C.C.) of the German Social-Democratic Party. Through the editor of the St. Petersburg journal *Sovremennik*, Gorky got in touch with Bebutov, who replied that he did not object to his library being transferred to a reliable institution, but the final decision was left until a personal meeting.

What happened afterwards to the Bebutov library is not known. p. 305

[235] A reference to the congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Austria held in Vienna on October 31-November 4, 1912. p. 305

[236] *Y. I. Jagiello*, a member of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) was elected to the Fourth Duma from Warsaw. The Bolsheviks were strongly against his admission into the Social-Democratic Duma group since he had been elected with the support of the bourgeoisie and the bloc of the P.P.S. and the Bund. By a majority of one vote (the decisive vote was cast by a Menshevik) he was nevertheless admitted, but under pressure from the Bolshevik deputies his rights in the group were limited; on all inner-Party questions he was given voice but no vote. For details see Lenin 's article "The Working Class and Its 'Parliamentary' Representatives", and the resolution of the Cracow conference of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries, "The Social-Democratic Group in the Duma" (present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 437-38, 460-61). p. 305

[237] A reference to the *Extraordinary Socialist Congress of the Second International* in Basle on November 24-25 (N. S.), 1912, called to examine the question of struggle against the imminent danger of an imperialist world war, which had been further heightened by the outbreak of the first Balkan war. The congress was attended by 555 delegates. The C.C., R.S.D.L.P. sent six delegates.

At its meeting on November 25 the Congress unanimously adopted a manifesto against war.

In the event of an imperialist war, the manifesto recommended socialists to make use of the economic and political crisis caused by the war to fight for the socialist revolution.

When the First World War broke out, the leaders of the Second International ignored the Basle manifesto and sided with their imperialist governments. p. 306

[238] A reference to Karl Kautsky's article "Der Krieg und die Internationale" (War and the International) in *Die Neue Zeit* No. 6, November 8, 1912, pp. 191-92. p. 306

[239] Huysmans had written Lenin on November 7, 1912, letting him know when the Basle congress was to open and asking him to

attend to the appointment of delegates; informing him of the demonstrations expected to take place in the big European cities on November 17, 1912, against the extension of the theatre of hostilities; asking him to agree to speak at a meeting if invited to do so by any of the parties; informing him of the composition of the resolution committee of the congress, and asking that a representative be appointed to the committee. p. 306

[240] A reference to the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau held in Brussels on October 28-29, 1912, which Lenin did not attend. The meeting decided to call an extraordinary socialist congress. Russia was represented by G. Plekhanov and I. Rubanovich. A special closed sitting was held to discuss Russian affairs but no official report of the sitting was published. Lenin learnt of it from L. Martov's article "The International Bureau on Social-Democratic Unity", published in *Luch* No. 37, October 28, 1912. Lenin replied to Martov in his article "Better Late Than Never" (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 469-70). p. 307

[241] *Luch* (The Ray)—a legal Menshevik-liquidationist daily published in St. Petersburg from September 16 (29), 1912, to July 5 (18), 1913. All told 237 issues came out. The newspaper was mainly financed by donations from liberals. p. 309

[242] A reference to the signing by M. K. Muranov, a deputy to the Fourth Duma, of a letter from the Social-Democratic Duma group protesting against war. A telegram announcing that Muranov was adding his signature was sent by Lenin to Basle on November 24 (N. S.), 1912. p. 310

[243] A reference to the arrest of *Pravda* editor N. N. Baturin in November 1912. p. 311

[244] The C.C., R.S.D.L.P. met in Cracow on November 12 or 13 (25 or 26), 1912, under Lenin's leadership. p. 315

[245] *Co-operative*—code name of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. p. 316

[246] *Dyen* (The Day)—code name for the newspaper *Pravda*. p. 316

[247] For reasons ot secrecy the Social-Democratic deputies in the Fourth Duma were referred to by numbers. No. 1 was A. Y. Badayev; No. 3, R. V. Malinovsky (who later was exposed as a provocateur); No. 4, N. R. Shagov; No. 5, M. K. Muranov; No. 6, G. I. Petrovsky; and No. 7, F. N. Samoilov. p. 316

[248] *Misha's collegium*—evidently code name for the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 316

[249] At the close of 1912 the business end of *Pravda* had been neg-

lected by the official personnel to such an extent that there was reason to suspect embezzlement and other abuses. p. 317

[250] Letters Nos. 262 and 264 were published in 1960 in the journal Istorichesky Arkhiv (Historical Archives) No. 2 as having been written by Nadezhda Krupskaya.

In preparing Vol. 48 of *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., for the press it was established that they had been written by Lenin but, for reasons of secrecy, had been copied by Krupskaya in invisible ink between the lines of letters sent openly through the mail. p. 317

[251] A reference to a declaration by the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma based on Lenin's theses "Concerning Certain Speeches by Workers' Deputies" (see present edition, Vol. 18, pp. 413-19).

In accordance with Lenin's advice, the declaration included practically all the main points of the minimum programme. However, the Mensheviks succeeded in inserting the demand for cultural-national autonomy. On December 7 (20), 1912, the declaration of the Social-Democratic group was read out in the Duma.

In December 1912 talks were conducted, on the insistence of the liquidators in the Social-Democratic Duma group, on the merging of *Pravda* and *Luch* into a "non-factional workers' newspaper". As a result of the talks, the Bolshevik deputies of the Duma A. Y. Badayev, G. I. Petrovsky, F. N. Samoilov and N. R. Shagov announced in *Luch* No. 78 on December 18, 1912, that they were joining the staff of *Luch* and the seven liquidator deputies declared they were joining the *Pravda* staff. But on January 30, 1913 the Bolshevik deputies left *Luch* owing to disagreement with the liquidationist line of the paper (see present edition, Vol. 35, p. 84, and Note 98). p. 321

[252] Camille Huysmans wrote Lenin on December 5 (N. S.), 1912 that he considered the replacement of the representative of the R.S.D.L.P. in the I.S.B. a temporary expedient, and that the final decision on representation could be taken after agreement had been reached between Lenin "and the other Social-Democratic faction" (i.e., the liquidators). p. 324

[253] The reference is to the meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. with Party workers, called, for reasons of secrecy, the "February" meeting. It was held in Cracow from December 26, 1912, to January 1 1913 (January 8 to 14, 1913). p. 326

[254] *Federation of the worst type* is the way the decisions of the 1912 Prague Party Conference describe the relationships with the national (non-Russian) Social Democratic organisations which existed within the R.S.D.L.P. since the Fourth (Unity) Congress, when the "non-Russians" worked "in total isolation from Russian organisations", which had an extremely adverse effect upon the whole

work of the R.S.D.L.P. (for further details see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 464 and Vol. 18, pp. 411-12). p. 330

[255] The Social-Democratic Party of Austria was dissolved as a united party in 1897 at the Wiemberg (Vienna) Congress and a federative union of six national "Social-Democratic groups": the German, Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Italian and Southern Slav, was established in its stead. All these groups were linked merely by a common congress and a common Executive Committee. At the Brünn Congress in 1899 the party's Executive Committee was reorganised into a federative body consisting of executive committees of the national Social-Democratic parties. p. 330

[256] [256] Lenin is referring to the "Draft Conditions of Amalgamation of the Bund with the R.S.D.L.P." adopted at the Fourth (Unity) Congress or the R.S.D.L.P. held in 1906, from April 10 to 25 (April 23 to May 8) (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh*..., Part I, 1954, pp. 134-35). p. 331

[257] See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1967, p. 474. p. 332

[258] *Hamburger Echo*—a daily, organ of the Hamburg organisation of the German Social-Democratic Party, founded in 1875 as *Hamburg-Altonaer Volksblatt*. From 1887 to the present day has appeared under the name of *Hamburger Echo*. The paper was closed down by the nazi government in March 1933 and resumed publication in April 1946. p. 332

[259] Lenin's letter is a reply to that of G. M. Vyazmensky, Manager of the Archives of the Russian Social-Democrats in Berlin, who asked Lenin to send Polish illegal literature and all illegal publications of the R.S.D.L.P. to stock the archives; he offered to send *Izvestia* of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. for 1907 which Lenin saw during his first visit to the archives in the summer of 1912 and which he badly needed. p. 334

[260] *Izvestia* of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.—an illegal Bolshevik newspaper published in St. Petersburg from July 16 (29) to October 11 (24), 1907. Three numbers were issued. p. 334

[261] This was a letter or introduction by Lenin to N. V. Kuznetsov (Sapozhkov) sent to Paris, in which Lenin apparently asked that illegal Social-Democratic literature for the socialist archives in Berlin be handed over to Vyazmensky. According to Vyazmensky's report, he visited Paris in January-February 1913 and Kuznetsov handed over to him several valuable numbers of illegal publications by the Bolshevik committees of the Urals. p. 334

[262] What apparently interested Lenin in No. 4 of *Luch* for January 5, 1913, was a paragraph "Representation on the International Bureau" written in reply to a paragraph under the same heading in

Pravda No. 201 for December 23, 1912. The liquidators declared in *Luch* that they considered representation of the R.S.D.L.P. on the I.S.B. (Lenin and Plekhanov) to be one-sided and raised the question of the absence on the I.S.B. of a representative of the Menshevik Organising Committee. p. 335

[263] This refers to the reorganisation of the Editorial Board of *Pravda* on the basis of the decisions of the Cracow meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries. The absence of news about the beginning of this reorganisation caused Lenin grave concern, since in January 1913 *Pravda* again made a number of mistakes in its work. On January 15 and 23 the newspaper published letters to the editor from deputy Y. I. Jagiello, Polish Socialist Party member, in which he advertised himself as a representative of the Polish working class; on January 17 and 24 *Pravda* published front-page advertisements announcing the current issues of the liquidators' newspaper *Zeit*, the organ of the Bund; *Pravda* displayed indecision in the fight against the liquidators; despite the recommendations of the Cracow meeting, it did not publish certain articles forwarded to it by the C.C. Bureau Abroad, etc.

On January 22 (O.S.) a joint meeting of members of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., in Russia with *Pravda* editorial staff was held, attended by 12 persons, among them C.C. members Y. M. Sverdlov, G. I. Petrovsky, F. I. Goloshchokin, Secretary of the C.C. Bureau Vera Lobova and others. A report was made at the meeting on the decisions of the C.C. and the Cracow meeting concerning the reorganisation of the Editorial Board; Y. M. Sverdlov was endorsed as editor of the newspaper with the right of veto and censorship of all articles; a member of the St. Petersburg Committee was elected to the Board for the purpose of closer contact with the St. Petersburg Bolshevik organisation, and Konkordia Samoilova was endorsed as secretary of the Editorial Board.

As a result of these measures, the general level of the newspaper rose. From February 10 (O. S.) a Sunday supplement was issued in the form of loose sheets. The paper's circulation increased. In a number of subsequent letters Lenin noted a considerable improvement in the work of the Editorial Board.

Zeit—a weekly, organ of the Bund, published in Yiddish in St. Petersburg from December 20, 1912 (January 2, 1913), to May 5 (18), 1914. p. 335

[264] Lenin is referring apparently to the paragraph "A Quibble" published in *Pravda* No. 6, January 8, 1913, in which *Pravda* denounced the improper conduct of the newspaper *Luch*, but made a mistake in quarrelling with the editors of the journal *Rabochy Golos* over minor questions not involving principles.

The journal *Rabochy Golos* (Worker's Voice), organ of the Textile Workers Trade Union, was being prepared for the press, but did not appear. p. 335

[265] This refers to N. G. Poletayev's incorrect attitude to the withdrawal of Bolshevik deputies of the Duma from the staff of the liquidationist newspaper *Luch*. Poletayev considered that mutual collaboration of Bolsheviks and liquidators in *Pravda* and *Luch* was permissible. This point of view was denounced by Lenin. p. 337

[266] After the appearance of the first number of *Pravda*, Poletayev left St. Petersburg and withdrew from the newspaper. His absence led to the closing down of *Nevskaya Zvezda* ("big sister"). Lenin attached great importance to Poletayev's work in *Pravda*. p. 337

[267] In 1913 A. Bogdanov began to publish his book *The Universal Organisational Science* (*Tectology*), in which he elaborated his empirio-monistic theories. p. 338

[268] This refers to the protest of the R.S.D.L.P. delegation at the Basle Congress against the improper action of the Secretariat of the International Socialist Bureau, who had declared that the delegates of the R.S.D.L.P. had no right to endorse the mandates of the Polish opposition delegates at the Basle Congress and that the five delegates of the Polish opposition sitting in would figure in the Congress report under an "X" sign. p. 339

[269] This refers to the names of the writers of unsigned articles published in the Leninist *Iskra*, *Proletary* and *Sotsial-Demokrat*. p. 339

[270] *Severniye Zapiski* (Northern Notes)—a literary and political monthly. Appeared in St. Petersburg in 1913-17. p. 340

[271] This apparently refers to L. B. Kamenev's pamphlet *The Essence of Liquidationism* which was to have been put out by the Priboi Publishers. p. 341

[272] On April 13 (26), 1913, Lenin lectured in Leipzig on the subject of "Social Revival in Russia and the Tasks of the Social-Democrats". p. 341

[273] Exactly what leaflet of the C.C. of the Lettish Social-Democrats Lenin is referring to has not been established. Probably it is a notice about the convocation of the Fourth Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats, issued abroad shortly before, and published in the Central Organ *Zihņa* (Struggle) on March 29, 1913.

The leaders of the Lettish Bolsheviks reprinted this notice in their organ *Biletens* (Bulletin) with critical comments concerning the agenda of the congress drawn up by the liquidationist C.C., as it revealed a tendency to evade key issues of principle. They criticised most sharply the point of the C.C. decision which stated the latter's intention of making no preparations for the congress until 3,000 rubles had been paid in to the C.C. account for this purpose. The Lettish Bolsheviks regarded this as a further attempt to put off the congress, the convocation of which was insistently demanded by the bulk of the membership. p. 342

[274] Following Lenin's advice the Lettish Bolsheviks came out at the Fourth Congress of the Lettish Social-Democrats with their own platform and draft resolutions. The draft platform for the congress was written by Lenin in May 1913 and published in August 1913 in the newspaper *Ciņas Biedrs* No. 4 (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 110-18). p. 343

[275] Troyanovsky, in his letter of May 15 (N. S.), 1913, asked Kamenev to write an answer to the article by the Menshevik liquidator S. Semkovsky (S. Y. Bronstein) "Die Wiederbelebung des russischen Proletariats" (The Rebirth of the Russian Proletariat) published in the journal *Der Kampf* No. 8, May 1, 1913. He promised the support of D. B. Ryazanov in getting the article published in *Der Kampf*. p. 344

[276] This refers to the international congress of the Second International which was to have been held in Vienna in August 1914. Owing to the outbreak of the imperialist world war the congress was not held. p. 344

[277] The *general strike in Belgium* began on April 14 (N. S.), 1913, and lasted till the 24th. *Pravda* regularly reported the progress of the strike and published information on donations made by Russian workers for the benefit of the strikers. For further details about this strike see Lenin's article "Lessons of the Belgian Strike" (present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 234-35). p. 345

[278] This refers to the second article of Berzin's series "Notes on Tactics", published in May 1913 in No. 2-3 of *Biletens* of the Bureau of Lettish Social-Democrat Groups Abroad with the sub-heading "Principles of Party Unity". In this article Berzin misinterpreted the decision of the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1906) concerning the conditions for amalgamation of the Lettish S.D.L.P. with the R.S.D.L.P. p. 346

[279] This refers to the decisions of the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., namely: 1) "Conditions for amalgamation of the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania with the R.S.D.L.P."; 2) "Draft conditions for amalgamation of the Lettish Social-Democratic Labour Party with the R.S.D.L.P."; 3) "Draft conditions for amalgamation of the Bund with the R.S.D.L.P." (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh*..., Part I, 1954, pp. 132-35). p. 347

[280] See *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh*..., Part I, 1954, p. 203. p. 347

[281] Lenin is referring to the resolution of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. "The Absence of Delegates from the Non-Russian National Centres from the General Party Conference" (see present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 464-65). p. 348

[282] This refers to the re-election of the Executive of the St. Petersburg Metalworkers' Union. The meeting, held on August 25 (Sep-

tember 7), 1913, was attended by about three thousand people. Despite the attempts of the liquidators to set the meeting against the Bolshevik Executive, the vast majority, amid applause, adopted a resolution expressing appreciation of the Executive's activities. The liquidators' list collected only some 150 votes. The Bolshevik list, published beforehand in the newspaper *Severnaya Pravda*, was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Secretary of the Executive of the St. Petersburg Metalworkers' Union up till August 25 (September 7),1913, was the liquidator V. Abrosimov, who was subsequently exposed as an agent provocateur. p. 350

[283] On the closing of the debate on the estimates of the post and telegraph department in the Fourth Duma on May 22 (June 4), 1913, voting was held on the motion of the Duma Cadet group calling for a 7-hour day for post and telegraph employees. The Duma Social-Democratic group, on the basis of Point 3 (h) of the resolution on "The Social-Democratic Group in the Duma" adopted at the Fifth (All-Russia) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1908, abstained from voting. As a result the motion for a 7-hour day for post and telegraph employees was rejected. Polemising with *Luch* in its articles "Liberal Failure" (issue No. 117 for May 23) and "*Luch* Against the S. D. Group" (issue No. 119 for May 25, 1913), *Pravda* defended the wrong action of the S. D. group in the Duma.

After Lenin's remark, this error was rectified.

In the resolution of the 1913 Poronin meeting of the C.C. with Party officials on "Social-Democratic Activities in the Duma" Point 3 (h) was revised and endorsed in a new and improved wording. p. 351

[284] The article by M. S. Olminsky (Vitimsky), "*Pravda*", devoted to the appearance of the paper in enlarged format was published in No. 123 for May 30, 1913.

In the same issue *Pravda* published the fragment of a poem by the American poet, Horace Traubel, a former workman "Common Men and Women" translated by L. Stal. p. 352

[285] Lenin is referring to A. Bogdanov's letter-statement "A Factual Explanation" published in No. 120 of *Pravda*, May 26, 1913, in which Bogdanov tried to refute the fact, pointed out by Lenin in his article "Controversial Issues", that negation of Duma work and of the employment of other legal possibilities derived from "Vperyodism" (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 154). Together with his letter "The Question of Mr. Bogdanov and the *Vperyod* Group" (ibid., pp. 173-74) Lenin sent in to *Pravda* a paragraph directed against Bogdanov's distortion of the Party's history (this paragraph was not published at the time and has not yet been found). After the writing of his article "Ideology" containing undisguised propaganda of Machist views Bogdanov was struck off the list of *Pravda* contributors. p. 352

[286] In April-June 1913 *Pravda* carried articles by Plekhanov "Under a Hail of Bullets (Passing Notes)". One of them was directed against A. N. Potresov, "Mr. Potresov in the Role of My Accuser" (Nos. 112 and 114 for May 17 and 19, 1913). Following this *Pravda* published no more articles by Plekhanov up to June 7, while Potresov, in his feuilleton "In the Grip of His Past (On Plekhanov)" published in *Luch* Nos. 119, 121 and 122 for May 25, 28 and 29, 1913, continued to "fling mud" at Plekhanov. Criticism of Potresov's attacks on Plekhanov is given in Lenin's article "Working-Class Party and Liberal Riders (On Potresov)" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, pp. 287-88). p. 353

[287] *Bulletin périodique du Bureau Socialiste International* was published in French, English and German in Brussels from 1910 to 1914. p. 355

[288] Meaning someone connected with Nikitich (the revolutionary pseudonym of L. B. Krasin). This might refer to the Social-Democrat V. N. Malyantovich, who lived in Odessa in 1901-07. He was the brother of the Moscow lawyer P. N. Malyantovich. p. 355

[289] The person in question was engineer B. N. Smirnov, who lived in Berne at the time. Kasparov was of the opinion that financial support for the Party could be received from Smirnov. p. 359

[290] *Severnaya Pravda* (Northern Truth)—one of the names under which the Bolshevik *Pravda* was issued from August 1 (14) to September 7 (20), 1913. Altogether 31 numbers were issued. p. 359

[291] *Rabochaya Pravda* (Workers' Truth)—one of the names under which the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* was issued from July 13 (20) to August 1 (14), 1913. p. 359

[292] *Zhivaya Zhizn* (Living Life)—a legal daily of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from July 11 (24), 1913; it was a successor to the liquidators' newspaper *Luch*. Altogether 19 numbers were issued. The paper was closed down on August 1 (14).

A critical analysis of Vera Zasulich's article "Apropos of a Certain Question" was given by Lenin in his article "How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism" (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 394-416). p. 359

[293] *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (New Workers' Gazette—a daily newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg in lieu of *Zhivaya Zhizn* from August 8 (21), 1913, to January 23 (February 5), 1914. Lenin often called it "New Liquidators' Gazette". p. 359

[294] *Nash Put* (Our Way)—a legal workers' newspaper published in Moscow. The first number appeared on August 25 (September 7), 1913. Lenin took an active part in the newspaper. On September

12 (25), 1913, the paper was closed down; altogether 16 numbers were issued. Moscow's workers retaliated by a strike, but publication was not resumed. p. 360

[295] *Za Pravdu* (For Truth)—one of the names under which the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* was published from October 1 (14) to December 5 (18), 1913. Altogether 52 numbers were issued, of which 21 were confiscated and 2 were fined. p. 361

[296] The article "A Meeting of Marxists" in No. 8 of the newspaper *Za Pravdu* for October 12, 1913, lives a detailed report of the Poronin meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries held September 23-October 1 (October 6-14), 1913. The writer of this article was M. Chernomazov, who was subsequently found to be an agent of the secret political police. p. 361

[297] This refers to the articles by G. I. Petrovsky, "My Impressions" (concerning his visit to Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, and Kherson and Poltava gubernias) and "Foul Play" (concerning the Beilis case), and the article by the "former conciliator" N. Borin (N. Krestinsky), "Two Moral Measures". These articles were not reprinted. p. 361

[298] *X*—K. A. Komarovsky (B. G. Dansky). He joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1911, wrote for *Zvezda* and *Pravda* and took part in the insurance movement; in 1913-14 he was a member of the Editorial Board of the Bolshevik journal *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*. In order to discredit the Bolsheviks the liquidators accused Dansky of working in the bourgeois press. The Party committee investigating this accusation found that Dansky since joining the ranks of the Bolshevik Party, had ceased working in the bourgeois press, and therefore recognised him as an honest member of the Party and qualified the accusation levelled against him by the liquidators as slander.

The question of Komarovsky was dealt with a second time by a committee consisting of representatives of the newspaper *Za Pravdu* and the journals *Prosveshcheniye* and *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*, 6 worker deputies, in the Duma, members of the staff of the Priboi Publishers and a representative of the "organised Marxist workers". The committee's findings published in No. 32 of the newspaper *Za Pravdu* for November 10, 1913, under the heading "An End to Slander", stated that "the committee sees no obstacles whatever to X's continued contributions to Marxist publications and to his presence in comrades' midst".

The liquidators' smear campaign against Komarovsky was mentioned by Lenin in the Report of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 524). p. 362

[299] *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* (Insurance Questions)—a Bolshevik legal journal, appeared in St. Petersburg at intervals from October 1913 to March 1918. Among its contributors were prominent

organisers of the insurance campaign, such as the Bolsheviks N. A. Skrypnik, P. I. Stučka, A. N. Vinokurov and N. M. Shvernik. p. 364

[300] The reference is to the article by M. Chernomazov (Firin), "An Answer to D. Koltsov", published in *Za Pravdu* No. 42, November 23, 1913. The article was in response to "An Open Letter to M. Firin" by the Menshevik Koltsov (B. Ginsburg) published in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 87, November 20, 1913. Koltsov, who took part in the smear campaign against the Bolsheviks in connection with the Dansky affair (see Note 298), accused Chernomazov of lying and slander because the latter declared that Koltsov himself, while serving in the Council of the Oil Industrialists' Congress in Baku, had acted in a similar role as Dansky, who was accused of political double-dealing by *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*. In his "An Answer to D. Koltsov", beginning with the address "Dear Comrade", Chernomazov stated that he had read "An Open Letter to M. Firin" with "a feeling of deep pain" and upheld his position in a polemic with Koltsov.

This document is a postscript to L. B. Kamenev's letter addressed to the editors of *Za Pravdu*. p. 365

[301] This letter to the editors of *Za Pravdu* was the second letter written by Lenin on receipt of the first reports concerning the decisions of the December meeting of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International on the question of unity within the R.S.D.L.P. (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 516-18).

The December meeting of the I.S.B., held in London on December 13 and 14 (N. S.), 1913, adopted a resolution on this point moved by Kautsky on behalf of the German delegation. In a speech on December 14 introducing his resolution Kautsky declared that "the old Social-Democratic party in Russia has disappeared". It was to be restored on the basis of the Russian workers' urge for unity. In his articles "A Good Resolution and a Bad Speech" and "Kautsky's Unpardonable Error" Lenin examined the resolution and qualified Kautsky's speech as monstrous (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 528-30 and 546-47).

At a conference held in July 1914 in Brussels in accordance with a decision of the I.S.B., the leaders of the Second International, under the guise of "reconciling" the Bolsheviks with the liquidators, demanded of the Bolsheviks that they cease their criticism of the liquidators. The Bolsheviks refused to bow to this demand and continued their irreconcilable struggle against the liquidators, the enemies of the labour movement. p. 366

[302] In connection with the December meeting of the I.S.B. the liquidationist *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (No. 97 for December 3, 1913) published a telegram from London reporting that the Bolsheviks' demand that the Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma (the Six) should be represented by one of its members in the Interparliamentary Section of the Second International was rejected by the I.S.B. As a matter of fact this question was not discussed by

the I.S.B. and the Bolsheviks presented no such demand, since according to the Rules of the Inter-Parliamentary Section only one socialist group from each parliament, the one that had most deputies, was to be represented on it. In the case of the Russian Duma this representative was one of the liquidationist "Seven", who had a nominal majority of one. This question was dealt with by Lenin in his article "How the Liquidators Are Deceiving the Workers" (see *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 24, pp. 205-07). p. 367

[303] Apparently this refers to an article by Lenin in connection with the decision of the December meeting of the I.S.B. and the slanderous Campaign which the liquidationist newspapers raised around the resolution of the meeting calling for a "unity" conference of the R.S.D.L.P.

The decision of the Cracow meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries "On the Reorganisation and the Work of the Editorial Board of the Newspaper *Pravda*" stated that all articles, which the C.C. considers obligatory for publication, should be published immediately (over an agreed signature)" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth [Russian] Ed., Vol. 22, p. 270). This agreed signature were the letters "KKK". The C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. reaffirmed this decision at its meeting in December 1913: "The former ruling to the effect that articles sent in over the prearranged letters are to be published immediately and without modification remains in force" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4, 1959, p. 42). p. 370

[304] This refers to the journey of a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region which was held in Brussels from January 13 to 26 (January 26 to February 8), 1914. The name of the delegate has not been established. p. 371

[305] Lenin's meeting with I. Rudis-Gipslis and I. E. Herman took place in Berlin at Herman's rooms. p. 373

[306] Apparently Lenin asked Milyutin to send him the article "On Certain Aspects of A. Bogdanov's Philosophy". The article was published in February 1914 in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* No. 2 over the signature of Vl. Pavlov (V. P. Milyutin). p. 376

[307] On January 9 (22), 1914, Lenin addressed two meetings of Social-Democrats in Paris devoted to the anniversary of January 9, 1905. p. 377

[308] On the eve of the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region, the evening of January 25 (N. S.), 1914, Lenin delivered a lecture in Brussels for the Congress delegates on the national question, which was listened to with tremendous interest. His meeting with the delegates was exceptionally cordial.

The Congress, which opened the next day, was a turning point in the history of the S. D. Party of the Lettish Region. It adopted

resolutions of a Bolshevik nature on practically all questions, except for certain amendments which the Mensheviks and conciliators contrived to wangle. The Congress's greatest achievement was the election of a Central Committee that took a Bolshevik stand and the passing of the Central Organ *Zihna* into the control of Bolshevik adherents. p. 377

[309] *The Bulletin of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.* was issued in accordance with the decision of the Poronin conference to furnish information on the activities of the Central Committee and the work of the local organisations.

No. 1 of the *Bulletin* appeared in January 1914 in Paris. Owing to lack of funds its publication was discontinued. p. 378

[310] I. F. Popov, during his stay in Brussels in January 1914, made contact, through the local organisations of the Belgian Worker's Party, with Belgian seamen of a merchant vessel plying between Antwerp and Southern Russian ports. Popov asked the seamen to ship illegal Party publications to Russia. His proposal was approved by Lenin. During his visit to Brussels to attend the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region Lenin met two representatives of the Belgian seamen and talked with them about conditions of the revolutionary work in Russia. p. 382

[311] In his letter dated January 29 (N. S.), 1914, Camille Huysmans expressed his regret at not having met Lenin at the Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region and asked Lenin personally to make a brief report on the state of affairs within the R.S.D.L.P. before leaving Brussels. He suggested meeting at 8.30 p.m. in the Maison du peuple, Brussels. p. 383

[312] Lenin received *Vorwärts* in exchange for Bolshevik publications. V. M. Kasparov answered Lenin on March 4 (N. S.), 1914, that he had called at the *Vorwärts* Forwarding Office where he had been told that literature was being sent to Lenin regularly, and it he did not receive it, that meant it was being confiscated. p. 385

[313] *Priboi people*—contributors to and members of the staff of the legal Bolshevik publishing house Priboi. This publishing business was founded in St. Petersburg at the beginning of 1913 and was controlled by the C.C. of the Party. Owing to increased persecution of the labour press by the tsarist government following the outbreak of the war Priboi had to close down and did not resume publishing activities until March 1917. In 1918 Priboi merged with the publishing house Kommunist, which was formed as a result of the merger of various publishing houses (Volna, Zhizni Znaniye and others). p. 385

[314] Kamenev's article on A. Bogdanov's book *An Introduction to*

Political Economy issued by the Priboi Publishing House appeared in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* No. 3 for March 1914. p. 386

[315] *Marxism and Liquidationism. A Symposium of Articles on the Fundamental Issues of the Modern Labour Movement. Part II* was published in July 1914 by Priboi, the Party's publishing house. The collection was to have been in two parts, whose contents were announced in the newspaper *Put Pravdy* No. 42, March 21, 1914.

Part I of the collection did not appear. Several dozen copies of Part II, which the publishers were late in taking delivery of from the printers, were confiscated. The bulk of the edition, however, was distributed. Part II contained fourteen articles by Lenin besides the preface and the conclusion, which were also written by him. p. 386

[316] This refers to a meeting called by the All-Russia Literary Society in January 1916 in connection with the increased persecution of the press and the reactionary bill on the press which the government was preparing. The decisive role at this meeting was played by the representatives of the liberals and liquidators; a liberal resolution was adopted. p. 386

[317] This refers to the raiding of funds for organising a Party congress. An agreement on financial subsidies was reached with certain leaders of the liberal-bourgeois party of Progressists, notably with A. I. Konovalov ("Pryanik") (see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 6, 1958, pp. 8-13). p. 390

[318] On March 3 (N. S.), 1914, Camille Huysmans sent a letter to Lenin demanding that his report to the International Socialist Bureau be forwarded to him as quickly as possible and telling him that information concerning the situation within the R.S.D.L.P. had been received from the liquidators. p. 390

[319] In his letter of March 12 (N. S.), 1914, I. Rudis-Gipslis criticised the conciliatory nature of some of the resolutions adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region, and especially the inclusion in the resolution on the attitude to the R.S.D.L.P. of the proposal by the conciliators of J. Janson-Braun, which obliged the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region temporarily, "until the business of unification was on firm ground", to abstain from organisational contacts with either the C.C. or the O.C. He reported that the comrades in the local areas, too, were displeased with the conciliatory resolutions of the congress and believed that the fight against the conciliators would have to go on. p. 392

[320] Articles on the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region citing resolutions of the congress were published

in the supplement to No. 50 of *Put Pravdy* for March 30, 1914 under the heading "The Baltic Region". p. 392

[321] In his letter of March 10 (N. S.), 1914, Huysmans asked I. F. Popov to deliver Lenin's report to the International Socialist Bureau as soon as possible.

The same day Huysmans wrote to Lenin apologising for the ironical tone of his previous letter written in an unofficial capacity. p. 393

[322] Elections to the *Insurance Council* in St. Petersburg were held on March 2 (15), 1914. A sharp struggle developed around these elections between the Bolsheviks on the one hand, and the liquidators and Socialist-Revolutionaries on the other. The liquidators suffered complete defeat at these elections, three-fourths of the electors' meeting declaring in favour of the Bolsheviks' electoral platform and rejecting that proposed by the bloc of the liquidators and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The defeat of the liquidators was further demonstrated at the elections to the All-Russia Insurance Agency. Of the 57 delegates 82 per cent were Pravdists. p. 394

[323] *M-me Caillaux*—the wife of Joseph Caillaux, French statesman, Radical, Minister of Finance in 1913. In response to the hounding campaign raised against him by the nationalist Gaston Calmette, editor of *Le Figaro*, M-me Caillaux fired at Calmette in March 1914 and mortally wounded him. Joseph Caillaux was obliged to resign. p. 394

[324] *Sozialistische Monatshefte*—a journal, leading mouthpiece of the German opportunists and one of the organs of international revisionism; appeared in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. During World War I (1914-18) it adopted a social-chauvinist stand. p. 397

[325] The collection *The Beginning* was published in Saratov in 1914. The first item in this collection was an article by N. Vladimirov "Encounters and Reflections", describing meetings with G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, V. I. Lenin, L. Martov, A. N. Potresov and Maxim Gorky. p. 398

[326] This refers to the campaign started against A. V. Antonov (Britman), a member of the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad, by the *Vperyod* group and G. A. Alexinsky, who accused him of betraying, during the interrogation, his comrades charged with him in connection with the case of the Kronstadt organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906. This accusation was quashed as far back as in 1907 by the decision of a committee of ten political convicts (Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and non-party people) of whom six were former codefendants in the trial. The committee's decision was communicated the same year to Lenin and the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P., who considered Antonov not guilty and did not

restrict his rights as a Party member. Alexinsky raised the "Antonov case" again in 1912-14 with the aim of using it against the Bolsheviks, who, he alleged, had been "shielding a traitor".

On April 18 (N. S.), 1914, the Paris section of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad adopted a resolution expressing indignation at Alexinsky's behaviour and breaking off all relations with him. On June 10, 1914, the Committee of the Organisations Abroad passed a resolution calling on the socialist organisations in Paris and all Party centres (Russian and national) to vigorously rebuff the provocative tricks of Alexinsky and members of the *Vperyod* group, to deny recognition of the *Vperyod* group as a political organisation and not to enter into any relations with it. On June 20 this resolution was supported by a general meeting of the Paris section of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad. This fact was mentioned by Lenin in the Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 525). p. 398

[327] This telegram was sent on Workers' Press Day, timed to the second anniversary of the newspaper *Pravda*. p. 399

[328] On May 3 (N. S.), 1914, F. N. Samoilov wrote Lenin that he was in the Berne town sanatorium, and that the doctor—a specialist in nervous diseases—advised him to do a little manual work.

G. L. Shklovsky wrote to Lenin on May 12 that Samoilov had been fixed up with work in the open air. p. 399

[329] *Zhina* (Struggle)—a newspaper, Central Organ of the Lettish Social-Democrats; founded in March 1904. Up to August 1909 it appeared illegally at great intervals in Riga and subsequently abroad. From April 1917 it was published legally in Petrograd as the Central Organ of the Latvian Bolsheviks, and afterwards in Riga and other cities. In August 1919, after the temporary victory of the counter-revolution in Latvia, it began to appear again illegally in Riga. With the victory of Soviet rule in Latvia in June 1940 it became the organ of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Latvia and the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian S.S.R. p. 401

[330] Apparently this refers to Volume II of N. Rubakin's book *Among Books* reviewed by Lenin in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* No. 4 for April 1914 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 259-61). Lenin, as his letter shows, did not have Vol. I. p. 402

[331] This refers to a trip to attend the international socialist congress which was to be held in Vienna in August 1914. p. 402

[332] In May 1914, Malinovsky, fearing exposure, resigned his office as Duma deputy and left the country. Subsequently it was discovered that Malinovsky had been an agent provocateur. In 1918 he was sentenced to death by the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and shot. p. 402

[333] *Yedinstvo* (Unity)—a legal newspaper published by a group of pro-Party Mensheviks headed by Plekhanov and Bolshevik conciliators in St. Petersburg in May and June 1914. Four numbers were put out. p. 405

[334] On the insistence of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. the "Polish opposition" (J. S. Hanecki, A. M. Malecki and others) received an invitation from the I.S.B. to attend the Brussels "Unity" Conference. p. 407

[335] This refers to the minutes of the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. held in Stockholm in April-May 1906.

The journal *Nasha Zarya* No. 3 for March 1914 published anti-Bolshevik Articles by F. A. Bulkin and L. Martov, which Lenin sharply criticised in his articles "The Ideological Struggle in the Working-Class Movement", "Plekhanov, Who Knows Not What He Wants", "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity" and "The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers" (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 277-80, 309-12, 325-47, 455-86). p. 408

[336] This refers to delegates to the International Socialist Women's Conference in Vienna fixed for August 1914 but, owing to the war, held instead at Berne only on March 26-28, 1915. p. 412

[337] *Stoikaya Mysl* (Staunch Thought)—one of the names under which the Left-Narodnik (Socialist-Revolutionary) newspaper *Trudovoi Golos* (Voice of Labour) was published. It appeared in St. Petersburg in 1914 three times a week. p. 415

[338] On the appeal of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. a demonstration was held in the city on April 4 (17), 1914, in response to the lockout by the St. Petersburg mill owners. The demonstration was timed to coincide with the second anniversary of the Lena shootings. On that day *Put Pravdy* published as an editorial Lenin's article "Forms of the Working-Class Movement (The Lockout and Marxist Tactics)" (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 209-12). In the Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference Lenin devoted a good deal of space to describing the significance of this demonstration and exposing the activities of the liquidators (ibid., pp. 509-12). p. 415

[339] *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (Northern Workers' Gazette)—a Menshevik-liquidator daily, published in St. Petersburg in lieu of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* from January 30 (February 12) to May 1 (14), 1914. p. 416

[340] *Trudovaya Pravda* (Labour Truth)—one of the names under which the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, hounded by the tsarist government, was published from May 23 (June 5) to July 8 (21), 1914. Thirty-five numbers were put out. p. 416

[341] Between July 12 and 19 (N. S.), 1914, a meeting of the C.C. of the

R.S.D.L.P. was held at Poronin under the leadership of Lenin, which was attended by G. I. Petrovsky, A. S. Kiselyov, N. P. Glebov-Avilov and A. N. Nikiforova, who had arrived from Russia. The meeting was devoted chiefly to the question of preparations for a Party congress—the date of its convocation, ways of getting delegates out of the country, etc. The outbreak of the imperialist war, however, presented the congress from being convened. p. 420

[342] Lenin is referring to the conference called in 1914 by the O.C., the *Vperyod* and *Yedinstvo* groups, the Bund, the Chief Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the P.P.S. and others. p. 421

[343] Meaning the strikes and demonstrations held in St. Petersburg, Baku, Riga and other cities in the course of July 1914. p. 422

[344] *Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*—a German bourgeois newspaper, published from 1872 to 1939. p. 422

[345] *Rabochy* (The Worker)—one of the names under which the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* was published from April 22 (May 5) to July 7 (20), 1914. Nine numbers were put out. p. 426

[346] Replying to Lenin's questions, I. Rudis-Gipslis wrote on July 29, 1914, that the Letts did have a Left opposition to the Lettish C.C.; that he, Gipslis, belonged to it; that in criticising the C.C. the opposition was acting in good faith, and that the Lettish C.C. was shifting to the left. Gipslis wrote that not only Riga's largest 4th District but all class-conscious Lettish workers considered it necessary to establish closer contacts with the Russian C.C., that the Bund had a very negligible influence among the Lettish workers, the majority of whom "will always support the vigorous and implacable struggle of the Russian comrades against the separatists, nationalists and opportunists, no matter who they are". Gipslis wrote that he had received the "14 conditions" formulated by Lenin for the Brussels "Unity" Conference. p. 428

[347] A reference to the "Resolution on the National Question" adopted in the summer of 1913 at the meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 427-29). p. 429

[348] The reference is to Plekhanov's a article "The New Upsurge" published in *Za Partiyu* No. 5—the mouthpiece of the Paris groups of Mensheviks and conciliators. A translation of the first part of this article appeared in *Vorwärts* No. 59 for March 1, 1914. p. 430

[349] Lenin's telegram to the Cracow chief of police followed a search of his house in the village of Poronin on August 7, 1914, made

on the basis of false information accusing him of being a spy. During the search the gendarme officer took away the manuscript of Lenin's book on the agrarian question in the belief that the statistical tables given in it represented a coded message, and ordered Lenin to present himself to the military authorities in the town of Nowy Targ the next morning. On arriving there the next day Lenin was arrested and imprisoned. His arrest evoked active protests on the part of progressive elements among the Polish public. The Polish Social-Democrats Jakub Hanecki and S. Bagocki, the Zakopane doctor and one-time member of Narodnaya Volya Dluski, the well-known Polish writers Jan Kasprowicz, Wladyslaw Orkan and others came out in his defence. At the request of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Austrian M.P.s Victor Adler and Herman Diamand, who knew Lenin as a member of the International Socialist Bureau, interceded with the government on his behalf and offered to act as guarantor for him. The charge of espionage was so absurd that the Cracow police admitted that "there is nothing reprehensible here against Ulyanov" and on August 19 he was released. p. 430

[350] The reference is to the Manifesto of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" and "An Answer to Emile Vandervelde" which Lenin planned to publish in French in the newspaper *La Sentinelle*.

La Sentinelle—organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic Organisation of the Neuchâtel canton (French Switzerland), founded in 1890. During the First World War, the newspaper adopted an internationalist stand. On November 13, 1914, the paper (No. 265) published an abridged version of the Manifesto of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy".

The answer to Vandervelde in connection with his telegram to the R.S.D.L.P. Duma group was published in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, November 1, 1914. p. 432

[351] This refers to the arrest of the Bolsheviks who attended the conference at Ozerki, near Petrograd, among whom were members of the R.S.D.L.P. group in the Fourth Duma.

The conference was held from November 2 to 4 (15-17), 1914, and was attended, apart from the Bolshevik Duma deputies, by delegates from the Bolshevik organisations of Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kharkov and Riga.

All the delegates were arrested except the Bolshevik deputies, who enjoyed parliamentary immunity. But they too were arrested a couple of days later, tried and exiled for life to Eastern Siberia (see Lenin's article "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group", present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 171-77). p. 437

[352] The answer given by the St. Petersburg liquidators (P. P. Maslov, A. N. Potresov, N . Cherevanin [F. A. Lipkin] and others) to Vandervelde's telegram appealing to the Russian Social-Democrats

not to oppose the war. In their reply the liquidators justified the Belgian, French and British socialists in joining the bourgeois governments, fully approved the stand adopted by the social-chauvinists and declared that in their activities in Russia they were not opposing the war. The liquidators' reply was published in No. 34 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* with a note from the editors. p. 438

[353] A reference to the resolution "A Reply of the Georgian Social-Democrats, Members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, Residing in Geneva and the Vicinity, to a National-Political Organisation Operating in One of the Belligerent States". This organisation made a proposal to the Georgian Bolsheviks to use the war for the purpose of uniting the nations oppressed by tsarism and organising a revolt against Russia under the auspices and with the material support of one of the belligerent powers. In their reply the Georgian Bolsheviks rejected this proposal, which they regarded as a provocation on the part of the imperialists.

The text of the resolution with Lenin's note was published in 1931 in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*, pp. 321-22. p. 440

[354] This refers to the speech by Y. Larin, delegate of the Menshevik Organising Committee, at the Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, which was held in Stockholm on November 23, 1914. See Lenin's articles "The Kind of 'Unity' Larin Proclaimed at the Swedish Congress" and "What Next? (On the Tasks Confronting the Workers' Parties with Regard to Opportunism and Social-Chauvinism)" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 115-17, 107-14). p. 441

[355] At the Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party (see Note 354) the main item on the agenda dealt with the attitude towards the war. A. G. Shlyapnikov, who brought the Congress a message of greetings from the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee, read a declaration calling for struggle against the imperialist war and branding the treachery of the leaders of the German Social-Democrats and the socialist parties of other countries, who had turned social-chauvinist. The Congress was reported in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36, for January 9, 1915. p. 442

[356] This refers to the projected conference of socialists of the neutral countries sponsored by Pieter Troelstra and Thorvald Stauning. The conference was held in Copenhagen January 17-18, 1915, and was attended by delegates from the socialist parties of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Holland. It adopted a resolution calling upon the Social-Democratic parties of the neutral countries to urge their governments to mediate between the belligerents for the speedy restoration of peace. Some of the Social-Democratic parties submitted to the conference their declarations on the attitude towards the war. From the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. the conference was handed issue No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* containing the Manifesto "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" and a

government report concerning the arrest of the Bolshevik deputies of the Duma. p. 442

[357] *Golos* (Voice)—a Menshevik daily, published in Paris from September 1914 to January 1915, when it was closed down by the French Government. p. 445

[358] This refers to Krupskaya's letter to Mrs. A. L. Ryazanova asking the latter to notify the Austrian women socialists of the proposed convocation of the International Socialist Women's Conference. p. 445

[359] This refers to a correction of the date erroneously given in the heading of No. 36 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* No 39 of the paper carried an erratum reading: "The heading of No. 36 should read 'Geneva, January 9, 1915' (and not December 12, 1914)". p. 447

[360] *The London conference of Socialists of the "Triple Entente" Countries* was held on February 14, 1915. The agenda of the Conference consisted of three items: 1) the right of nations; 2) colonies; 3) guarantees of future peace.

The Bolsheviks were not invited to the Conference. On Lenin's instructions, however, M. M. Litvinov went there to read the declaration of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., which was based on Lenin's draft. During the reading of the declaration Litvinov was interrupted and not allowed to go on. He handed the declaration over to the presiding committee and left the hall. For further details about the Conference see Lenin's articles "The London Conference" and "On the London Conference" (present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 132-34, 178-80). p. 448

[361] This refers to the *Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Sections Abroad*, held in Berne from February 27 to March 4, 1915. Convened on Lenin's initiative, it was essentially a general conference of the Party. The main item on the agenda was the question of the war and the tasks of the Party, on which Lenin made a report.

All the basic resolutions and preambles to them were drafted by Lenin. They were published in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* and as addenda to Lenin's pamphlet *Socialism and War* published in Russian and German. The resolutions of the Berne Conference were also published as a leaflet in French which was distributed among the delegates of the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference and sent to the Left elements among the International Social-Democrats. For the Conference resolutions see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 158-64. p. 449

[362] The reference is to Point 3 of the draft resolution "The C.O. and the New Newspaper" discussed at the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Sections Abroad held in Berne from February 27 to March 4, 1915. p. 450

[363] The letter was written by Inessa Armand on behalf of the foreign-based section of the journal *Rabotnitsa* giving notice of the convocation of a conference of Left socialist women and inviting the Dutch Social-Democratic Party to send its delegate.

The International Conference of Socialist Women was herd in Berne from March 26 to 28, 1915. It was convened on the initiative of the foreign-based organisation of the journal *Rabotnitsa* and with the close co-operation of Clara Zetkin, then Chairman of the International Bureau of Socialist Women. All the preparations for the Conference were made by Inessa Armand, Nadezhda Krupskaya and others under Lenin's guidance.

Materials relating to the Conference were published in the Supplement to *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 42 for June 1, 1915. p. 451

[364] This refers to the pamphlet by H. Gorter, *Het Imperialisme, de Wereldoorlog en de Social-Democratic* (Imperialism, the World War and Social-Democracy), Amsterdam. p. 451

[365] The invitation to Trotsky to write for *Kommunist* was sent by G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosh in spite of Lenin's opinion. By way of answer Trotsky published "An Open Letter to the Editors of *Kommunist*" in *Nashe Slovo* No. 105 for June 4, 1915, refusing to contribute and launching a fierce attack against the. Bolsheviks.

The journal *Kommunist* was organised by Lenin and published by the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* jointly with G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosh, who financed its publication. The Editorial Board included also N. I. Bukharin. One (double) number of the journal was issued.

Lenin planned to make *Kommunist* the mouthpiece of the Left Social-Democrats. Serious disagreements, however, shortly arose between the editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat* on the one hand and Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosh on the other, which came to a head after the appearance of No. 1-2 of the journal.

Nashe Slovo (Our Word)—a Menshevik newspaper, published with Trotsky's close co-operation in Paris from January 1915 to September 1916 in lieu of *Golos*. p. 455

[366] Lenin wrote to the library at Neuchâtel asking for books to be sent to him in Sörenberg. p. 455

[367] This refers to the Announcement concerning publication of the journal *Kommunist* written apparently with Lenin's close co-operation. It was printed as a leaflet dated May 20, 1915, and distributed among the R.S.D.L.P. organisations in Russia and abroad, as well as among Left West-European Social-Democrats. The text of the Announcement under the heading "From the Editors" was published also in the journal *Kommunist*. p. 455

[368] This refers to the article "Demagogy and Cleavage" published in No. 2 of *Bulletin of the R.S.D.L.P. Organising Committee Secretariat Abroad* for June 14, 1915. p. 456

[369] *Nashe Dyelo* (Our Cause)—a monthly organ of the Menshevik liquidators, began to appear in January 1915 in lieu of the journal *Nasha Zarya* which was closed down in October 1914. *Nashe Dyelo* was the mouthpiece of the social-chauvinists in Russia.
No. 2 of the journal figures largely in Lenin's article "Under a False Flag" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 135-57). p. 456

[370] This apparently refers to Yelena Rozmirovich, G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosh, who visited Lenin in Sörenberg in July 1915 for talks concerning the journal *Kommunist*. p. 458

[371] Lenin is referring to Radek's article "A Quarter of a Century of Development of Imperialism" (the first part of it was published in the journal *Kommunist* No. 1-2). p. 458

[372] *The Chkheidze group*—the Menshevik group in the Fourth Duma led by N. S. Chkheidze. While taking a Centrist stand, it actually gave full support to the policy of the Russian social-chauvinists. Lenin criticised the opportunist line of the Chkheidze group in his articles "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role", "Have the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze Group a Policy of Their Own?" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 171-74, and Vol. 22, pp. 131-36) and in other works. p. 458

[373] The reference is to P. Maslov's book *Economic Causes of the World War* which appeared in Moscow in 1915.
A review of the book was written by N. I. Bukharin but not published because the journal had stopped coming out. p. 458

[374] This refers to the article "Qui prodest?" by N. V. Krylenko which was to have been published in the journal *Kommunist*. The article did not appear. p. 458

[375] Apparently this refers to N. I. Bukharin's article "World Economy and Imperialism" and his review of P. Maslov's book *Economic Causes of the World War* for the journal *Kommunist*. p. 459

[376] This refers to Radek's letter to Lenin dated July 5, 1915, suggesting that a pamphlet be written giving the views of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. on the attitude towards the war. p. 459

[377] This refers to the letter by the delegate of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. giving a report on the preliminary conference, held on July 11, 1915, in preparation for the first international socialist conference. The letter was circulated among Party organisations (*Lenin Miscellany XIV*, pp. 161-63). p. 461

[378] This refers to Radek's draft resolution of the Left Social-Democrats for the forthcoming first international socialist conference. For a criticism of this draft, see Lenin's letter to Radek (present edition, Vol. 35, p. 202). p. 462

[379] This refers to the following articles that were to have gone into *Kommunist*: Kamenski's "Polish Social-Democracy and the War", Gorter's "Causes of Proletarian Nationalism" and Varin's "Our Base in the Troops". The articles were not published. p. 463

[380] "*Gaponade*"—from the name of the Russian priest Gapon. Acting on instructions from the secret political police aimed at weaning the workers away from the revolutionary struggle, he set up, on the eve of the first Russian revolution, a legal organisation known as the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers. On Gapon's suggestion, a peaceful procession of workers was organised on January 9, 1905, to petition the tsar. The procession was shot down by the tsarist troops, the massacre becoming known as Bloody Sunday. p. 464

[381] This refers to Pyatakov's review of No. 1 of the journal *Internationale* published by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. p. 494

[382] The review of P. Maslov's book *Economic Causes of the World War* was published in the journal *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* No. 5 for July 10, 1915, over the signature of "Y. Rus". p. 469

[383] This refers to the publication in the journal *Kommunist* of Lenin's article "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 349-57) and Varin's article "Our Base in the Troops". Owing to lack of space the latter was not published. p. 471

[384] This refers to: 1) Paul Golay's pamphlet *Le Socialisme qui meurt et le Socialisme qut doit renaître*; 2) U. Sinclair's article "A Manifesto Against It" in the pamphlet *Socialism and War* by Upton Sinclair and Richard Blatchford, and 3) the journal *Die Internationale* published by the German Left Social-Democrats in April 1915. p. 472

[385] The nickname "Japanese" was applied to G. L. Pyatakov and Yevgenia Bosh, who emigrated to America via Japan. Here the reference is to their departure for Norway. p. 472

[386] Pannekoek's article "Imperialism and the Tasks of the Proletariat" was published in the journal *Kommunist* No. 1-2 for 1915 with an editorial comment by Lenin. p. 473

[387] Lenin is here referring to the article "Die innere Krise Rußlands" published in No. 186 of *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, July 7, 1915. This article was dealt with in a paragraph printed in the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 43, July 26, 1915, under the heading "The Axelrod Group in League with the Social-Chauvinists". p. 473

[388] *Nashe Slovo* No. 111 for June 11, 1915, carried an article "From the Baltic Region" over the signature "Br." (Braun). A continu-

ation of this article was published in Nos. 112 and 113 of *Nashe Slovo* for June 12 and 13, 1915. p. 476

[389] This refers to Golay's pamphlet *Le Socialisme qui meurt et le Socialisme qui doit renaître*, Lausanne, 1915. p. 478

[390] *The Second Balkan Social-Democratic Conference* was held in Bucharest from July 6 to 8, 1915. It was attended by representatives of the labour movement of Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece. The Serbian Social-Democratic Party was unable to send its representative, but the leadership of the party sent a message of greetings to the conference. The conference inaugurated the Balkan Workers' Social-Democratic Federation, adopted a Declaration of Principles of the Balkan Workers' Social-Democratic Federation, a resolution on the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation and the International, and a special resolution "Against Provocations, for Peace and Federation!" p. 479

[391] This refers to the book by Charles Rappoport *Jean Jaurès. L'Homme. Le Penseur. Le Socialtiste*, Paris, 1915. p. 480

[392] This refers to Émile Zola's open letter to President of the French Republic François-Félix Faure in connection with the Dreyfus affair. p. 480

[393] A reference to the pamphlet by Wilhelm Kolb, *Die Sozialdemokratie am Scheidewege*, Karlsruhe, 1915. The pamphlet was criticised by Lenin in his article "Wilhelm Kolb and Georgi Plekhanov" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 141-42). p. 480

[394] This refers to Bukharin's article "World Economy and Imperialism". p. 481

[395] The reference is to the composition of the delegation of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. to the First International Socialist Conference. The delegation was made up of Lenin, Zinoviev and Inessa Armand. p. 483

[396] This refers to the Report on the Activities of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. During the War made to the First International Socialist Conference. The report was written by Zinoviev, edited by Lenin and published in No. 2 of the I.S.C. *Bulletin* for November 27, 1915. p. 488

[397] This refers to the *First International Socialist Conference, held in Zimmerwald* from September 5 to 8, 1915. A sharp struggle developed at the conference between the revolutionary internationalists led by Lenin and the Kautskyite majority at the conference led by the German Social-Democrat Ledebour.

During the proceedings a Bureau of the Zimmerwald Left was formed headed by Lenin.

The Zimmerwald Left did a great deal towards organising the internationalist elements in Europe and America.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 45-46 published Lenin's articles "The First Step" and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 383-88, 389-93). In accordance with Point 2 of the letter, the newspaper published a column of extracts "From Reports Read at the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald" first place in which was given to the Bulgarian M. P. Vasil Kolaroff. In accordance with Point 6 of the letter, the following paragraphs were published in the "News Items" column: "The Bund Has No Time", "All Is Well With the O.C.", "Trotsky 'Does Not Know' What Mass Revolutionary Action Is". p. 489

[398] This refers to Wijnkoop's letter of August 6, 1915, in which two documents were mentioned: 1) the report of the representative of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. concerning the preliminary conference held on July 11, 1915, dealing with the question of convening the international conference, and 2) the draft resolution of the Zimmerwald Left for the First International Socialist Conference written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 345-48).

Wijnkoop wrote "we fully and wholly agree" with the proposals of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. concerning the terms for convening the conference. In speaking of "extremely important arguments" against participation in the conference, Lenin had in mind the following passage in Wijnkoop's letter: "Our Party Committee earnestly requests you to declare ... that your Party, like ours, will not attend *any* conference that does not accept this minimum as a basis for convening the conference, as it will not be possible then to declare that it is a conference of the revolutionary section of the International" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the C.C., C.P.S.U.). p. 489

[399] Apparently this refers to Radek's report on the First International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald. p. 490

[400] Enclosed with the letter was Zinoviev's plan of leaflets which were to be published by the Bureau Abroad of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. p. 490

[401] *Journal de Genève*—a newspaper of a liberal trend, founded in 1826. p. 490

[402] This refers to the letters of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries Alexandrovich and Polubinov to Lenin. Lenin's answer to Alexandrovich is printed in this volume (see Document 440); Lenin's letter to Polubinov has not been found. p. 491

[403] The Conference of Popular Socialists, Trudoviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia, held in July 1915 in Petrograd, passed

a resolution calling upon the masses to "defend the fatherland" in the imperialist war. p. 494

[404] This refers to the *Bulletin* of the International Socialist Commission in Berne, the executive organ of the Zimmerwald organisation. The *Bulletin* appeared from September 1915 to January 1917 in English, French and German. Altogether 6 numbers were issued. The I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 1 published the Manifesto of the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald and the official report on the conference. p. 495

[405] In this letter Grimm proposed on behalf of the I.S.C. that an enlarged I.S.C. should be set up and asked to be notified by whom the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. would be represented on it. For Lenin's reply see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 372-77. p. 496

[406] This refers to the Joint Declaration of the French and German Delegations at the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald, published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 45-46 for October 11, 1915. p. 496

[407] This refers to the materials of the Zimmerwald Conference. The newspaper *Zhizn* No. 15 for September 26, 1915, reprinted the conference materials from No. 1 of the I.S.C. *Bulletin*. In the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* No. 200 for September 25, 1915, all the materials concerning the conference were deleted by the censor. p. 496

[408] *Appeal to Reason*—newspaper of the American socialists founded in Girard, Kansas, in 1895; was not connected officially with the Socialist Party of America, but propagated socialist ideas and enjoyed great popularity among the workers. Eugene Debs, the American socialist, wrote for the paper. p. 498

[409] Lenin is referring to M. M. Kharitonov's speech at the *Aarau Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party* held November 20-21, 1915. The central issue was the party's attitude to the Zimmerwald internationalist group. The Bolshevik Kharitonov, a voting delegate from one of the party's organisations, moved an amendment to Grimm's Centrist resolution; it called for a mass revolutionary struggle against the war and declared that only a victorious proletarian revolution could put an end to the imperialist war. The amendment of the Left was carried by 258 votes to 141. p. 499

[410] In November 1915 the Zimmerwald Left issued a pamphlet in German entitled *Internationale Flügblätter* No. 1 (*Die Zimmerwalder Linke über die Aufgaben der Arbeiterklasse*) (International Leaflet No. 1—the Zimmerwald Left on the Tasks of the Working Class). p. 500

[411] This refers to the Report on the Activities of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. During the War for the Second International Socialist Confer-

ence which was being prepared for publication in the I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 2. p. 501

[412] *La Vie Ouvrière*—Journal of the French revolutionary syndicalists, published from 1909 to 1914. p. 501

[413] This refers to the theses of the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* drafted by Lenin and entitled "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination". They were published in No. 2 of *Vorbote* in April 1916 and in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 1, October 1916 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 143-56).

Vorbote—a theoretical journal, organ of the Zimmerwald Left; appeared in German in Berne. Its official publishers were Henriette Roland-Holst and Anton Pannekoek. Lenin took an active part in founding the journal, and after the issue of No. 1 in organising a French translation of it for wider circulation. p. 504

[414] Camille Huysmans delivered a report at the emergency Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland held in Arnhem on January 9, 1916, in which he tried to prove that the Second International had not broken down, and put forward a "democratic programme of peace". Lenin criticised Huysmans's speech in his lecture "'Peace Terms' in Connection with the National Question" (see *Lenin Miscellany XVII*, p. 237). p. 506

[415] No. 25 of the newspaper *Gazeta Robotnicza*, the illegal organ of the opposition Warsaw Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, published the resolutions of the conference of the Editorial Board of June 1-2, 1915. These resolutions were criticised by Lenin in his "Letter from the Committee of the Organisations Abroad to the Sections of the R.S.D.L.P." (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 157-60).

Further down Lenin refers to the voting of the Polish Social-Democrats (the opposition) for the resolution of the I.S.B. at the Brussels "Unity" Conference of July 16-18, 1914. p. 509

[416] The theses "On the Tasks of International Social-Democracy" were drafted by Rosa Luxemburg and adopted at the conference of German Lefts held in January 1916 in Berlin. See Lenin's article "The Junius Pamphlet" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19). p. 511

[417] *Die Gleichheit*—a Social-Democratic fortnightly journal, mouthpiece of the women workers' movement in Germany, and eventually of the international women's movement; appeared in Stuttgart from 1890 to 1925. From 1892 to 1917 it was edited by Clara Zetkin. p. 511

[418] A collection of articles by Vera Zasulich, A. Potresov, P. Maslov, An (N. Jordania) and others, published in Petrograd in 1916. p. 511

[419] This refers to a second international socialist conference planned at the time. p. 511

[420] Apparently this refers to the appeal "To All Affiliated Parties and Groups" adopted at the meeting of the enlarged I.S.C. in Berne on February 5-9, 1916. The appeal was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 52 for March 25, 1916. p. 511

[421] This refers to G. V. Chicherin's article "Arguments over the Convocation of the International Socialist Bureau (A Letter from Britain)" published over the signature Orn. (Ornatsky) in *Nashe Slovo* Nos. 51 and 52 for March 1 and 2, 1916. The article is mentioned by Lenin in his item "Split or Decay?" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 180-81). p. 511

[422] The I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 3 for February 29, 1916, carried the appeal "To All Affiliated Parties and Groups". p. 512

[423] This refers to No. 49 of the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* for February 28, 1916, which published the resolution of a group of Bremen Social-Democrats expressing, among others, a demand that the newspaper *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* consistently adhere to the Left radical stand it had adopted before the war. p. 512

[424] The *Dzvin* people—contributors to and followers of *Dzvin* (Bell)—a legal nationalist journal of a Menshevik trend, published in the Ukrainian language in Kiev from January 1913 to mid-1914. p. 512

[425] *Borotba* (Struggle)—a monthly organ of the Ukrainian S.D.L.P. organisation abroad, published in Geneva from February 3, 1915, to December 1916. Under the flag of Marxism the journal stood for the Ukrainian workers forming a separate S.D. party of their own and came out against the Bolshevik slogan of the right of nations to self-determination. p. 512

[426] Apparently this refers to the article by I. Ziemelis, "Activities of the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Region During the War", which was published later in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2 p. 513

[427] The theses of the *Internationale* group were published in No. 3 of the I.S.C. *Bulletin* for February 29, 1916, under the heading "Ein Vorschlag deutscher Genossen" (A Proposal of the German Comrades). p. 515

[428] Ströbel's article "Die Ursachen der sozialistischen Krise" (Causes of the Socialist Crisis) was published in *Neue Zeit* No. 12, December 17, 1915. p. 514

[429] This refers to the joint draft programme of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Social-Democratic Party of Holland published in No. 3 of the I.S.C. *Bulletin*. p. 515

[430] *Internationale Korrespondenz*—a weekly journal of the German social-chauvinists; appeared from late September 1914 to October 1, 1918, in Berlin. p. 516

[431] This refers to the statement of protest of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. to the I.S.C. challenging the Organising Committee's right to representation at the Second International Socialist Conference. The statement mentioned the fact that all organisations in Russia connected with the O.C. approved of participation in the war industries committees, thereby taking a "social-patriotism stand".

The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under the C.C., C.P.S.U., contain a proof-sheet of this statement, which fits the size of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* columns. Lenin may have lent a hand in drafting this protest. On June 10, 1916, *Sotsial-Demokrat* carried the announcement: "The C.C.'s statement to the I.S.C. concerning representation of the O.C. will appear in the next issue". The document was not published at the time. p. 516

[432] This refers to Rosa Luxemburg's pamphlet *Die Krise der Sozialdemokratie*, for a criticism of which see Lenin's article "The Junius Pamphlet" (present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 305-19). p. 517

[433] This refers to the publication in No. 52 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* of the appeal of the I.S.C. "To All Affiliated Parties and Groups" in connection with the convocation of the Second International Socialist Conference, giving a brief notice of the agenda and the terms of admission to the conference as printed in the I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 3 for February 29, 1916. p. 517

[434] The letter concerns preparation for the press of the article "The Alternative", which was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 57 on December 30, 1916, with the editor's note: "This article is reprinted from *Spartacus*, No. 1, the illegal organ of the German revolutionary Social-Democrats."

The next paragraph in the letter mentions the statement made at the enlarged meeting of the I.S.C. in February 1916 during the discussion of the appeal "To All Affiliated Parties and Groups". In voting for the text of the appeal, the representatives of the Zimmerwald Left declared at the meeting that although they did not consider it satisfactory on all points, they were voting for it because they considered it a step forward compared with the decisions of the First International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald.

[435] This refers to Zinoviev's article "How Liquidationism Turned into Social-Chauvinism" (published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*). p. 518

[436] *Nash Golos* (Our Voice)—a legal Menshevik newspaper published in Samara from 1915 to 1916; adopted a social-chauvinist stand. p. 518

[437] This refers to the Second International Socialist Conference which was to be held in April 1916. p. 518

[438] This refers to the "Proposals of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee to the Second Socialist Conference" published in No. 4 of the I.S.C. *Bulletin*. The protest against Martov-Chkheidze was not published. p. 519

[439] *Gvozdyovism* (from the name of the Menshevik K. A. Gvozdyov) —a policy of collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie. p. 519

[440] *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* (*Sotsial-Demokrat* Collection) was founded by Lenin and published by the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*. Two numbers were published in 1916, containing several articles by Lenin. Copy was prepared for No. 3, which was to contain Lenin's article "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", but owing to lack of funds this collection was not put out. p. 522

[441] Probably this refers to an article criticising the draft Manifesto for the Second International Socialist Conference submitted to the I.S.C. on behalf of persons grouped around the journal *La Vie Ouvrière* and the newspaper *Nashe Slovo*. The draft was published on February 29, 1916, in the I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 3. p. 523

[442] In his letter to Zinoviev Pokrovsky wrote about the proposed publication in Petrograd of a series of pamphlets on imperialism and other issues connected with it. He asked Lenin to write a pamphlet on imperialism. The result was Lenin's book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. p. 524

[443] This refers to Kh. G. Rakovsky's speech at an international public meeting in Berne on February 8, 1916, held in connection with the meeting of the enlarged I.S.C. (the speech was published in Bucharest in pamphlet form).

The group of International Socialists of Germany (I.S.D.) issued a pamphlet *Die Minderheit des 21. Dezember 1915* (The Minority of December 21, 1915) analysing the voting of the minority of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag against war loans on December 21, 1915. p. 524

[444] Apparently this refers to the young French socialists, friends of G. I. Safarov (Samovarchik), who lived in Paris at the time. p. 526

[445] *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 53 for April 13, 1916, carried an article "Chkheidze and His Group—Cat's-paws of the 'Gvozdyov' Party" criticising the chauvinist speeches of Chkheidze and Chkhenkeli in the Duma. By the "Russian" number of *Sotsial-Demokrat* Lenin meant No. 53, which was wholly devoted to events in Russia. p. 527

[446] This letter was written in reply to that of Pyatakov, Bosh and Bukharin to the editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat* concerning the disagreements on the Editorial Board of the journal *Kommunist*. p. 529

[447] This refers to the removal to Christiania (Oslo) of Pyatakov, Bosh and Bukharin, and to their theses "On the Slogan of the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" sent in to the editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat* in November 1915.

The writers of the "theses" were opposed to Clause 9 of the R.S.D.L.P. Programme dealing with the right of nations to self-determination. p. 530

[448] This refers to the trip to attend the Second International Socialist Conference. At the meeting of the enlarged I.S.C. held in Berne on February 5-9, 1916, it was decided that the Conference in Kienthal could be attended by all those who had participated in the Zimmerwald Conference. Lenin attended the Kienthal Conference as a representative of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. p. 531

[449] This refers to the arrival of the French delegates to the Second International Socialist Conference. Safarov (George) was in Switzerland at the time. Whom Lenin meant by the "Brest people" has not been ascertained. p. 532

[450] Meaning the indictment in the case of the Bolshevik deputies of the Fourth Duma. p. 532

[451] See Note 431. p. 533

[452] Apparently this refers to the delegates of the Left Social-Democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway) to the Second International Socialist Conference. p. 533

[453] Meaning the exact address of the place where the Second International Socialist Conference was to be held. p. 534

[454] A letter summing up the Kienthal Conference was sent to the Party organisations in the name of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau Abroad. The text of the letter translated into French by Inessa Armand is in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The letter in Russian was published in 1926 in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis* No. 2. p. 535

[455] This refers to the speech by Meyer, a representative of the *Internationale* group, at the enlarged meeting of the I.S.C. on May 2, 1916, at which the final texts of the resolutions passed at the Kienthal Conference were endorsed. p. 535

[456] Lenin read a lecture "Two Trends in the International

Working-Class Movement" in Lausanne on June 3 and in Geneva on June 2. p. 535

[457] Materials relating to the Second International Socialist Conference held at Kienthal from April 24 to 30, 1916, were published on June 10, 1916, in No. 54-55 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. p. 535

[458] The circulation of Party documents and Bolshevik literature among the various groups of the R.S.D.L.P. was taken care of by a special Distributing Committee of five members in Berne. Inessa Armand was a member of this Committee for a time. Zinaida Lilina (Zina) was secretary of the Committee. p. 536

[459] This refers to the draft of a paragraph for *Sotsial-Demokrat* written by Zinoviev at the request of Kamenev, who was in exile at the time in Yeniseisk Gubernia (Siberia). Zinoviev, in this paragraph, tried to condone Kamenev's behaviour at the trial of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. p. 537

[460] A. Shlyapnikov having raised the question of going to America for several months, Zinoviev asked Lenin not to consent to Shlyapnikov's departure and to promise to remit 100-150 francs to him monthly in the course of the next six months. p. 537

[461] This refers to the "Proposals of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee to the Second Socialist Conference" and the decisions adopted at the Kienthal Conference, namely: the appeal "To the Peoples Who Are Ruined and Slaughtered", the theses on "The Attitude of the Proletariat to the Question of Peace" and the resolution "On the Attitude to the International Socialist Bureau at The Hague". p. 538

[462] The reference is to an article of Sukhanov's "Our Left Parties", which was to have been forwarded to Minin (V. A. Karpinsky). p. 538

[463] Reports on the Kienthal Conference were published in No. 5 of the journal *Demain* which appeared on May 15, 1916. Probably Lenin is referring to the editorial in that issue entitled "Zimmerwald" from the pen of Henri Guilbeaux.

Demain—a journal of the French internationalists, appeared in Geneva from 1916 to 1918. The last issue, No. 31, came out in Moscow in 1919 as the mouthpiece of a group of French Communists. p. 538

[464] A collection of decisions of international congresses of the Second International was to have been published by the War Prisoners Relief Committee under the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisations Abroad. It was intended for circulation in the P.O.W. camps located in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The collection was not published. p. 538

[465] In his letter of May 13, 1916, Shlyapnikov urgently requested that all materials on the Kienthal Conference should be sent to him, and expressed dissatisfaction at the great delays in receiving the I.S.C. *Bulletin*, the Swiss newspapers and other necessary material. p. 538

[466] This refers to the great body of materials which Shlyapnikov collected during his stay in Russia. Prominent among them were documents relating to the activities of the war industries committees. Some of them were published in the Party's Central Organ—the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*—on April 13, 1916, under the general heading "News from Russia". Shlyapnikov's article "The Workers and the War Industries Committees" was published in the same section. p. 539

[467] For reasons of secrecy Lenin calls Shlyapnikov Belenin. This letter concerns his forthcoming trip to America. Shlyapnikov left for the States on June 25, 1916, and returned to Europe on September 29 the same year. p. 539

[468] This refers to Pyatakov's letter of May 18, 1916, from Christiania (Oslo) addressed to Lenin and Zinoviev, in which he stated the terms on which he considered it possible to continue the talks concerning renewed publication of *Kommunist*. p. 541

[469] This probably refers to L. Martov's article "What Follows from the 'Right to National Self-Determination'" published in the newspaper *Nash Golos* Nos. 3 and 4 for January 17 and 24, 1916. p. 541

[470] This refers to Shlyapnikov's letter reporting that the "Japanese" did not want an enlarged Editorial Board now either and were concealing their purse. p. 544

[471] The Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* sent a letter to Pyatakov, Bosh and Bukharin in the winter of 1915 declaring that they would not participate in *Kommunist* as they could not assume Party responsibility for co-editors who showed an un-Party attitude to the business. p. 544

[472] Pyatakov and Bosh wrote to the Central Committee Bureau Abroad demanding that their group be officially recognised as a special group unsubordinated to the C.C. Bureau Abroad and that it be granted the right of independent contact with the Russian section of the C.C. and the right to publish leaflets and other literature. This being refused, they nevertheless made an attempt to establish contact with the Bureau of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. in Russia over the head of the C.C. Bureau Abroad. p. 545

[473] The reference is to G. Y. Belenky's letters concerning the activities of the Paris section of the R.S.D.L.P. and Pierre Brizon's

speech in the French Chamber of Deputies on June 24, 1916.

Pierre Brizon, who was a delegate to the Kienthal Conference made a declaration on behalf of the three socialist M.P.s. calling upon the deputies to get the government to conclude an immediate peace without annexations. Together with the two other socialist deputies Brizon voted against war loans. He concluded his speech with the words: We vote for peace, for France, for socialism!" p. 546

[474] This refers to *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

Yuri—G. L. Pyatakov—wrote an article "The Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination in the Era of Finance Capital", but owing to its erroneous theses it was not published in the collection.

The *Norwegian strike*, which started on June 6, 1916, was dealt with in Arvid Hansen's article "Certain Features of the Contemporary Labour Movement in Norway" published in No. 2 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

In this letter Lenin refers to his articles "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" and "The Junius Pamphlet" which were subsequently included in No. 1 of *Sbornik*, and the articles "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" and "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role" published in No. 2.

Among the articles received by the editors for No. 3 of *Sbornik* and listed on the cover of No. 2 was the article "What Is Happening Among the Troops" by Strannik (Varin). p. 546

[475] This refers to articles for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* concerning the activities of the *Internationale* group in Germany. No. 2 of *Sbornik* carried two articles on this subject: "Illegal Newspapers of the German Left Opposition" and "Current Events of the Revolutionary Struggle in Germany". p. 547

[476] At the beginning of the war Graber adopted an internationalist stand and attended the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences yet when Vandervelde arrived in Switzerland in 1915 to campaign for the re-establishment of the Second International, Graber delivered a message of greetings to him on behalf of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland. p. 547

[477] The first part of the letter refers to the articles for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

Opportunism was criticised by Lenin in his article "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism"; the Duma group and Trotskyism were criticised in two articles: "Efforts to Whitewash Opportunism" and "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role", which were published in *Sbornik* No. 2. p. 549

[478] *P. Ryabovsky*—the pseudonym of L. N. Stark. In his letter of June 12, 1916, to Zinoviev, Ryabovsky wrote that a new publish-

ing house, Volna, had been founded in Petrograd and offered him and Lenin to contribute to the symposiums which it planned to publish.

It afterwards transpired that the pseudonym "Ryabovsky" was used by Stark, who was suspected of being an agent provocateur, and Lenin refused to contribute to these publications. p. 549

[479] *Pod Starym Znamenem* (Under the Old Banner)—a Bolshevik collection published in Saratov in 1916 and re-issued in Petrograd in 1917 with slight cuts. p. 549

[480] This refers to Kamenev's pamphlet *The Collapse of the International*, put out by the Volna Publishers. p. 550

[481] This refers to the pamphlet *Kriegs und Friedensprobleme der Arbeiterklasse*.

The Menshevik declaration on the war, published in Russian in the *Bulletin of the R.S.D.L.P. Organising Committee, Secretariat Abroad* (No. 5) on June 10, 1916, under the heading "The St. Petersburg and Moscow Mensheviks on the War", was printed in this pamphlet as an appendix. The pamphlet omitted a fairly large part of the declaration which appealed for collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie, for participation in the war industries committees, and so on.

Bulletin of the R.S.D.L.P. Organising Committee, Secretariat Abroad—a Menshevik newspaper, published in Switzerland from February 1915 to March 1917. Ten numbers were put out. The paper adopted a Centrist stand. p. 550

[482] Radek's article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" published in the journal *Lichtstrahlen* No. 3 for December 5, 1915, was criticised by Lenin in his article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 349-50). p. 550

[483] This may possibly refer to Plekhanov's pamphlet Internationalism and *Defence of the Fatherland* and Potresov's *The War and Questions of International Democratic Socialism* published in Petrograd in 1916. p. 552

[484] *G. Y. Belenky* (Grisha) wrote about the growth of Zimmerwald Left influence on the French labour movement. p. 552

[485] *The Call*—newspaper of the British Socialist Party, published in London from 1916 to 1920. p. 553

[486] This refers to a series of articles by F. Engels, "What Have the Working Classes To Do with Poland?" ("Was hat die Arbeiterklasse mit Polen zu tun?") (Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 16, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, S. 153-63). p. 553

[487] This refers to Grimm's statement published in *Berner Tagwacht* No. 173 for July 26, 1916, in which he criticised Platten's resolution adopted at a party meeting in Zurich on July 24, 1916, following a discussion of the activities of the Social-Democratic parliamentary group. The resolution condemned the reformist activities both of the Right-wing parliamentary group and of the Centre, headed by Grimm, and contained criticism of the measures being taken by the Bundesrat, which might lead to an infraction of Swiss neutrality. Grimm did not attend the meeting. On reading the resolution he declared his disagreement with its various points and his intention of "laying down his mandate to the party". Grimm asked for his statement to be discussed so that he could hand in his resignation at the next union meeting. p. 553

[488] The July (seventh) issue of the journal *Demain* carried an article by Guilbeaux "Guerre à la guerre". p. 554

[489] This refers to the letter to Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova asking for information about the Volna Publishers and about the identity of P. Ryabovsky, who had offered Lenin and Zinoviev to contribute to the symposiums put out by this publishing house (see Note 478). p. 554

[490] Bukharin wrote an article "A Contribution to the Theory of the Imperialist State" for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, but owing to its fallacious anti-Marxist propositions on the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat the article was rejected by the Editorial Board.

No. 1 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* carried Radek's "Theses on Imperialism and National Oppression" published in the journal *Vorbote* in April 1916 over the signature of the editors of *Gazeta Robotnicza*. Lenin's article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" published in *Sbornik* directly after Radek's theses was a reply to them. p. 554

[491] Lenin refers in this manner to his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* for reasons of secrecy. The "G. Z. method" means sending the manuscript pasted inside the cover of a French book. p. 556

[492] This refers to Valeriu Marcu, a Rumanian Social-Democrat who lived in Switzerland during the war. In 1916 he went to Paris, Moscow and Rumania on Lenin's errand. p. 558

[493] *Arbeiterpolitik*—a weekly devoted to questions of scientific socialism, organ of the Bremen group of Left Radicals headed by Johann Knief and Paul Fröhlich. The group joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1919. The journal was published in Bremen from 1916 to 1919.

After the October Revolution the journal devoted considerable space to information about life in Soviet Russia.

The reference below is to Shlyapnikov's article "Workers' Russia During Twenty Months of War" published later in *Sbornik* No. 1. p. 558

[494] This refers to the draft letter to Bukharin written by Zinoviev criticising the position of Bosh and Pyatakov during the talks concerning resumption of publication of the journal *Kommunist*.

To the words in Zinoviev's hand: "...we wish to work with you despite our disagreements..." Lenin added: "which you apparently treat more carefully, partly perhaps because you have been writing more on economic than on political questions." p. 559

[495] The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism have an article by Broutchoux in French headed: "En France. L'Opposition contre la guerre", marked "For *Sbornik*". The article was not published in the collection.

By the *Berne collection* Lenin meant No. 1 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* which was being set up in Berne. No. 2 was to be set up in Paris. The article "The Junius Pamphlet" was included in the first issue. The article of Zinoviev's to which Lenin refers is "The Second International and the Problem of the War". p. 561

[496] Lenin intended to have the article on Kautskyism published in the symposium *Pod Starym Znamenem*, but its publication was discontinued after the appearance of the first issue. The Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism have a plan of the article headed by Lenin, "On Kautskyism" (see *Lenin Miscellany XXX*, pp. 133-34). A special work on Kautsky was written by Lenin in 1918 (see "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", present edition, Vol. 28, pp. 227-325). p. 562

[497] This refers to Lenin's article "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 22-27).

Points 4-7 refer to *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. Point 5 refers to Belenky's proposal that the second issue of *Sbornik* should be published in Paris. Safarov's articles were not published in the collections. The article about the women's movement was that by Zinaida Lilina. p. 562

[498] *Gnevich*—pseudonym of Fabierkiewicz, a leader of the Polish labour movement, who was in Petrograd at the time. Two issues of the journal *Zycie* (Life) in the Polish language were published in 1916 with his co-operation. p. 562

[499] No. 2 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* carried an article by Henriette Roland-Holst "Ambiguous Position", which was a translation of an article published in the newspaper *De Tribune* on August 22, 1916. p. 563

[500] This refers to Franz Koritschoner's article "From the Life of Austrian Social-Democracy" (published in No. 2 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*). p. 565

[501] In the draft letter written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 35, pp. 230-31) Zinoviev introduced a number of corrections and changed the concluding part. For Lenin's attitude to these corrections see documents 514 and 515 in this volume and Vol. 35, pp. 228-29. Lenin's correspondence with Zinoviev and Bukharin concerning Bukharin's article "A Contribution to the Theory of the Imperialist State" was published in 1932 in the journal *Bolshevik* No. 22. p. 565

[502] This letter of Lenin's is prefaced by a plan of the cuts, written in Krupskaya's hand, to Zinoviev's article "The Second International and the Problem of the War" which was intended for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* (it was published in No. 2).

Point 5 of Lenin's letter refers to Zinoviev's article "'Defeatism' Before and Now" (printed in the first issue of the collection).

Lower down Lenin lists his articles for the collection: "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", "Efforts to Whitewash Opportunism" and "The Chkheidze Faction and Its Role". p. 566

[503] In August 1916 G. L. Pyatakov (Yuri) sent in his article "The Proletariat and the 'Right of Nations to Self-Determination' in the Era of Finance Capital" for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. This article and Lenin's reply to it were to have been published in No. 3 of the collection, which did not come out at the time owing to lack of funds.

Lenin replied to Pyatakov's article in his articles "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)" and "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 22-27 and 28-76). p. 567

[504] This refers to the articles "Swedish Social-Democracy and the World War" by Karl Kilhom and "Certain Features of the Contemporary Labour Movement in Norway" by Arvid Hansen (published in the second issue of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*). p. 568

[505] Lenin's ironical comment stresses the error of and certain uniformity in the wordings of Pyatakov's and Zinoviev's articles concerning "defence" of the fatherland (see *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2, December 1916, p. 27). p. 568

[506] By the article on disarmament Lenin meant "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", which he had written in German and slightly revised for *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, where it was published in No. 2 under the heading "The 'Disarmament' Slogan". p . 570

[507] A reference to "Theses on Imperialism and National Oppression" published in the journal *Vorbote* over the signature *Gazeta Robotnicza* and reprinted in the first issue of *SbornIk Sotsial-Demokrata*. p. 571

[508] This probably refers to the article by Strannik (V. Y. Fridolin) "What Is Happening Among the Troops", which was listed among the copy received by the editors for No. 3 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. p. 571

[509] The second issue of the collection *Pod Starym Znamenem* for which Lenin intended to write his article on Kautskyism did not appear. p. 573

[510] Lenin's note and Krupskaya's letter to Shlyapnikov were in reply to the latter's first letter written upon his return to Europe from America (he returned to Copenhagen on September 29). In his letter Shlyapnikov gave an account of the work he had done in America and wrote that he was planning to go to Russia. In view of this Lenin, for reasons of secrecy, refers to Shlyapnikov as "Bel." in his note. p. 573

[511] Lenin is here commenting on Zinoviev's article "'Defeatism' Before and Now". It was published in the first issue of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*. Lenin's remarks were accepted by Zinoviev only in part.

Point 2 of Lenin's letter refers to the publication in *Gazeta Robotnicza* No. 25 for 1916 of the Resolution of a Meeting of the Editorial Board, held June 1-2, 1915. The resolution attacked the slogan of defeat of the tsarist monarchy which the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. put forward at the beginning of the war, on the grounds that it put "an argument into the hands of the German social-patriots". p. 573

[512] This is a reply to Bukharin's letter received early in October 1916, in which he questioned the critical remarks to his article "A Contribution to the Theory of the Imperialist State". p. 575

[513] The reference is to the closing sentence in Griboyedov's comedy *Wit Works Woe*: "Goodness me! What will Princess Maria Alexeyevna say!" (Cf. Mrs. Grundy). p. 575

[514] The journal *Letopis* No. 5 for May 1916 published an article by V. Bazarov, "The Present Situation and Perspectives", giving an analysis of the economic crisis in Russia caused by the imperialist war. In this article Bazarov called the division of the Party's Programme into minimum and maximum an "anachronism" and stated that the struggle for democratic reforms was needless.

Potresov in his article "Notes of a Publicist", published in August 1916 in No. 1 of the Menshevik journal *Dyelo*, wrote that "Maximalist optimism" (this was how he characterised Bazarov's views) which does away with "all immediate tasks of democracy" "is the greatest enemy of the democratic movement, its best and most reliable disorganiser".

It is probably this statement in Potresov's article that Lenin has in view. p. 575

[515] *Letopis* (Chronicle)—a literary, scientific and political journal to which former Bolsheviks (the Machists V. A. Bazarov and A. A. Bogdanov) as well as Mensheviks contributed. The journal's literary section was run by Maxim Gorky. The journal appeared from December 1915 to December 1917. p. 579

[516] This refers to the editorial "The Party Congress" published in *Berner Tagwacht* on November 7, 1916. The part of the article in which a very brief account was given of the discussion at the congress of the question of the attitude to the Kienthal Conference, contained malicious hints about an unknown mover of the draft resolution and claimed that the signatures under this draft were invalid.

On November 8, 1916, the newspaper *Volksrecht* No. 262 published a statement by Ernst Nobs who wrote that he "fully shares the views" set forth in the draft resolution moved by the Left Social-Democrats. p. 583

[517] A critical article against Grimm was published as an editorial in *Arbeiterpolitik* on December 2, 1916, under the heading "After the Party Congress of the Swiss Social-Democrats" over the signature of Arnold Struthahn. p. 584

[518] This refers to the draft of a letter to "A Woman Social-Democrat of Germany" (probably Clara Zetkin) in which Armand, on behalf of the editors of the journal *Rabotnitsa*, invited an exchange of views on questions relating to the women's labour movement and suggested calling an unofficial conference of Left women socialists.

The words quoted by Lenin are from the following text of Armand's letter: "It seems to us that during the war this movement (i.e., the women's movement.—*Ed.*) could play a very important role for socialism. When most of the proletariat—the men—are at the fronts, the other part of the proletariat—the women—should take our socialist cause into their own hands." p. 584.

[519] This refers to Platten's draft resolution on the war issue, written with a view to the emergency congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, at which the question of the attitude towards the war was to be discussed.

(For variants of Platten's draft resolution with Lenin's remarks see *Lenin Miscellany XVII*, pp. 57-64.) p. 586

[520] This refers to Humbert-Droz's pamphlet *Guerre à la Guerre. A bas l'Armée. Plaidoirie complète devant le Tribunal Militaire à Neuchâtel le 26 août 1916* (War to the War. Down with the Army. Complete text of a speech for the defence at the Military Tribunal in Neuchâtel on August 26, 1916). Its author was arrested for refusing to answer a call-up notice. p. 588

[521] The newspaper *Arbeiterpolitik* No. 25 for December 9, 1916, published in its "Our Political Diary" section an unsigned paragraph dated December 6, 1916. Touching on the discussion of the question of the right of nations to self-determination in the pages of No. 1 of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, the writer stated that Lenin's views on this question were not shared by "three members of the Editorial Board of *Kommunist*, a theoretical review of Russian Left radicals". Such a report could only disorientate the reader, as it did not mention a word either about the theoretical mistakes or the anti-Party factional behaviour of this group after the appearance of *Kommunist*.

The same issue of *Arbeiterpolitik* carried as an editorial a short article by Bukharin entitled "The Imperialist State" with a footnote from the editors commenting favourably on his article. p. 588

[522] In connection with the "Shklovsky scandal" Zinoviev wrote: "...Shklovsky is in some sort of crisis and he—*without telling us a word*—has put all the Party money into circulation! I am sure that he will soon return it. Meanwhile, the situation is such that we haven't *a centime* even for postal expenses...." p. 589

[523] *Grütlianer*—a newspaper, organ of the Swiss bourgeois-reformist Grütli-Verein; founded in Zurich in 1851. During the imperialist world war (1914-18) the paper adopted a social-chauvinist stand. Lenin described it as a newspaper of "the consistent and avowed servants of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement". p. 593

[524] This refers to the voting on the resolutions on peace at the Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Paris December 25-30, 1916, and at the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour, December 24-26, 1916. The results of this voting are given by Lenin in Chapter III ("The Pacifism of the French Socialists and Syndicalists") of his article "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 186-91). p. 594

[525] *The Appeal of the International Socialist Commission* "*To the Working Class*" was published in the I.S.C. *Bulletin* No. 6 for

January 6, 1917. This appeal is analysed in Chapter IV ("Zimmerwald at the Crossroads") of Lenin's article "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 191-94). p. 594

[526] The newspaper *Volksrecht* No. 5 for January 6, 1917, carried an article on the party meeting held in the Zurich People's House on January 5. One point in the adopted resolution expressed a protest against "the agitation being carried on behind the scenes" for postponing the party congress. p. 595

[527] This probably refers to L. B. Kamenev's pamphlet *The Downfall of the International*. p. 595

[528] The declaration of the C.C. of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party concerning postponement of the party congress was published in No. 7 of *Volksrecht* for January 9, 1917 (see the article "Der ausserordentliche Parteitag verschoben" [The Emergency Party Congress Postponed]), and the resolution of a district party meeting in Zurich containing a demand that the congress be convened not later than in the spring of 1917 was quoted in a paragraph published in the paper's "Vereine und Versammlungen" section, issue No. 8 for January 10, 1917. p. 597

[529] Lenin is referring to his article "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism" intended for *Novy Mir*, which was published in New York by Russian socialist emigrants. The article did not appear in this paper, however. The first two chapters, rewritten by Lenin, were published in the last issue (No. 58) of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, January 31, 1917, under the heading "A Turn in World Politics" (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 262-70). p. 599

[530] *La Bataille*—a newspaper, organ of the French anarcho-syndicalists; appeared in Paris from 1915 to 1920. Adopted a social-chauvinist stand in the First World War. p. 600

[531] Lenin is referring to the resolution of the Swiss Lefts demanding that a referendum be held on the question of convening the emergency party congress, which was postponed indefinitely by a ruling of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. The text of the resolution in German with Lenin's amendments is in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the C.C., C.P.S.U. The resolution of the Lefts formed the basis of the referendum, which was held after the local organisations had gone on record for having the congress convened in the spring. On January 23, 1917, *Volksrecht* (No. 19) published an appeal of the referendum sponsor group under the heading "Das Referendum gegen den Parteivorstandsbeschlüss ergriffen" ("Referendum Against Executive's Decision Has Begun"). p. 603

[532] This refers to the referendum on the question of convening an emergency congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to discuss its attitude towards the war. Despite the fight started by the leaders of the party Robert Grimm, Jacques Schmid, Friedrich Schneider, Herman Greulich and Gustav Müller (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 283-86) against this referendum, the latter met with a warm response among the workers of German and French Switzerland. p. 604

[533] See F. Engels, "Socialism in Germany" ("Der Sozialismus in Deutschland", Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, S. 252-60). p. 605

[534] No. 6 of the journal *Jugend-Internationale*, which came out on December 1, 1916, carried an article by Bukharin (over the signature "Nota Bene") entitled "The Imperialist Robber State". A criticism of this article will he found in Lenin's "The Youth International" published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 163-66).

This article of Bukharin's, slightly abbreviated, was published in *Arbeiterpolitik* No. 25, December 9, 1916, under the heading "The Imperialist State". p. 606

[535] This refers to the pamphlet by Spectator (M. I. Nakhimson) *Vaterlands-Verteidigung und auswärtige Politik der Sozialdemokratie* (Defence of the Fatherland and the Foreign Policy of Social-Democracy). p. 607

[536] This refers to "Abänderungsanträge zu der Resolution der Mehrheit der Militärkommission" (Proposed Amendments to the Resolution by the Majority of the Commission on the War Issue) published in *Volksrecht*, February 9, 1917 (No. 34). This document was signed, among others, by Grimm, Nobs and Platten. The original draft of the majority, rejecting "defence of the fatherland", was published in *Volksrecht*, January 9, 1917 (No. 7) over the signatures of Affolter, Graber, Naine, Nobs and Schmid. p. 609

[537] This refers to the "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue" drafted by Lenin and adopted at the cantonal congress of the Zurich Social-Democratic Organisation in Töss.

This congress was held February 11-12, 1917. The party organ *Volksrecht*, in its issue No. 36 for February 12, 1917, devoted an editorial to it, headed "Der Parteitag in Töss".

The congress had before it two draft resolutions: (1) a social-chauvinist draft submitted by minority members of the Commission on the war issue, and (2) a Centrist draft from the Commission majority. The latter was adopted by 93 votes to 65. The Lefts voted for the resolution in order to prevent the social-chauvinist draft from being adopted, but they moved Lenin's "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue", which

were adopted by the congress (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 282. p. 610

[538] The reference is to Leaflet No. 1 "Gegen die Lüge der Vaterlandsverteidigung" (Against the Fatherland Defence Lie), afterwards issued over the signature: "A group of Zimmerwald Lefts in Switzerland". Lenin took an active part in the drafting and editing of this leaflet, which incorporated his "Proposed Amendments to the Resolution on the War Issue" and a number of propositions from other articles of his. p. 611

[539] This letter (postcard) to Inessa Armand in Clarens was written by Lenin on his way to Zurich from La Chaux-de-Fonds and posted by him in Ambulant (Switzerland). In La Chaux-de-Fonds —a large working-class centre of Switzerland—Lenin delivered a lecture (in German) at a workers' club on the Paris Commune and the prospects of development of the Russian revolution ("Will the Russian Revolution Follow the Path of the Paris Commune?"). p. 616

[540] Lenin is referring to the declaration of the Provisional Government setting forth its political programme, one point of which provided for a complete and immediate amnesty in political and religious cases (see *Vestnik Vremennogo Pravitelstva* No. 1, March 5, 1917). p. 616

[541] Karpinsky invited Lenin to Geneva to deliver a lecture to Russian emigrants and Swiss socialists on the Party's tasks in the revolution.

The meeting of Russian and Swiss internationalists mentioned in the letter took place on March 9 (22), 1917. Lenin did not attend it. p. 618

[542] Karpinsky wrote in his reminiscences: "One plan for enabling some comrades to make the passage was for them to marry a Swiss citizen. This gave the right to entry both into Germany and Russia. This plan appealed to Vladimir Ilyich, and he advised Comrade Ravich to find 'a convenient old man'. He recommended for this purpose the Menshevik P. B. Axelrod, who was a Swiss citizen." p. 622

[543] In Lenin's manuscript in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism the addressee is not given. Probably this letter was intended for Jakub Hanecki or Inessa Armand. Lenin asked Armand on March 18, 1917, to find out whether he would be allowed legal passage from Switzerland to Russia via England (see Document 555 in this volume). On March 19, however, Lenin learned that she refused to go to England. Therefore, he had no reason for sending this document to Armand. In fact, in his subsequent letters to her Lenin makes no further mention of his request.

The date in Lenin's MS. is missing. Judging by its contents, this letter was probably written after the afore-mentioned letters to Armand. It formulates the conditions for the passage of a group of political emigrants through the mediation of the Swiss Social-Democrat Fritz Platten. These conditions, in a somewhat modified form, were set forth in the document "Basis of Negotiations for the Return of Political Emigrants to Russia" through Germany, signed by Platten April 4, 1917 (see *Lenin Miscellany II*, pp. 382-83).

Jakub Hanecki, in his reminiscences, mentions that "after the first reports of the February revolution" he suggested to Lenin that he travel to Russia through England. This document, therefore, is more likely to have been addressed to Hanecki, a member of the R.S.D.L.P., who took an active part in organising the return of Russian political emigrants from Switzerland to Russia. This volume contains a number of letters and telegrams to Hanecki on this question. p. 622

[544] This refers to Grimm's letter of April 2, 1917, to the Russian Emigrants Repatriation Committee in which he protested against the "Decision of the Collegium Abroad, Central Committee, R.S.D.L.P." (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 365-66). p. 627

[545] This refers to the conditions in writing which Platten submitted to the German minister on April 4, 1917, stating that: "I, the undersigned, Fritz Platten, undertake full and constant personal responsibility for the coach with political emigrants and legal persons wishing to travel to Russia through Germany. " p. 627

[546] This refers to the resolutions and protocols connected with the return journey to Russia (see *Lenin Miscellany II*, pp. 385-93). p. 627

[547] *Nachalo* people—adherents of the group formed around the Menshevik-Trotskyite newspaper *Nachalo* (Beginning), published in Paris from September 1916 to March 1917. p. 629

[548] The frontline congress of delegates from the army in the field was held in Petrograd from April 24 to May 4 (May 7-17), 1917. p. 631

[549] Radek was then a member of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. (B.) Bureau Abroad (Stockholm). p. 632

[550] The *Pravda Bulletin* in German appeared in Stockholm from June to November 1917 under the heading *Russische Korrespondenz "Prawda"*. It was published by the agency abroad of the Central Committee, R.S.D.L.P.(B.) and carried articles on impor-

tant issues of the revolution in Russia, documents, reviews and news items dealing with the life of the Party and the country. The *Bulletin* was published also in French. p. 632

[551] Lenin is referring to the point in the resolution of the All-Russia April Conference "The Situation Within the International and the Tasks of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)" which said: "Our Party remains in the Zimmerwald bloc, where it sets itself the task of upholding the tactics of the Zimmerwald Left, and directs the Central Committee to take immediate steps towards founding a Third International"—see *The Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(Bolsheviks). Petrograd City Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(Bolsheviks). April 1917*. Minutes. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1958, p. 255. In place of this point Lenin proposed the following formulation: "We must remain in Zimmerwald *only* for purposes of information" (see present edition, Vol. 24, p. 82). p. 632

[552] The Executive Committee of the S.D.P.P.L. groups in Russia submitted a statement to the Legal Committee of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in connection with the smear campaign raised against Jakub Hanecki in the bourgeois press. This statement, a copy of which is in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, qualifies the political activities of Hanecki as irreproachable, but contains a point saying that "Hanecki and other comrades abroad familiar with Comrade Hanecki's private life should be asked to give an explanation in connection with the accusations levelled against this aspect of his life".

The Executive of the S.D.P.P.L. intended to publish its statement.

After acquainting himself with this material, Lenin wrote this letter to the Legal Committee.

Hanecki, being a member of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) Bureau Abroad, was in Stockholm at the time. p. 633

[553] This letter was written by Lenin to the Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russia Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

On the evening of July 7 (20) a meeting of C.C. members and a number of Party officials was held in the home of S. Y. Alliluyev, a veteran Bolshevik workman, where Lenin was in hiding at the time. The meeting was attended, among others, by Lenin, Nogin, Orjonikidze, Stalin and Stasova. It was decided that Lenin was not to appear in the court of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government. On July 13-14 (26-27), 1917, the enlarged meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.), followed by the Sixth Congress of the Party, adopted a resolution against Lenin appearing in court (see *The Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). Minutes*, Moscow, 1958, p. 270). p. 636

[554] *Priboi* (Surf)—a daily, organ of the Helsingfors Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). Published in Helsingfors from July 27 (August 9), 1917 to March 1918 in lieu of the Bolshevik paper *Volna*, which was closed down by the Kerensky government. From No. 57 (October 19) onward it was the organ of the Finnish Regional Bureau and the Helsingfors Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). p. 637

[555] *Sotsialist-Revolutsioner* (Socialist-Revolutionary)—a newspaper, organ of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in Finland. Appeared in Helsingfors from July 9, 1917 to the beginning of 1918. p. 637

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cow Gubernia Committee of the Party and the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee and chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council. From 1918 onwards in charge of the Women's Department of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)—375-83, 402-03, 406-07, 408-10, 412-14, 416-21, 423-26, 432, 451, 454-55, 460, 471, 490, 504-07, 510-11, 532, 535, 540, 545-48, 552-53, 555, 571-72, 579-85, 587-88, 590-96, 598-607, 609-18, 620-21, 623-24

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Avel—see *Yenukidze*, *A. S.*

Avenard, *Etienne* (b. 1873)—contributor (1907) to *l'Humanité*, central organ of the United French Socialist Party—174-75

Avramov (*Abramov*), *R. P.* (1882-1937)—participant in the Bulgarian and Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905—agent of the Bolshevik C.C. abroad, member of the C.C. Economic Commission. After the October Revolution worked in Soviet trade agencies abroad. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1925—169

Axelrod, *Lyubov Isaakovna* (*Orthodox*) (1868-1946)—philosopher and literary critic, participant in the Social-Democratic movement. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L P. (1903) she first joined the Bolsheviks then followed Plekhanov in siding with the Mensheviks. Retired from the active political scene in 1918—61, 69, 70-71, 75-76, 84-85, 93, 94, 95, 96, 105-06, 340

Axelrod, *N. I.* (d. 1906)—the wife of P. B. Axelrod—63

Axelrod, *Pavel Borisovich* (1850-1928)—a Menshevik leader. After the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution a liquidator. During the First World War adopted a social-chauvinist stand—45, 48-49, 54-55, 62-63, 66-67, 77, 78-79, 81, 82, 118, 124, 152, 301, 416, 432, 473, 490, 495, 524, 531, 627

B

B. Abr.—see *Koltsov*, *D.*

B. N., B. N.-ch—see *Noskov*, *V. A.*

Babin—in 1912 a Plekhanovite Menshevik—285

Badayev, *Alexei Yegorovich* (*No. 1*) (1883-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Deputy to the Fourth Duma from the workers of the St. Petersburg gubernia, member of the Bolshevik Duma group, contributed to the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*. In November 1914, together with the other Bolshevik deputies, was arrested for revolutionary activities against the imperialist war, and in 1915 deported to Siberia. After the October Revolution occupied key posts in Party, administrative and business fields—318, 370

Baron—see *Essen*, *E. E.*

Basil—see *Lenin*, *V. I.*

Basovsky, *Iosif Borisovich* (*Dementyev*) (b. 1876)—joined the Social-Democratic circles in Odessa in 1896; subsequently

one of the organisers of the illegal transportation of *Iskra* into Russia from abroad—109

Bauer, Otto (1882-1938)—a leader of the Austrian Social-Democrats and the Second International—489

Baumann, Rudolf (b. 1872)—a Swiss Right-wing Social-Democrat—609

Bazarov (*Rudnev*), *Vladimir Alexandrovich* (1874-1939)—writer on economics and philosopher; joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1896. In 1905-07 participated in a number of Bolshevik publications; subsequently moved away from Bolshevism, became a Machian revisionist of Marxist philosophy. In 1917 one of the editors of the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*. From 1921 worked in the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. —166, 575

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—a prominent leader of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International. Started political activities in the early sixties; was a member of the First International. In 1869, together with Wilhelm Liebknecht, founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (the "Eisenachers"); came out against reformism and revisionism in the ranks of German Social-Democracy —232-33, 282

Bebutov, I. D., Prince—sympathiser with Social-Democracy; collected documents on the history of the liberation movement in Russia. Bequeathed his library and archives to the R.S.D.L.P.—305

Bedny, Demyan (*Pridvorov, Yefim Alexeyevich*) (1883-1945)—Soviet poet, member of the Bolshevik Party from 1912. Since 1911 contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*—311

Beilis, Mendel Tevievich (b. 1873). —clerk at a brickyard in Kiev, a Jew; falsely accused in 1911 of the murder of a Christian boy for alleged ritual purposes—375

Bekzadian, Alexander Artemievich (*Yuri*) (1881-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. A leader of the Baku Bolshevik organisation. Emigrated in 1906. In 1912 a member of the Bolshevik delegation to the Basle Congress of the Second International. Returned to the Caucasus in 1915—291, 308, 313, 339, 406, 472

Belenin—see *Shlyapnikov, A. G.*

Belenky, Grigory Yakovlevich (*Belinsky, Grisha*) (1885-1938) —joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1914-17 he was secretary of the Paris section of the Bolsheviks. Returned to Russia in May 1917. After the October Revolution engaged in Party work. Adhered to the Trotsky opposition in 1925-27, for which he was expelled from the R.C.P.(B.)—457, 502-03, 504, 544-45, 563, 571, 574, 575, 611, 629

Belinsky—see *Belenky, G. Y.*

Belousov, Terenty Osipovich (b. 1875)—Menshevik liquidator, deputy to the Third Duma from the Irkutsk gubernia—212

Belousova—611

Belsky—see *Krasikov, P. A.*

Benteli—owner of the printing-press in Bümpliz, near Berne, where separate issues of the Party's Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, were printed—475, 491, 567

Berdyaev, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1874-1948)—Russian writer,

reactionary idealist and mystical philosopher. In his earliest writings he adopted the stand of "legal Marxism", and subsequently became an avowed enemy of Marxism—61

Berg—see *Martov, L.*

Bernheim—192

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—leader of the extreme opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International, theoretician of revisionism and reformism—68, 405, 514

Berzin (*Berzin, Ziemelis*), *Janis Antonovich* (1881-1938)—veteran participant in the revolutionary movement in Latvia. Emigrated in 1908; was a member of the R.S.D.L.P.'s C.C. Bureau Abroad (1910) and of the Bureau of Groups Abroad of the Lettish Social-Democrats. Returned to Petrograd in the summer of 1917; took an active part in the October Revolution—146-47, 414, 421, 578

Blagoev, Dimitr (1856-1924)—an active participant in the revolutionary movement in Russia and Bulgaria. In 1891 the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party was founded under his leadership, and the year 1903 saw the foundation of its revolutionary wing—the Tesnyaki Party. Subsequently Blagoev played an important part in transforming the Tesnyaki Party into the Bulgarian Communist Party (1919)—462

Bloch—participant in the women's movement in Switzerland during the First World War—583

Bloch, Josef (1871-1936)—German Social-Democrat, revisionist, writer. From 1897 to 1933 editor and publisher of the journal *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, mouthpiece of the German opportunists—574

Blumenfeld, I. S. (*Tsvetov*) (b. 1865)—Social-Democrat, active member of the Emancipation of Labour Group and subsequently of the *Iskra* organisation; a compositor by trade. Manager of the printing-press and transport department in the Emancipation of Labour Group and *Iskra*. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Mensheviks—65, 75

Bobrovskaya (*Zelikson*), *Cecilia Samoilovna* (*Lenochka*) (1876-1960)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Was an agent of *Iskra* and performed other underground work in various cities of Russia—141, 143

Bogdanov, A. (*Malinovsky, Alexander Alexandrovich, Werner, Maximov, Rakhmetov, Ryadovoi, Sysoika*) (1873-1928)—Social-Democrat, philosopher sociologist, economist, by profession a doctor. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) aligned himself with the Bolsheviks. Afterwards headed the otzovists and was leader of the *Vperyod* anti-Party group. Expelled from the ranks of the Bolsheviks in 1909. After the October Revolution one of the organisers and leaders of Proletcult. From 1926 Director of the Blood Transfusion Institute founded by him—120, 122, 125, 132-34, 146, 149, 166, 188, 203, 204-05, 207, 222, 224, 352, 353, 356, 385, 387, 388

Bogdasaryan, Tigran—member of the Geneva Bolshevik section, a student (see Note 127)—192, 212

Bogucharsky (*Yakovlev, V. Y.*) (1861-1915)—a liberal-bourgeois

leader and historian of the Narodnik movement in Russia —340

Bolshak (Highway)—see *Skvortsov-Stepanov, I. I.*

Bonch-Bruyevich, Vladimir Dmitrievich (1873-1955)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1895; joined the revolutionary movement in the eighties; in 1896 emigrated to Switzerland. Participated abroad in the activities of the Emancipation of Labour Group and contributed to *Iskra*. In 1904 manager of the C.C. Forwarding Department, afterwards organised the publication of Bolshevik literature (the V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishing House). In later years took an active part in organising Bolshevik newspapers, periodicals and Party publishing houses. After the October Revolution held the post of Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars and other posts —99 102, 103 104, 107 109-10, 114-15, 117, 120, 122 125, 128, 132, 161, 167-68, 159, 172, 258-59, 619

Boris—see *Noskov, V. A.*

Boroda (Beard)—see *Desnitsky, V. A.*

Bosh, Yevgenia Bogdanovna (1879-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. During the First World War shared the anti-Leninist ideas of Bukharin and Pyatakov on the national and other questions. After the October Revolution was a member of the first Soviet Government in the Ukraine, afterwards engaged in Party and administrative work. In 1923 joined the Trotsky opposition—472, 529-30, 539, 543, 560, 588

Boss—see *Gorky, Maxim.*

Boulanger, Georges Ernest (1837-1891)—French general. War Minister in 1886-87. Aiming at a military dictatorship, he headed a chauvinist movement in France under the motto of a war of revenge against Germany—606

Bourderon Albert—French socialist, a leader of the Left wing in the syndicalist movement. Took part in the Zimmerwald Conference. At the Congress of the French Socialist Party in December 1916 voted for a Centrist resolution, supported the imperialist war; then broke completely with the Zimmerwaldists and sided with the opponents of the revolutionary labour movement—503, 594

Bracke (*Desrousseaux, Alexandre-Marie*) (1861-1955)—a leader of the French Socialist Party its Foreign Relations Secretary. From 1900 a contributor to various periodicals of the F.S.P.; was an editor of the newspaper *l'Humanité*; repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies. During the First World War, a social-chauvinist. Came out against affiliation with the Third, Communist International—159, 171

Branting, Karl Hjalmar (1860-1925)—leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden and of the Second International. Adopted an opportunist stand. Editor of the party's central organ *Socialdemokraten*, Member of Parliament. In 1920, 1921-23, and 1924-25 headed the Social-Democratic Government of Sweden—177, 209, 210, 437, 444

Braun—see *Janson.*

Brendisten—625

Brilliant—see *Sokolnikov G. Y.*

Britman—see *Popov A. V.*

Brodyaga (Vagabond)—see *Silvin, M. A.*

Bronowski, Julian (1856-1917)—member of the Warsaw organisation of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, from 1912 a member of the "Rozlamist" opposition, which stood closest to the Bolsheviks. In 1912 an elector of the workers' curia from Warsaw—329

Bronski, M. G. (*Warszawski*) (1882-1941)—Polish Social-Democrat, afterwards a Bolshevik. Member of the S.D.P. of Poland and Lithuania from 1902. Represented the Polish Social-Democrats at the Kienthal Conference, ranged himself with the Zimmerwald Left. From June 1917 worked in Petrograd as agitator and propagandist of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). After the October Revolution held key posts in the Soviet administration, and afterwards worked as teacher and science worker—521, 564, 582, 586, 587, 609, 627

Bronstein, P. A. (*Yuri*) (b. 1881)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. Was editor of the liquidators' journal *Dyelo Zhizni*, and contributed to other Menshevik liquidator organs—240, 241, 242

Broutchoux, Benoit—a French trade union leader, anarcho-syndicalist—561

Brutus—see *Krzhizhanovsky, G. M.*

Bucher, Alfred—a leader of the Swiss Youth League, member of the Kegelklub youth organisation in Zurich during the First World War. Died in the early twenties—614

Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich (1888-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906, worked as propagandist in various districts in Moscow. Emigrated in 1911. In 1915 contributed to the journal *Kommunist*, held non-Marxist views on the question of the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the right of nations to self-determination, etc. After the October Revolution held various key posts. Repeatedly came out against the Party's Leninist policies. In 1928 headed the Right opposition in the Party. In 1929 was suspended from the Politbureau of the C.C.; in 1937 he was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities—378, 386, 450, 456, 459, 471 481, 483, 496, 521, 525, 528, 529-30, 542, 544, 546, 549, 553 554, 559, 565, 569, 570, 575-79, 588

Bukva (Letter)—see *Gorky, Maxim.*

Bulgakov, Sergei Nikolayevich (1871-1944)—bourgeois economist, idealist philosopher. In the nineties a "legal Marxist"; at the turn of the century he attempted to revise Marx's doctrine on the agrarian question. After the 1905-07 revolution aligned himself with the Cadets and preached philosophical mysticism. From 1918 a priest of the Orthodox Church. Deported from the country in 1922 for counter-revolutionary activities—55

Bulkin (*Semyonov*), *F. A.* (b. 1888)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik—416

Burenin, V. P. (1841-1926)—reactionary publicist and author. From 1876 a member of the editorial staff of *Novoye Vremya*. Lenin often used the name of Burenin to denote dishonest methods of conducting a controversy. (The expression

"Burenin-Gamma" applies to L. Martov)—366, 368

Burtsev, V. L. (1862-1936)—participated in the revolutionary movement of the eighties, stood close to the Narodnaya Volya. After his arrest escaped abroad, where he engaged in exposing agent provocateurs, who were being infiltrated into the revolutionary movement by the Russian secret political police. Stood close to the Socialist-Revolutionaries, afterwards supported the Cadets—214, 403

Buryanov, Andrei Faddeyevich (b. 1880)—Menshevik, deputy to the Fourth Duma from the Taurida gubernia, member of the Social-Democratic Duma group—326, 378

C

Caillaux—the wife of the French Finance Minister Joseph Caillaux. See Note 323—394

Caillaux, Joseph (1863-1944)—French statesman, a leader of the French bourgeois Radical Party. Before World War I was Minister of Finance, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of the Interior. In 1911 concluded the Franco-German treaty for the division of spheres of influence in Africa and the admission of German capital on the French stock exchange. Caillaux's pro-German policy evoked opposition against him among anti-German circles in France—394

Cavaignac, Louis Eugène (1802-1857)—French general. In June 1848 headed the military dictatorship in France, crushed the June uprising of the Paris workers with exceptional cruelty—635

Chachina, Olga Ivanovna (d. 1919)—Bolshevik, joined the Social-Democratic movement in the late nineties. In 1899 was deported to Ufa, where she met N. K. Krupskaya. In 1900-04 secretary of the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1905 took part in the December armed uprising at Sormovo—126

Charushnikov, A. P. (1852-1913)—Russian publisher—146

Chasovnikov—272

Chebotaryov, Ivan Nikolayevich (1861-1934)—a member of the Narodnaya Volya; joined the revolutionary movement in 1886. Arrested in connection with the charge against Lenin's brother, A. I. Ulyanov. A close acquaintance of the Ulyanov family in Simbirsk. In St. Petersburg Lenin used his address to communicate with his family and to forward illegal literature—173

Cherevanin, N. (*Lipkin, Fyodor Andreyevich*) (1868-1938)—a Menshevik leader. In 1917 one of the editors of *Rabochaya Gazeta*, the Mensheviks' central organ, and a member of the Menshevik Central Committee—231

Cherkez, M.—proprietor of an aircraft factory in Kitil (Rumania)—281

Chernomazov, Miron Yefimovich (*Miron*) (b. 1882)—an agent provocateur. From May 1913 to February 1914 secretary of *Pravda*'s editorial board. Suspected of being a provocateur, he was suspended from Party work by the Bolshevik C.C. In 1917 he was exposed as an under-

cover man of the St. Petersburg secret political police—336, 357, 549

Chernov, *Viktor Mikhailovich* (1876-1952)—a leader of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Wrote anti-Marxist articles for *Russkoye Bogatstvo*. In 1902-05 editor of the S.R. newspaper *Revolutsionnaya Rossia*. In May-August 1917 Minister of Agriculture in the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Revolution engineered anti-Soviet revolts—55, 104

Chernyshevsky, *Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian writer, revolutionary democrat, Utopian socialist—248

Chicherin, *Georgi Vasilievich* (*Orn.*, *Ornatsky*, *A.*) (1872-1936)—Soviet statesman, diplomat. From 1904 to 1917 lived abroad, where he joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1918. From 1918 to 1930 People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs—511

Chkheidze, *Nikolai Semyonovich* (1864-1926)—a leader of the Mensheviks. Deputy to the Third and Fourth Dumas from the Tiflis gubernia, leader of the Menshevik group in the Fourth Duma. After the October Revolution Chairman of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia—the counter-revolutionary Menshevik government—212, 316, 317, 457, 458, 460, 462, 473, 502, 510, 512, 516, 519, 531, 546, 567

Chkhenkeli, *Akaky Ivanovich* (1874-1959)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, deputy to the Fourth Duma. After the February 1917 revolution representative of the bourgeois Provisional Government in Transcaucasia. In 1918-21 Foreign Minister in the Menshevik government of Georgia—527, 531

Chudnovsky, *Grigory Isaakovich* (1894-1918)—Social-Democrat, at first a Menshevik; admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress (1917). Active participant in the October armed uprising in Petrograd in 1917 and in the civil war—633

Clemenceau, *Georges Benjamin* (1841-1929)—French politician and statesman, for many years leader of the Radical Party. From 1906 to 1909 headed the French government. Defended the interests of big capital, pursued a policy of harsh repressions against the working class—145

D

Dan (*Gurvich*), *Fyodor Ivanovich* (1871-1947)—a Menshevik leader, headed the liquidator group abroad, edited the newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. After the October Revolution waged a struggle against the Soviet government. Deported from the country at the beginning of 1922—70, 124, 236-39, 243, 257, 550

Dansky, *B. G.* (*Komarovsky*, *Konstantin Antonovich*, *X.*) (b. 1883)—member of the P.S.P. from 1901. In 1911 joined the R.S.D.L.P., contributed to the newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. In 1913-14 editor of the journal *Voprosy Strakhovania*. After the October Revolution worked in Soviet institutions and in the diplomatic service—362, 363, 386

David, *Eduard* (1863-1930)—a leader of the Right-wing German Social-Democrats. In 1919 a member of the first coalition government of the German Republic, in 1919-20 Minister of the Interior. Supported the revanchist aspirations of German imperialism—223, 466

Davydov, *N. M.* (b. 1890)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. (joined 1906). Carried on Party work in the Yekaterinburg Bolshevik organisation. Arrested in 1909 and exiled to the Archangel gubernia—216

Dedushka (Grandpa)—see *Knipovich*, *L. M.*

Delaisi, *Francis* (b. 1873)—French petty-bourgeois economist—585

Dementyev—see *Basovsky*, *I. B.*

Demidovsky, *Ivan*—political emigrant, worked at the Kitil airfield (Rumania). Apparently a sailor of the Russian battleship *Potemkin*, whose crew mutinied in 1905—281

Demon—see *Zemlyachka*, *R. S.*

Desnitsky, *Vasily Alexeyevich* (*Boroda*) (1878-1958)—Social-Democrat. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. Carried on Party work in Nizhni-Novgorod, Moscow the Urals and the south of Russia—133

Deutsch, *Lev Grigorievich* (*Alleman*, *L. Gr.*, *Leo*) (1855-1941)—Narodnik, later a Social-Democrat. In 1883 one of the founders of the Emancipation of Labour Group, later took part in the publication and distribution of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) an Iskrist of the minority; after the Congress a Menshevik—82, 85, 104, 109

Dietz, *Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922)—German Social-Democrat, Reichstag deputy from 1881 to 1918. Manager of the Social-Democratic Party's publishing house, which issued the works of Marx and Engels; the first issues of *Iskra*, the journal *Zarya* and Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done?* were printed on his presses—74, 82, 86, 88, 360-61

Dilon—122

Dimka—see *Smidovich*, *I. G.*

Dirks—see *Nasimovich*, *N. F.*

Dnevnitsky, *P. N.* (*Tsederbaum*, *F. O.*) (b. 1883)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, publicist. From 1909 lived abroad, contributed to Plekhanov's *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* and to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*—297 325, 338

Dolgolevsky—see *Bukharin*, *N. I.*

Domov—see *Pokrovsky*, *M. N.*

Domski, *Heinrich* (*Kamenski*) (1883-1937)—journalist, member of the S.D. Party of Poland and Lithuania from 1904. In 1906 a member of the party's Warsaw Committee. Contributed to a number of Polish Social-Democratic publications. From 1912 contributed to *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*. In 1915 elected to the party's Regional Executive—463, 483

Doroshenko, *Nikolai Vasilievich* (*Konstantin Sergeyevich*) (1881-1926)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1902, carried on work in St. Petersburg and Tiflis. Wrote for the newspaper *Vperyod* over the pseudonym "Napoleon"—162

Droz—see *Humbert-Droz*, *Jules*

Dubreuil, *Louis* (1862-1924)—socialist, Secretary General of the French Socialist Party and the

French Section of the Second International. Contributor to and editor of a number of socialist newspapers—185

Dubrovinsky, *I. F.* (*Innokentiev*, *Inok*) (1877-1913)—Bolshevik; after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) was co-opted to the C.C. In 1905 one of the organisers and leaders of the armed uprising in Moscow. At the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. elected to the C.C. In 1908 a member of the editorial board of *Proletary*—203-04, 206-09, 224, 230, 267

Dzerzhinsky, *Felix Edmundovich* (*Yuzef*) (1877-1926)—one of the organisers of the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania. Carried on party work in Poland and Russia. After the Fourth Congress of the party (1906), a member of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. After the victory of the October Revolution, Chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (the Vecheka), and held other key posts—234

E

E.—see *Rosen*, *M. M.*

Edisherov—383

Ekk, *A.*—234

Emma, *Emmanuil*—see *Korenevsky*, *M.*

Engels, *Frederick* (1820-1895)—43, 115, 553, 576, 605, 611

Essen, *Eduard Eduardovich* (*Baron*) (1879-1931)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, a Bolshevik. In 1903 worked in Yekaterinoslav, took part in organising strikes in the South of Russia. In September 1904 attended the Conference of the Southern Committees of the R.S.D.L.P., which played an important part in uniting the Bolshevik committees in the South of Russia and setting up a Bureau of Majority Committees—126, 134

Essen, *Maria Moiseyevna* (1872-1956)—Social-Democrat, after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. Worked in the St. Petersburg Party Committee; at the end of 1903 co-opted to the C.C. In February 1904 was sent abroad to inform the emigrant leaders of the R.S.D.L.P. about the state of affairs in Russia—122

F

Fabierkiewicz, *Zbigniew* (*Gnevich*) (d. 1919)—a leading figure in the Polish labour movement, member of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, journalist. In 1916 one of the organisers of the party's group in Petrograd and member of the editorial board of its mouthpiece *Trybuna*. Contributed to Russian Bolshevik periodicals—562

Falinsky—see *Litvinov-Falinsky*, *V. P.*

Fedoseyev, *Nikolai Yevgrafovich* (1871-1898)—one of Russia's first Marxists, organiser and leader of Marxist circles. Wrote a number of works in which he analysed the political and economic development of Russia—37

Felix—see *Litvinov*, *M. M.*

Ferri, *Enrico* (1856-1929)—a leader of the Italian Socialist Party. In 1898 and subsequent-

ly in 1904-08 edited the Party's central organ *Avanti!* —185

Filippov, *M. I.* (1858-1903)—Russian scholar, philosopher and writer. Adherent of the "legal Marxists". In 1894 founded the journal *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*, which carried Lenin's articles "A Note on the Question of the Market Theory", "Once More on the Theory of Realisation" and "Uncritical Criticism"—104

Finikov—275

Finn-Yenotayevsky, *Alexander Yulievich* ("*G-n*") (1872-1943)—Social-Democrat, economist and writer. In 1903-14 adhered to the Bolsheviks. Author of a number of works on economics—66-67, 71-75

Fofanova, *Margarita Vasilievna* (b. 1883)—participant in the revolutionary movement, Bolshevik. After the February 1917 revolution deputy of the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin used her flat as a hide-out during the last period of the underground —638

Fotieva, *Lydia Alexandrovna* (*Nekrasova*) (b. 1881)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1904-05 worked in the Russian Bolshevik section abroad, assisted N. K. Krupskaya in handling the correspondence with underground organisations in Russia. Participant in the first Russian revolution of 1905-07 and the October 1917 Revolution. From 1918 Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence, and simultaneously secretary to Lenin —138

Fourier, *Charles* (1772-1837)—great French Utopian socialist —611

Fram—see *Goloshchokin*, *F. I.*

Franz—see *Koritschoner*, *Franz*

Frey—see *Lenin*, *V. I.*

Fridolin, *Vladimir Yulievich* (*Varin*, *Strannik*) (1879-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1907-10 retired from political activities. Lived abroad from 1910 to 1917. During the First World War contributed to the Menshevik, Trotskyite newspaper *Nashe Slovo*, wrote articles against the war—463, 464, 471, 475, 544, 545, 546, 548, 553, 566, 571, 574

Frimou, *I.* (1871-1919)—worked for the amalgamation of the workers' circles and the creation of a political party of the working class in Rumania one of the founders of Rumania's trade unions. Elected secretary of the Socialist Association. From 1910 member of the Executive Committee of the Rumanian Socialist Party—281

Fröhlich, *Paul* (1884-1953)—German Social-Democrat, journalist. In 1912-16 editor of *Bremer Bürger Zeitung*, one of the founders of the Bremen weekly *Arbeiterpolitik*. Delegate of the Bremen Lefts at the Kienthal Conference. From 1919 to 1924 member of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany; was delegate of the United Communist Party of Germany to the Third Congress of the Comintern. In 1928 he was expelled from the C.P.G. for factional activities—531

Fyodorovich—see *Teodorovich*, *I. A.*

G

G., Gr.—see *Zinoviev*, *G. Y.*

G. V.—see *Plekhanov*, *G. V.*

G. Z.—see *Zinoviev, G. Y.*
Galina—see *Rozmirovich, Y. F.*
Galperin, Lev Yefimovich (*Valentin, Konyagin*) (1872-1951)—Social-Democrat, joined the revolutionary movement in 1898. In the capacity of *Iskra* agent was sent to Baku in the spring of 1901, where he worked to build up the Baku Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., to organise a secret printery, the transportation of illegal literature from abroad and its distribution in Russia. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), a Bolshevik; for some time represented the editorial board of the Central Organ on the Party Council, and was later co-opted to the Central Committee. Retired from active political life in 1906—63-65, 152
Galyorka—see *Olminsky, M. S.*
Gamma—see *Martov, L.*
Gegechkori, Yevgeny Petrovich (b. 1879)—Georgian Menshevik. Deputy to the Third Duma, a leader of the Social-Democratic Duma group. From November 1917, chairman of the counter-revolutionary government of Transcaucasia (the Transcaucasian Commissariat), subsequently Foreign Minister and Deputy Chairman of the Menshevik government of Georgia. After the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia in 1921—a white émigré—212, 277
George, Georgik—see *Safarov, G. I.*
Ger-n—292
Gertsik, Boris—agent provocateur, in 1903 served in the Warsaw branch of the secret political police; later on the staff of the department's section abroad—213, 214, 218, 220
Gimmer, N. N.—see *Sukhanov, N.*
Ginsburg, B. A.—see *Koltsov, D.*
Glebov, B.—see *Noskov, V. A.*
"*G-n*" (Mr.)—see *Finn-Yenotayevsky, A. Y.*
Gnevich—see *Fabierkiewicz, Zbigniew.*
Gobi (*Shnitnikova*), *L. Kh.* (*Irina*) (1878-1944)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1901, in 1902-04 clerical secretary of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.; in 1903 agent of the C.C. for contacts with the provinces—128
Golay, Paul—Swiss Social-Democrat, publicist. Editor of the socialist newspaper *Le Grutléen* in Lausanne—472, 475, 478, 487, 506, 612
Goldenberg, Iosif Petrovich (*Meshkovsky*) (1873-1922)—Social-Democrat, Iskrist. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903)—a Bolshevik. During the First World War aligned himself with the defencists, followers of Plekhanov. Readmitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party in 1920—134, 207
Goldendach, D. B.—see *Ryazanov, D. B.*
Goldman, Lev Isaakovich (*Akim*) (1877-1939)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1893. In 1900 went abroad, where he joined the *Iskra* organisation. In May 1901 organised an illegal printery in Kishinev, where *Iskra* and other Social-Democratic publications were printed—65-66
Goloshchokin, F. I. (*Fram*) (1876-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, member of the St. Petersburg and Moscow committees of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1912, at the Sixth (Prague) Con-

ference, elected to the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. After the October Revolution hold Party and administrative posts—335

Golubeva, *Maria Petrovna* (*Maria Petrovna*, *Yasneva*) (1861-1936)—joined the revolutionary movement in the eighties. Became a member of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the Second Congress (1903)—a Bolshevik; was secretary of the Saratov Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.; afterwards worked in St. Petersburg—134, 148

Gorev, *Boris Isaakovich* (*Goldman*, *B. I.*; *Igorev*, *Igor*) (b. 1874)—Social-Democrat. In 1905 a member of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., a Bolshevik. In 1907 aligned himself with the Mensheviks—197, 244, 246, 268, 278

Gorky, *Maxim* (*Peshkov*, *Alexei Maximovich*, *A. M.*, *Bukva Boss*) (1868-1936)—Russian author, father of Soviet literature—133, 146, 180, 181, 252, 298, 304-05, 325, 326, 333, 338, 355-56, 440, 587, 590

Gorter, *Herman* (1864-1927)—Dutch Social-Democrat, publicist. During the First World War an internationalist, supporter of the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918-21 a member of the Communist Party of Holland; took part in the work of the Comintern, adopted an ultra-Left, sectarian position. In 1921 he withdrew from the Party and subsequently retired from political activity—451, 452, 458, 463, 470, 478, 482, 509, 514

Gots, *Mikhail Rafailovich* (*Rafailov*, *M.*) (1866-1906)—one of the founders and theoreticians of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party—56

Graber, *Ernest Paul* (b. 1875)—Swiss Social-Democrat. Attended the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. From 1915 to 1925 editor of the Swiss Social-Democratic newspaper *La Sentinelle*. At the beginning of 1917 adopted a Centrist, pacifist stand, and in 1918 sided with the Right wing of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party—547, 552, 594, 614

Grazhdanin (Citizen)—see *Krasnukha*, *V. P.*

Greulich, *Herman* (1842-1925)—one of the founders of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, leader of its Right wing; from 1890 a member of the Zurich Cantonal Council, and from 1902 a Member of Parliament. During the First World War stood in opposition to the Zimmerwald Left—529, 582, 635

Grigory—see *Zinoviev*, *G. Y.*

Grigory's wife—see *Lilina*, *Z. I.*

Grimm, *Robert* (1881-1958)—a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, in 1909-18 was its secretary and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Berner Tagwacht*. From 1911 a Member of Parliament. Attended the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. Was Chairman of the International Socialist Commission and one of the organisers of the Centrist (II½) International—455, 457, 463, 473, 480, 483, 487, 495, 501, 502, 512, 514, 516, 519, 523, 531, 532, 533, 551, 555, 582, 583, 594, 598, 600, 602, 609, 610, 614, 624, 627, 635

Grisha—see *Belenky*, *G. Y.*

Gritsko—123, 125

Grozhan (*Gvozdev*), *D. S.* (*Yuri*) (b. 1876)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1905-06 orga-

niser of the Technical Combat Group under the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. In November 1906 a delegate to the first conference of military and fighting organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. Retired from active political life in 1910—203

Grumbach, Solomon (*Homo*) (1884-1952)—German Right-wine Social Democrat, later joined the French Socialist Party. Member of the Executive Committee of the Second International. During the First World War lived in Switzerland. Contributed to *l'Humanité* and *Berner Tagwacht*—510

Guesde, Jules (1845-1922)—one of the organisers and leaders of the French socialist movement and the Second International—171

Guilbeaux, Henri (1885-1938)—French socialist, journalist. During the imperialist world war published the journal Demain. Attended the Kienthal Conference in 1916. From the early twenties resided in Germany; correspondent of *l'Humanité*. Subsequently adopted a Trotskyist stand—545, 548, 552, 554, 591, 594, 597, 599, 600, 604, 625, 627

Guliko—386

Gurevich, Emmanuil Lvovich (b. 1865)—until 1890 a member of the Narodnaya Volya, then joined the Social-Democrats—46

Gurovich, M. I. (1862-1915)—undercover man of the Russian secret political police in the Social-Democratic movement. Exposed as an agent provocateur by the Party's St. Petersburg Committee in 1902, whose findings were confirmed by an *ad hoc* commission consisting of representatives of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and the *Borba* group. After this Gurovich openly entered the service of the Department of Police—91-92

Gusev, Sergei Ivanovich (*Drabkin, Y. D.*) (1874-1933)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. (joined 1896). Delegate to the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., an Iskrist of the majority. From December 1904 to May 1905 secretary of the Bureau of Majority Committees and of the St. Petersburg Committee of the Party, afterwards a leader of the Odessa Bolshevik organisation—134

Gylka—see *Melenevsky, M. I.*

H

Haase, Hugo (1863-1919)—a leader of the German Social-Democrats, an opportunist. In 1911 elected chairman of the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party. Reichstag Deputy in 1897-1907 and 1912-18. In April 1917 took part in founding the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. During the November 1918 revolution in Germany, a member of the so-called Council of People's Representatives which pursued a policy of suppression of the revolutionary movement—310, 312, 314, 332-33, 465

Haidukiewicz—448

Halberstadt, Rozalia Samoilovna (*Kostya*) (1877-1940)—in 1896 joined Plekhanov's Social-Democratic circle in Geneva. On her return to Russia she worked in the Social-Democratic organisations of Odessa,

Kishinev, Kharkov and Ykaterinoslav, was a member of the *Iskra* organisation. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), a Menshevik—113

Hanecki (*Fürstenberg*), *Jakub* (1879-1937)—prominent leader in the Polish and Russian revolutionary movement, joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1896, member of the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania; at its Sixth Congress (1908) quitted the Executive owing to differences on a number of inner-party questions, and after the split in Polish Social-Democracy in 1912 was one of the leaders of the "Rozlamist" opposition, which stood closest to the Bolsheviks. In 1917—a member of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau Abroad—339, 448, 619 622-23, 624, 626, 628, 629

Herman, *I. E.* (1884-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Worked in the Riga Bolshevik organisation. Active participant in the 1905 revolution. Emigrated to Berlin in 1909. Worked for the amalgamation of the Social-Democratic Party of the Latvian Region with the Bolshevik Party. In 1914 a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the S.D.P.L.R. in Brussels, where he was elected to the Central Committee, to the Committee Abroad and to the editorial board of the party's central organ *Zihna*. After the October Revolution held key posts in Party and administrative work—342-43, 346, 371-75, 392, 401

Höglund, *Carl Zeth Konstantin* (1884-1956)—leader of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic movement and of the youth socialist movement in Sweden. At the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference joined the Zimmerwald Left group. In 1917-24 one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden. Expelled from the Party in 1924 for opportunism and open opposition to the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. In 1926 rejoined the Social-Democratic Party—478, 546, 630, 632

Hopfenhaus, *Maria Hermanovna* (*M. H. H.*) (1862-1898)—friend of N. Y. Fedoseyev. Lenin corresponded with the latter through her—41

Hourwich, *I. A.* (1860-1924)—Russian economist. Emigrated to America in 1889—40

Huber, *Johannes* (1879-1948)—Swiss Right-wing Social-Democrat, lawyer and publicist. During the First World War he opposed the Zimmerwald movement. After the war came out against the communist movement—580

Humbert-Droz, *Jules* (b. 1891)—Swiss Social-Democrat, journalist. During the First World War a social-pacifist, prosecuted for refusing to serve in the army—588, 609, 610, 614

Huysmans, *Camille* (1871-1968)—a veteran leader of the Belgian labour movement, professor of philology, journalist. In 1904-19 Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. After the war of 1914-18 a prominent leader of the rehabilitated Second International. A member of the Belgian government on repeated occasions—180-81, 182, 183-84, 186, 189-90, 191, 192-96, 197-201, 211-15, 218, 220, 223, 247-48,

249, 255, 256-57, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 302, 303, 304, 306-07, 324, 328, 345-46, 354, 364-65, 383-84, 390, 393, 418, 424, 506

I

I. P., Iv. P.—see *Ladyzhnikov, I. P.*
Igorev, Igor—see *Gorev, B. I.*
Ilya—see *Vilensky, I. S.*
Ilyin, F. F.—one of the sponsors and founders of the library and archives under the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Worked in the C.C.'s Economic Commission and the Forwarding Departments of the C.C. and of the newspaper *Proletary*—169
Ilyin, F. N. (1876-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. In 1907 emigrated to France, then to Switzerland. Took an active part in Party work—537
Ilyin, V.—see *Lenin, V. I.*
Ilyin-Zhenevsky, A. F. (1894-1941)—journalist, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1912. In 1913-14 lived abroad—402
Inessa—see *Armand, I. F.*
Innokentiev, Inok—see *Dubrovinsky, I. F.*
Ionov (*Koigen, Fyodor Markovich*) (1870-1923)—Social-Democrat, a leader of the Bund—460
Iordansky, Nikolai Ivanovich (*Negorev*) (1876-1928)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, litterateur. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1921—276, 440
Isayenko, A. Y.—151
Isetsky—see *Solomon, G. A.*
Isuv, Iosif Andreyevich (*Mikhail*) (1878-1920)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In 1907 represented the Mensheviks on the C.C. Contributed to the journal *Nasha Zarya* and other liquidators' publications—240 241, 242
Ivan Vasilievich—165
Ivanov, K.—see *Lenin, V. I.*
Ivanovsky, V. I.—see *Lenin, V. I.*

J

Jacques—see *Alexandrova, Y. M.*
Jagiello, Y. I. (*No. 16*) (b. 1873)—See Note No. 236—305, 314, 316, 318, 320, 321, 323, 326
James—see *Yelizarova-Ulyanova, A. I.*
Janson (*Braun*) *Janis Ernestovich* (1872-1917)—a leader of the Social-Democratic movement in Latvia, publicist and literary critic. One of the leaders of the revolutionary struggle in Latvia in 1905. Emigrated in 1906. A member of the anti-Party August bloc (1912). In 1911-14 head of the Committee Abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region—348, 373, 476
Jansson, Wilhelm (1887-1923)—participant in the German socialist movement, by nationality a Swede. From 1905 to 1919 an editor of *Correspondenzblatt der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* (Correspondence Sheet of the General Commission of German Trade Unions)—426-27
Japanese—see *Bosh, Y. B., Pyatakov, G. L.*
Jaurès, Jean (1859-1914)—prominent leader of the French and international socialist movement. One of the founders of the French Socialist Party, which amalgamated in 1905 with the Socialist Party of France. In the United French Socialist Party Jaurès led the Right wing. In 1904 he founded the newspaper *l'Humanité*,

which he edited until his death—168, 185, 480, 610

Jordania, Noi Nikolayevich (*An, Kostrov*) (1870-1953)—Social-Democrat, a leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks. In 1914 contributed to Trotsky's journal *Borba*. In 1918-21 head of the counter-revolutionary Menshevik government of Georgia; from 1921 a white émigré—272, 460, 470

Josephine—see *Vorovsky, V. V.*

Jouhaux, Léon (1879-1954)—reformist leader of the French and international trade union movement, a Right-wing leader of the Amsterdam Trade Union International—594

Julius—see *Martov, L.*

Junius—see *Luxemburg, Rosa.*

Jurisson (*Martna*), M. (1860-1934)—journalist, owner of a printing press in Tallinn, Menshevik. During the revolution of 1905-07 took part in the work of the Social-Democratic organisations in Estonia, Finland and St. Petersburg—182

K

K. M.—see *Movshovich, M. Y.*

K-vich—see *Konstantinovich, A. I.*

Kahan, A. N.—editor of the socialist Yiddish newspaper *Vorwärts* published in New York—578

Kamenev (*Rosenfeld*), *Lev Borisovich* (1883-1636)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. Member of the editorial boards of the newspapers *Proletary* and *Pravda*. At the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) was elected to the Party Central Committee. After the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 came out against the Party's Leninist line towards socialist revolution. In October 1917 published in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, in his own name and in the name of Zinoviev, a statement expressing disagreement with the C.C. resolution on the armed uprising. This was divulgence of a secret Party decision and betrayal of the revolution.

After the October Revolution he was Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and member of the C.C. Politbureau. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy: in November 1917 he supported the idea of setting up a coalition government with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries; in 1925 he was one of the organisers of the New Opposition; in 1926 was one of the leaders of the anti-Party Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. At the Fifteenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in 1927 he was expelled from the Party as an active participant in the Trotskyite opposition; was subsequently twice rehabilitated and re-expelled for anti-Party activities—146-47, 166, 205, 215-16, 233, 235, 277, 278, 279-80, 282, 288, 291-92, 294, 295, 236, 297, 298-301, 305-17, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344-45, 343, 353-54, 357, 377, 381, 386, 458, 495, 537, 549, 550, 595, 606, 620, 625, 626

Kamenski see *Domski, Heinrich*

Kamsky—see *Vladimirsky, M. P.*

Kantsel, Lyubov Osipovna (*Alexei's sister*)—Social-Democrat, sister of L. Martov. Took part in organising the *Iskra* group in Moscow. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903)—a Menshevik—63

Karlson, *K. M.* (*Ogretis*) (d. 1919)—Lettish Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, member of the Bureau of the Groups Abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region. From 1910 to 1914 worked in Brussels as compositor in the printing shop which issued the *Bulletin* of the Bureau of Groups Abroad. *Zihna* and other illegal publications of the S.D.P.L.R.—372, 391

Karpinskys—see *Karpinsky*, *V. A.* and *Ravich*, *S. N.*

Karpinsky, *Vyacheslav Alexeyevich* (*Minin*) (1880-1965)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898; in 1904 emigrated to Geneva, where he met Lenin. From then on worked uninterruptedly in the Party organisations abroad, in the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*, and was in charge of the library and archives of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Geneva. In 1914-17 contributed to the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat* and worked for the publication and distribution of Bolshevik literature. In December 1917 he returned to Russia, where he occupied administrative and Party posts—225-26, 402, 433-41, 444-45, 446-51, 459, 466-67, 469-70, 474, 479, 480, 483, 485, 491-92, 497-98, 529, 537, 594, 597, 602-03, 618, 621, 624-25, 626, 627, 628, 629, 632

Karski—see *Marchlewski*, *Julian*

Kasparov, *V. M.* (1883-1917)—member of the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad. In 1907-11 member of the Baku Committee, in 1913-14 lived in Berlin, acting as medium through whom the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. carried on secret correspondence with organisations in Russia—358-59, 360, 422-23, 430, 455, 512, 518, 537

Katzlerowich, *Trisha* (1879-1964)—a prominent leader of the Yugoslav and international communist and labour movement, one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Party of Serbia. Delegate to the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, where he took a stand close to Lenin's—531

Kautsky, *Karl* (1854-1938)—a leader of the German Social-Democrats and the Second International; originally a Marxist, later an ideologist of Centrism (Kautskianism). Editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats—55, 68 97, 100, 110 114, 127-28, 130, 156, 174, 195, 222, 263-65, 297, 306, 379, 396, 406, 413, 415, 417, 418, 424, 425, 451, 452, 453, 457, 462, 463, 465, 468, 514, 515, 525, 561, 573, 594, 607, 610, 613

Kedrov, *Mikhail Sergeyevich* (1878-1941)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. From 1912 to 1915 lived abroad. From May 1917 a member of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) Military Organisation and of the All-Russia Bureau of Bolshevik Organisations, one of the editors of *Soldatskaya Pravda*—528

Kerensky, *Alexander Fyodorovich* (b. 1881)—Socialist-Revolutionary. After the February 1917 revolution Minister of Justice, Minister of the Army and Navy, then Prime Minister of the bourgeois Provisional Government and Supreme Commander-in-Chief. After the October Revolution fought against the Soviet government; escaped abroad in 1918—617

Kerr, *Charles*—American publisher of socialist literature. On

Lenin's instructions, Alexandra Kollontai conducted negotiations with him for the publication in English of Lenin's pamphlet *Socialism and War*—468

Kharitonov, Moisei Markovich (1887-1948)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. From 1912 lived in Switzerland, member of the Zurich section of the Bolsheviks and its secretary. Returned to Russia in April 1917. After the October Revolution held Party, business and military posts—462, 492, 499-501 508, 519, 558, 563, 583, 627

Kharlamov, V. A.—248

Kheisin, Minei Leontievich (1871-1924)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, by profession a physician. Contributed to the journals *Vozrozhdeniye* and *Nasha Zarya*, the newspaper *Luch* and other organs of the Menshevik liquidators—386

Khojamiryan, Migran Christoforovich (1882-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902, after the Second Congress (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. From 1905 to 1914 lived abroad. See Note 127—192

Khundadze, Gabriel Ivanovich (*Moskovsky, Alexei*) (b. 1877)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1898, Menshevik. In 1909-13 contributed to *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.—241

Kievsky, Pyotr—see *Pyatakov, G. L.*

Kievskys—see *Bosh, Y. B.* and *Pyatakov, G. L.*

Kiknadze, Nikolai Davidovich (*Stepko*) (1885-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. A political emigrant in Switzerland from 1906 to 1917. After the October Revolution engaged in underground Party work in Georgia. From 1921, after the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia, worked in the publishing business—470, 498

Kiselyov, Alexei Semyonovich (1879-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. From 1910 did Party work in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1912-13 chairman of the Metal Workers' Union in St. Petersburg—294

Kislikov, D. I.—a peasant. In 1905 carried on revolutionary propaganda among the peasants, stood close to the Social-Democrats—157

Kistyakovsky, Bogdan Alexandrovich (1868-1920)—a Cadet publicist, by profession a lawyer—61

Klasson, Robert Eduardovich (1868-1926)—outstanding power engineer. In the 1890s a "legal Marxist", member of a St. Petersburg Marxist circle. After the October revolution took an active part in the drafting of the GOELRO plan of electrification, was Director of the First Moscow Electric Power Station—60-61

Knipovich, Lydia Mikhailovna (*Dedushka*) (1856-1920)—started revolutionary activities in the late 1870s in Narodnaya Volya circles in Helsingfors; in the nineties joined the Social-Democrats. Played a prominent part in establishing contacts between *Iskra* and local organisations in Russia. A delegate to the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. During the latter years of her life was seriously ill and did no active work—148, 358

Knipoviches—close acquaintances of Nadezhda Krupskaya. Lenin and Krupskaya lived in their family in Finland during the summer of 1907—177

Knunyants, Bogdan Mirzajanovich (*Radin*) (1878-1911)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik; started revolutionary activities in 1897 in the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a delegate from the Baku Committee. After the congress worked in the Caucasus and in Moscow as an agent of the C.C.—166, 176

Koba—see *Stalin, J. V.*

Kobetsky, Mikhail Veniaminovich (1881-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1908 emigrated to Denmark, engaged in the transportation into Russia of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary* and the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*; organised the forwarding to Lenin of correspondence from Russia. After the (October Revolution, held Party, administrative and diplomatic posts—250-52, 254-55, 442

Kocher, Albert—son of the well-known Swiss surgeon Theodore Kocher—358

Kocher, Theodore (1841-1917)—Swiss surgeon, Professor of Berne University; devised a number of methods of operative treatment for diseases of the central nervous system and of the thyroid gland, notably goitre—343, 357, 358

Kokovtsov, Vladimir Nikolayevich (1853-1943)—a statesman of tsarist Russia. In 1904-14 (with short intervals) Minister of Finance, and from 1911 simultaneously Chairman of the Council of Ministers. During World War I a big banker. After the October Revolution a white émigré—320

Kol (Stake)—see *Lengnik, F. V.*

Kollontai, Alexandra Mikhailovna (1872-1952)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1915. During World War I helped to rally the Left, internationalist elements among the Social-Democrats in the Scandinavian countries and America. After the October Revolution was People's Commissar of State Charity. In 1919 People's Commissar of Propaganda and Agitation in the Crimean Republic. In 1920, head of the Women's Department of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). Afterwards Secretary of the International Women's Secretariat under the Comintern and in the diplomatic service—412, 438, 442, 462, 469, 483, 488, 493, 498, 517, 533, 554, 619, 620

Koltsov, D. (*Ginsburg, Boris Abramovich, B. Abr.*) (1863-1920)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, contributed to various Menshevik publications—74, 97, 235, 365

Kon, Felix (1864-1941)—a prominent leader of the Polish workers' revolutionary movement. From 1907 a political emigrant. In 1917 he came to Russia, and in 1918 joined the Bolshevik Party. Held Party posts in the Ukraine and in Moscow—187-88

Konovalov, Alexander Ivanovich (b. 1875)—big manufacturer and landowner, one of the leaders of the bourgeois Progressist Party. Deputy to the Fourth Duma. In 1915-16 Deputy Chairman of the Central War Industries Committee. In 1917 Minister of Trade and Industry in the first two cabinets of the bourgeois Provisional Government and Kerensky's deputy in the last cabinet. After the October Rev-

olution a white émigré—395
Konstantin Sergeyevich—see *Doroshenko, N. V.*
Konstantinovich, Anna Yevgenievna (1866-1939)—sister-in-law of Inessa Armand—409, 617
Konyagin—see *Galperin, L. Y.*
Korenevsky, M. (*Tomich, Emmanuil, Emma*)—Social-Democrat, by profession a doctor; member of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik—121
Koritschoner, Franz (1891-1942)—one of the founders of the Communist Party of Austria in 1918; up to 1927 a member of its Central Committee. Editor of the Party's Central Organ *Die Rote Fahne*—565, 569, 577
Kostrov—see *Jordania, N. N.*
Kostya—see *Halberstadt, R. S.*
Kostya—see *Malinovsky, R. V.*
Kotlyarenko, D. M. (b. 1876)—Social-Democrat, leader of the strike movement on the Kazan Railway in 1905. After the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution emigrated. From 1908 ran the forwarding department of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary* and subsequently that of the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*—218, 234, 248-49
Kozlowski, M. J. (1876-1927)—active participant in the English and Russian revolutionary movement. After the February revolution of 1917, a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and the Central Executive Committee first convocation. After the October Revolution worked in Soviet government institutions—629
Krasikov, Pyotr Ananievich (*Belsky, Muzykant, P. Andr., Pavlovich*) (1870-1939)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1892. Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. Took an active part in the revolution of 1905-07. After the October Revolution held various key posts—59, 89, 108, 134, 159
Krasin, Leonid Borisovich (*Nikitich*) (1870-1926)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in the nineties. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. In 1918 took part in the negotiations for concluding an economic agreement with Germany, then headed the work of the Extraordinary Commission for Red Army Supply; was a Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, People's Commissar for Trade and Industry. From 1919 in the diplomatic service—136, 152, 203, 207
Krasnukha, V. P. (*Grazhdanin*) (1868-1913)—Social-Democrat from 1899; an Iskrist—89
Krass (*Crassus*)—see *Poletayev, N. G.*
Kremer, A. I. (*Alexander*) (1865-1935)—a founder and leader of the Bund. Bund delegate to the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1898), elected to the Party C.C. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a non-voting delegate from the Bund; after the Congress a Menshevik—83
Krichevsky, Boris Naumovich (1866-1919)—Social-Democrat, a leader of the "Economists". In 1899 editor of the journal *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which propagated Bernsteinian views—79, 89

Krokhmal, *Viktor Nikolayevich* (1873-1933)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. From 1901 agent of *Iskra* in Kiev—78

Kruchinina—see *Mandelshtam*, *L. P.*

Krupskaya, *Nadezhda Konstantinovna* (*Ulyanova*, *N. K. Lenina*, *Nadya*, *Sharko*) (1869-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, associate and wife of V. I. Lenin. Started revolutionary activities in 1890s in the Marxist students' circles in St. Petersburg, then conducted Social-Democratic propaganda among the workers. In 1895 joined the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In August 1896 was arrested and sentenced to three years' exile. Served her sentence in the village of Shushenskoye then in Ufa. In 1901 emigrated worked as secretary of the editorial board of *Iskra*. Took part in organising the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Was secretary of the editorial board of the Bolshevik papers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. Carried on extensive correspondence abroad with Party organisations in Russia. After the October Revolution worked in Public Education bodies—66, 76, 85, 122, 125, 169, 175, 179, 252, 261, 343, 353, 354, 355, 356, 378, 385, 388, 392, 402, 409, 434, 445, 504, 511, 536, 538, 542, 545-46, 548, 558, 564, 565, 566, 573, 581, 611, 612

Krylenko, *Nikolai Vasilievich* (*Abram*, *Abramchik*) (1885-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Active participant in the October Revolution. Was in the first Soviet Government in the capacity of member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, later Supreme Commander-in-Chief. From 1918 held posts in the Department of Justice—291 379, 450, 458, 459, 463, 470

Krzhizhanovsky, *Gleb Maximilianovich* (*Brutus*, *Travinsky*) (1872-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893; one of the organisers, with Lenin, of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Member of the Organising Committee for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.; elected at the Congress to the C.C. Took an active part in the revolution of 1905-07. After the October Revolution worked on the rehabilitation and development of Moscow's power economy; headed the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO). Subsequently held business and scientific posts—101, 113, 119

Kugelmann, *Ludwig* (1830-1902)—German Social-Democrat, friend of Marx, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, member of the First International. From 1862 to 1874 carried on a correspondence with Marx, whom he kept informed of the state of affairs in Germany. Marx's letters to Kugelmann were first published in 1902 in *Die Neue Zeit*; in 1907 they were published in Russian with a preface by Lenin—185

Kuklin, *G. A.* (d. 1907)—Social-Democrat, publisher of Social-Democratic literature. From 1903 published abroad *Biblioteka Russkogo Proletariya*. Joined the Bolsheviks in 1905. Organised a public library of revolutionary litera-

ture in Geneva in 1902. After his death the library and publications passed over to the Bolshevik Party under his will —107, 173

Kurz—see *Lengnik, F. V.*

Kuskova, Yekaterina Dmitrievna (1869-1958)—bourgeois publicist and public figure. On the eve of the revolution of 1905-07 joined the liberal-monarchist *Osvobozhdeniye* League. In 1906, in co-operation with S. N. Prokopovich, published the semi-Cadet journal *Bez Zaglaviya*, and actively contributed to the Left-Cadet newspaper *Tovarishch*. After the October Revolution came out against the Bolsheviks. Deported abroad in 1922—202, 215

Kuzma—see *Lyakhotsky, K.*

Kuzmikha—see *Lyakhotskaya.*

Kuznetsov, Georgi Sergeyevich (b. 1881)—a workman, Menshevik. Deputy to the Third Duma from the Yekaterinoslav gubernia, member of the Duma S.D. group. Member of the Commission on the Labour Question—212

Kuznetsov, N. V.—see *Sapozhkov, N. I.*

L

L.—see *Leiteisen, G. D.*

L. B.—see *Kamenev, L. B.*

L. Gr., L. G-ch—see *Deutsch, L. G.*

L. I.—see *Axelrod, L. I.*

La Chesnais—French socialist, publicist. Contributor to the newspaper *l'Humanité* since its foundation till 1918—457

Ladyzhnikov, Ivan Pavlovich (*I. P., Iv. P.*) (1874-1945)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. Joined the revolutionary movement in the nineties. In August 1905 went abroad, performed important Party assignments; member of the C.C. Economic Commission, manager of Verlag Book Publishers founded in Berlin in 1905 on the instructions of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. for bolstering Party funds—167, 168, 177

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, talented publicist, one of the first adherents of scientific communism in France, close friend and associate of Marx and Engels. Member of the First International. Together with Jules Guesde founded the Workers' Party of France. Was editor of its central organ—the newspaper *l'Egalité*—159, 171

Lalayants, I. Kh. (1870-1933)—active participant in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Manager of the *Iskra* printing-press in Geneva. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik, agent of the Party Central Committee in Russia—97, 100, 107

Ledebour, Georg (1850-1947)—German Social-Democrat, member of the Reichstag from 1900 to 1918. After the split in German Social-Democracy in 1916, belonged to the Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Reichstag which in 1917 formed the core of the Centrist Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany—489, 515, 531

Leder, Wladyslaw (1882-1938)—leader of the Polish labour movement. From 1900 a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. From 1910 to 1911 Secretary of the party's Executive and

party representative on the editorial board of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat*. In 1919-20 took an active part in the work of the Communist Workers' Party of Poland. From 1921 held key posts in the Comintern and Profintern, active contributor to the Soviet press—278, 376

Legien, Karl (1861-1920)—German Right-wing Social-Democrat. From 1890 Chairman of the General Committee of German Trade Unions. From 1903 Secretary, and from 1913 Chairman, of the International Trade Union Secretariat. In 1919-20 member of the National Assembly of the Weimar Republic—200, 263, 396, 489

Lehmann, Karl—Doctor of Medicine, Social-Democrat, member of the Munich organisation of German Social-Democratic Party, rendered assistance to *Iskra* during the editorial board's residence in Munich. The latter used his address for its correspondence—53, 69

Leibov (*Leib*)—71, 73

Leibovich, M. (*Yevsei* [*Malyutkin*], *L.*)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. Up to February 1, 1904, manager of the Forwarding Office of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee in Geneva. In the spring of 1904 worked in the Yekaterinoslav Committee, and in the summer of the same year in the Nikolayev Committee of the Party—123-25

Leiteisen, Gavriil Davidovich (*L., Lindov*) (1874-1919)—joined the revolutionary movement in the 1890s. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. Contributed to the newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and other Bolshevik organs of the press. In 1907-14 took part in the work of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau in Russia. After the February 1917 revolution adhered for a time to the internationalist Mensheviks. In 1918 he returned into the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. Killed in January 1919 on the Western Front of the civil war—54, 59-60, 71-72, 79, 84, 91-93, 144-45, 171, 203, 268, 272

Leman, M. N. (*Liza*) (1872-1933)—Social-Democrat, Iskrist, Bolshevik. At the end of 1902 proposed a special method of printing *Iskra* from a celluloid cliché, and in January 1903 he went to Russia to apply it in practice—113

Lengnik, Friedrich (*Kol, Kurz*) (1873-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893. In 1903-04 took an active part in the fight against the Mensheviks abroad. In February 1904 returned to Russia, but shortly afterwards was arrested in connection with the case of the Northern Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. During the latter years of his life he carried on scientific and pedagogic work—113, 122, 126-27, 128-29

Lenin, V. I. (*Ulyanov, V. I., Basil, V. I. Ivanovsky, V. Ilyin, K. Ivanov, N. Lenivtsyn, L. Lenin, Lenin N., Meyer, Petrov, Richter J., Starik, Frey N. N. Ulyanov*) (1870-1924)—39, 41, 42-43, 46, 68, 69, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 85, 93, 102, 107, 109, 112, 114, 115, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 161, 167, 176, 178, 179-80, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192,

193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 205, 206, 208, 209, 215, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225, 229, 233, 245, 250-51, 254-55, 258, 264, 277, 282, 286, 288, 290, 292, 293, 295, 324, 333, 340, 341, 342, 343, 356, 364, 376, 377, 379, 381-82, 384, 404, 405-06, 409, 411, 413-14, 424, 431, 432, 448, 452, 454, 468, 474, 477, 487, 492, 497, 505, 506, 512, 523, 527, 534, 535, 541, 556, 579, 580, 581, 582, 584, 596, 597, 599, 601, 610, 616, 617, 618, 620, 626, 628, 629, 631, 635, 636, 638

Lenina—see *Krupskaya, N. K.*

Lenivtsyn, N.—see *Lenin, V. I.*

Lenochka—see *Bobrovskaya, C. S.*

Lepeshinsky, Panteleimon Nikolayevich (*Olin*) (1868-1944)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in the early nineties. Deported to Siberia in 1897. In exile he met Lenin with whom he became close friends. On the termination of his exile in 1900 he settled in Pskov, where he took an active part in circulating *Iskra*. Exiled to Siberia again in 1902. In 1903 escaped abroad and settled in Switzerland. Took part in the preparations for the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. An active participant in the February and October revolutions—84, 97, 120

Levi (*Hartstein*), *Paul* (1883-1930)—German Social-Democrat, then Communist. Expelled from the German Communist Party in 1921 for gross violation of party discipline—607, 625

Levinsky, V. (b. 1880)—a leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats in Galicia. In 1913-14 contributed to the legal bourgeois-nationalist journal *Dzvin*. During the First World War aligned with the internationalists. In the emigrants' colony in Switzerland made the acquaintance of V. I. Lenin—512

Levinson—member of the *Iskra* printing-shop staff. In 1904-05 a member of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) Promotion Group in Berlin—97

Lidin—see *Lyadov, M. N.*

Lieber (*Goldman*), *Mikhail Isaakovich* (1880-1937)—a leader of the Bund. From 1907 to 1910 a liquidator, in 1912 an active member of the anti-Party August bloc—268, 273, 276, 331

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—outstanding figure in the German and international labour movement, one of the leaders of Left-wing German Social-Democracy. A sponsor and leader of the *Internationale* group, which later became known as the Spartacus group and then the Spartacus League. One of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany and leader of the uprising among the Berlin workers in January 1919. After the suppression of the uprising he was brutally murdered by counter-revolutionaries—489, 523

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent leader of the German and international labour movement, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party. Took an active part in the First International and in organising the Second International—45, 62

Light-minded—see *Lunacharsky, A. V.*

Lilina, Zlata Ionovna (*Zina*) (1882-1929)—joined the

R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. Carried on illegal work in Russia, emigrated in 1908. Contributed to the newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*, and to the journal *Rabotnitsa*. In April 1917 she returned to Russia. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—406, 408, 412, 461, 469, 519, 537, 538, 540, 555, 583

Lindhagen, *Carl* (1860-1946)—Swedish political leader, from 1909 a Social-Democrat. In 1917 one of the organisers of the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, which joined the Comintern in 1919—626

Lindov—see *Leiteisen*, *G. D.*

Litvinov-Falinsky, *V. P.* (*Falinsky*)—engineer, factory inspector, one of the founders of the St. Petersburg Zubatov society. During the First World War a member of the Special Council of Defence, which existed from 1915 to 1917—303, 322

Litvinov, *Maxim Maximovich* (*Harrison*, *Papasha*, *Felix*) (1876-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Emigrated in 1902. Took an active part in promulgating the newspaper *Iskra* and in the publication of the first legal Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*. In 1907 he was a member and secretary of the Russian delegation to the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart. Represented the Bolsheviks on the International Socialist Bureau. After the October Revolution—in the diplomatic service—134, 187-88, 413, 442, 444, 617

Liza—see *Leman*, *M. N.*

Lobova, *V. N.* (*Vera*) (1888-1924)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. In 1911 a member of the Moscow Committee of the Party, at the beginning of 1913 secretary of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau in Russia and secretary of the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—295, 335

Lokhov, *N. N.* (*Olkhin*)—adherent of "Economism"; worked on the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* in 1900-02. Member of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. In 1903 represented the Union in the Organising Committee Foreign Section—89, 108-09

Longuet, *Jean* (1876-1938)—a leader of the French Socialist Party and the Second International. During the First World War headed the pacifist Centrist minority of the F.S.P. Came out against the F.S.P. joining the Comintern and against the setting up of the Communist Party of France—501, 558, 594

Lore, *Ludwig* (b. 1815)—German Social-Democrat. From 1903 lived in the United States was secretary of the German Federation of the Socialist Party—498

Lozovsky (*Dridzo*), *Solomon Abramovich* (1878-1952)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. Participant in the first Russian revolution of 1905-07. From 1909 to 1917 a political emigrant, member of the group of Bolshevik conciliators. From 1920 held trade-union and diplomatic posts—340, 379

Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilievich (*Voinov, Light-minded, Minonosets*) (1875-1933)—joined the revolutionary movement in the early nineties. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. After the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07 he adhered to the anti-Party *Vperyod* group, stood for a revision of the philosophical principles of Marxism from positions of god-building. At the beginning of 1917 he rejoined the Bolshevik Party. Following the October Revolution and up to 1929 People's Commissar of Education, then Chairman of the Academic Committee under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—132, 179-80, 181, 185-86, 221, 315, 340, 354, 594

Lushin—see *Shipulinsky, F. P.*

Luteraan, Barend (b. 1878)—Dutch Social-Democrat, journalist. Member of the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland from 1911 to 1916. Later a member of the Independent Socialist Party, and then the Communist Workers' Party of the Netherlands —466

Luxemburg, Rosa (*Rosa, Junius*) (1871-1919)—outstanding figure of the international labour movement, one of the leaders of the Left wing in the Second International. A founder and leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland. From 1897 onwards took an active part in the German Social-Democratic movement; was a participant in the 1905-07 Russian revolution (in Warsaw). In 1912 she same out against the "Rozlamist" opposition in the Polish Social Democratic Party, which stood closest to the Bolsheviks. Was one of the sponsors of the *Internationale* group in Germany, later renamed the Spartacus group, then the Spartacus League. After the November revolution in Germany in 1918 took a leading part in the Inaugural Congress of the German Communist Party. In January 1919 she was arrested and killed by order of the Scheidemann government—127, 130, 206, 297, 314, 332, 334, 417, 418, 421, 423, 517, 532, 535, 546, 552, 553, 561

Lyadov (*Mandelshtam*), *Martyn Nikolayevich* (*Lidin, M. N., Mikhail Mironovich, Rusalka*) (1872-1947)—at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) an Iskrist of the majority, after the Congress an agent of the C.C. Took an active part in the revolution of 1905-07. In 1907-10 adhered to the otzovists; in 1909 a member of the anti-Party *Vperyod* group and a lecturer at the Capri factional school. After the February Revolution of 1917 took a Menshevik stand. In 1920 was reinstated in membership of the R.C.P.(B.)—118, 119, 120, 127, 132, 134, 165, 166, 207, 219, 224, 231, 268, 273

Lyakhotskaya (*Kuzmikha*)—wife of Lyakhotsky, K.—486, 492

Lyakhotsky, K. (*Kuzma*) (died 1917)—an emigrant from the Ukraine. Proprietor of a small Russian type-setting office in Geneva, in which some issues of the Bolshevik Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat* and Lenin's pamphlet *Socialism and War* were set up at the beginning of the First World War—444,

446, 447, 469, 471, 476, 477, 486
Lyalin—see *Pyatakov, G. L.*
Lyova—see *Vladimirov, M. K.*
Lyubich—see *Sammer, I. A.*
Lyubimov, A. I. (Mark) (1879-1919)—Social-Democrat, joined the revolutionary movement in 1898. In 1910 a member of the C.C. Bureau Abroad, an advocate of conciliatory tactics towards the Menshevik liquidators—219, 224-25, 245, 246, 249-50, 278-79
Lyubov Isaakovna—see *Axelrod, A. I.*
Lyudmila—see *Stal, L. N.*

M

M.—see *Mayevsky, Y.*
A. F.—see *Andreyeva, M. F.*
M. H. H.—see *Hopfenhaus, M. H.*
M. M.—see *Lyadov, M. N.*
M. N., Mikh. Nik.—see *Pokrovsky, M. N.*
MacDonald, James Ramsay (1866-1937)—British politician, leader of the Labour Party. In 1900 elected Secretary of the Labour Representation Committee, which was reorganised in 1906 into the Labour Party—153-54
Mach, Ernst (1838-1916)—Austrian physicist and philosopher, subjective idealist, one of the founders of empirio-criticism—161
Maclean, John (1879-1923)—a prominent leader of the British labour movement, by profession a teacher. On the eve of the First World War joined the Left wing of the British Socialist Party and became one of its leaders in Scotland. During the war he carried on revolutionary anti-war propaganda, for which he was persecuted by the British Government. In April 1916 elected to the leadership of the British Socialist Party—558
Makadzyub, Marko Saulovich (*Anton*) (b. 1876)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In 1901-03 worked in Social-Democratic organisations in the south of Russia. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a minority Iskrist—121-23
Makar—see *Nogin, V. P.*
Makhlin, Lazar Davidovich (*Misha the Compositor*) (1880-1925)—participant in the Social-Democratic movement from 1900. In 1902 agent of *Iskra* in Russia. After the Second Congress (1903) joined the Mensheviks—95 -96
Malecki, Alexander Mavrikievich (1879-1837)—Social-Democrat, joined the revolutionary movement in the late nineties. In 1906 elected to the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. After the split in Polish Social-Democracy in 1912 he was one of the leaders of the "Rozlamist" opposition, which stood closest to the Bolsheviks. Delegate to the Basle Congress of the Second International in 1912 and the Brussels meeting of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1914. From 1921 he worked in the publishing business and as a teacher—301, 308
Malinovsky, Roman Vatslavovich (*Kostya, No. 3*) (1876-1918)—agent-provocateur in the service of the Moscow Secret Police Department, undercover man in the Bolshevik Party

and its leadership. Was elected to the Fourth Duma from the workers' curia of the Moscow gubernia. In 1914, threatened with exposure, he resigned from the Duma and secretly left the country. In 1918 came to Soviet Russia, where he was tried and sentenced to death by the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—306, 310, 314, 318, 319, 320, 322, 323, 326, 328

Malyantovich, V. N.—Social-Democrat, brother of the Moscow lawyer P. N. Malyantovich—355

Malykh, Maria Alexandrovna (b. 1879)—publisher of revolutionary literature in tsarist Russia. The publishing house established by her in 1901 issued separate works by Marx, Engels and Lenin—163

Malyutkin—see *Leibovich, M.*

Mandelstam, Lydia Pavlovna (*Kruchinina*) (1869-1917)—joined the workers' movement in 1395. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) worked in the Forwarding Department of the newspaper *Iskra* and editorial office of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. Member of the Central Committee's Economic Commission—169

Marat—see *Shantser, V. L.*

Marceli (*Eidukevičius*), *Pranas Vinco* (1869-1926)—a metal worker, one of the prominent leaders of the Lithuanian revolutionary movement. From 1906 a member of the C.C. of the Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party. During the latter years of his life held administrative and business posts in Moscow—199, 200

Marchlewski, Julian (*Karski*) (1866-1925)—prominent figure in the revolutionary movement of Poland, Germany and Russia. One of the organisers and leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. From 1909 worked mainly in the German Social-Democratic movement. Came to Soviet Russia in 1918, elected to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—276

Maria Petrovna—see *Golubeva, M. P.*

Mark—see *Lyubimov, A. I.*

Marshak, N. S.—the wife of I. A. Pyatnitsky. Emigrated in 1907, lived in Leipzig, where she took part in the transportation of illegal literature to Russia—272

Martov, L. (*Tsederbaum, Yuli Osipovich, Alexei, Berg, Gamma, Martushka, Julius*) (1873-1923)—a leader of the Mensheviks, in 1907-14 a liquidator; edited the newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*; took part in the anti-Party August conference (1912). After the October Revolution came out against the Soviet government. Emigrated to Germany in 1920—45, 46, 54, 67, 75, 80, 81, 82, 85, 104, 108, 115-16, 117, 136, 139, 184, 229, 233, 236-40, 243, 257, 263, 339, 365, 366, 416-20, 449, 512, 516, 518, 519, 524, 527, 531, 533, 535, 541, 583, 602, 607

Martushka—see *Martov, L.*

Martynov, A. (*Piker, Alexander Samoilovich*) (1865-1935)—a Menshevik, one of the leaders of the Economists. In 1907-10 a liquidator, member of the editorial board of the liquidators' mouthpiece *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*. After the

October Revolution he broke with the Mensheviks. Admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party in 1923 at the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)—89, 244, 314, 432

Marx, *Karl* (1818-1883)—185, 332, 405, 576, 607

Marzeli—sse *Marceli*, *P. V.*

Maslov, *Pyotr Pavlovich* (1867-1946)—economist, Social-Democrat, author of works on the agrarian question, in which he attempted to revive Marxism. From 1903 a Menshevik—37-38, 39-41, 265, 458, 469

Maximov—see *Bogdanov*, *A.*

Mayer, *Gustav* (1871-1948)—German historian, publisher of Lassalle's literary legacy, author of a biography of Engels and a number of works on the history of socialism and the labour movement—282

Mayevsky, *Y.* (*Gutovsky*, *V. A.*) (1879-1918)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. Contributed to the journal *Nasha Zarya*, the newspaper *Luch* and other organs of the Menshevik liquidators—325, 365

Medem, *Vladimir Davidovich* (*Grinberg*, *V. D.*, *Vinitsky*) (1879-1923)—a leader of the Bund. Attended the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., supported the Mensheviks—331

Medvezhonok (Bear Cub)—see *Ulyanova*, *M. I.*

Mehring, *Franz* (1846-1919)—outstanding leader of the German labour movement, one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of German Social-Democracy. Played a prominent part in founding the Communist Party of Germany—282

Melenevsky, *Maryan Ivanovich* (*Gylka*) (1879-1938)—Ukrainian petty-bourgeois nationalist, Menshevik, a leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic organisation Spilka—292-93

Merrheim, *Alphonse* (1881-1925)—French trade union leader. At the outbreak of the First World War was one of the leaders of the Left wing in the syndicalist movement in France, opposed to the imperialist war. However vacillation and fear of a final break with the social-chauvinists led him at the end of 1916 to take a Centrist pacifist stand, and at the beginning of 1918 an open social-chauvinist and reformist stand—453, 503, 594

Meshcheryakov, *Nikolai Leonidovich* (1865-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. From 1913 to 1917 was in exile in Krasnoyarsk (Siberia)—488

Meshkovsky—see *Goldenberg*, *I. P.*

Meyer—see *Lenin*, *V. I.*

Meyer, *Ernst* (1887-1930)—a leader of the German and international labour movement. During the First World War represented the *Internationale* group at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. One of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany—535

Mgeladze, *V. D.* (*Tria*) (b. 1868)—Menshevik. In 1918-20 member of the Menshevik counter-revolutionary government of Georgia—252

Mikha—see *Tskhakaya*, *M. G.*

Mikhail—see *Isuv*, *I. A.*

Mikhail Mironovich—see *Lyadov*, *M. N.*

Mikhail Nikolayevich—see *Pokrovsky*, *M. N.*

Mikhailov, *Z.*—member of the Rostov Social-Democratic organisation. After the revolution of 1905-07 an agent provocateur—105

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904)—theoretician of liberal Narodism, publicist, exponent of the subjective school in sociology. In 1892 was at the head of the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* journal, in which he waged a fight against Marxism—41, 55

Millerand, Alexandre Etienne (1859-1943)—French politician; in the eighties a petty-bourgeois Radical; in the nineties joined the socialists, headed the opportunist trend in the French socialist movement. In 1899 joined the reactionary bourgeois government of Waldeck-Rousseau, where he collaborated with the hangman of the Paris Commune General Galliffet—79

Milovidova (*Petrova*), *L. F.*—Russian public figure, acquainted with many outstanding leaders of the Social-Democratic movement in St. Petersburg, including Lenin. Lived in Switzerland, tried to get Lenin's book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* published abroad, but without success—42-43

Milyukov, Pavel Nikolayevich (1859-1943)—leader of the Cadet Party, ideologue of the imperialist bourgeoisie, deputy to the Third and Fourth Dumas. In 1917 Foreign Minister in the first cabinet of the bourgeois Provisional Government—174, 617, 625

Milyutin, Vladimir Pavlovich (*Pavlov*) (1884-1938)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1903, first adhered to the Mensheviks and from 1910 a Bolshevik. Carried on Party work in a number of Russian cities. After the October Revolution held administrative and business posts—376, 387

Minin—see *Karpinsky, V. A.*

Minonosets (Destroyer)—see *Lunacharsky, A. V.*

Miron—see *Chernomazov, M. Y.*

Misha the Compositor—see *Makhlin, L. D.*

Montégus, Brunswick Gaston (d. 1953)—son of a Communard, performer of songs in Paris working-class neighbourhoods—294

Morgari, Oddino (1865-1929)—Italian socialist, journalist. Took part in the foundation of the Italian Socialist Party. During the First World War stood for the resumption of international socialist contacts. Attended the Zimmerwald Conference where he adopted a Centrist stand—487

Morozov, Mikhail Vladimirovich (1868-1938)—Social-Democrat Bolshevik, writer. From 1910 lived in Paris as a political emigrant, was a member of the Bolshevik section headed by Lenin—294

Moskovsky, Alexei—see *Khundadze, G. I.*

Movich—see *Abramovich, R.*

Movshovich, Moisei Izrailevich (*K. M.*) (1876-1931)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1896, from 1903 a Bolshevik. Emigrated to Switzerland in 1911, was secretary of the Lausanne section of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). Returned to Russia in May 1917. Held trade union, administrative and Party posts—471

Mr. Chairman—see *Petrovsky, G. I.*

Münzenberg, Wilhelm (1889-1940)—a leader of the Swiss and German labour movement. In 1915-19 secretary of the Social-

ist Youth International. From 1916 member of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. On his return to Germany became a member of the Communist Party of Germany. In 1939 was expelled from the Party for serious political mistakes—583, 587, 591, 599, 607, 609, 614

Muranov, Matvei Konstantinovich (*No. 5*) (1873-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Deputy to the Fourth Duma from the workers of the Kharkov gubernia, member of the Bolshevik Duma group. From 1917 to 1934 held Party posts—310, 313, 316, 317, 318, 320, 345, 346, 625

Muromtsev, Sergei Andreyevich (1850-1910)—prominent leader of the Cadet Party, lawyer, Professor of Moscow University. From 1879 to 1892 editor of the bourgeois liberal journal *Yuridichesky Vestnik*. In 1906 Deputy of the First Duma and its Chairman—260

Muzykant (Musician)—see *Krasikov, P. A.*

N

N.—205

N. I., N. I. B.—see *Bukharin, N. I.*

N. K., Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Nadya—see *Krupskaya, N. K.*

N. V.—see *Sapozhkov, N. I.*

N. Y.—see *Fedoseyev, N. Y.*

Nad—pseudonym of a writer of articles in Menshevik newspapers—518

Nadezhdin, L. (*Zelensky, Yevgeny Osipovich, Sokolovsky*) (1877-1905)—Narodnik, later a Social-Democrat. Emigrated to Switzerland in 1900 where he organised the *Svoboda* Revolutionary Socialist Group (1901-03). In the journal *Svoboda* and in separately published pamphlets he supported the Economists and at the same time advocated terror as an effective means of "stirring the masses". After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) he contributed to Menshevik publications—63, 97

Nadson, Semyon Yakovlevich (1862-1887)—Russian poet—147

Naine, Charles (1874-1926)—a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, by profession a lawyer. Attended the Zimmerwald Conference, was a member of the International Socialist Commission. In 1917 he became a Centrist and shortly afterwards joined the Right wing of Swiss Social-Democracy—582, 594, 598, 614, 625

Nakhamkis—see *Steklov, Y. M.*

Nakhimson, Miron Isaakovich (*Spectator*) (1880-1938)—economist and publicist. From 1899 to 1921 member of the Bund. During the First World War took a Centrist stand—607, 608

Nasimovich, Nikolai Fyodorovich (*Dirks*) (1876-1927)—journalist, joined the revolutionary movement in 1896. Wrote for the Bolshevik press—172

Natanson, Mark Andreyevich (1850-1919)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1869, a Narodnik, later a Socialist-Revolutionary. In 1917 one of the organisers of the Left S.R. Party—536

Negorev—see *Iordansky, N. I.*

Nekrasov, Nikolai Alexeyevich (1821-1878)—Russian poet, revolutionary democrat—103, 107, 108

Nekrasova—see *Fotieva, L. A.*

Nemets—see *Plekhanov, G. V.*

Nevsky, Vladimir Ivanovich (*Spitsa*) (1876-1937)—professional revolutionary, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. In 1913 co-opted to the Central Committee of the Party. Took part in the election campaign to the Fourth Duma—316

Nevzorov—see *Steklov, Y. M.*

New Acquaintance—see *Potresov, A. N.*

New Chairman—see *Petrovsky, G. I.*

Nicholas II (*Romanov*) (1868-1918)—the last Russian tsar, reigned from 1894 up to the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution—209, 587

Nik. Iv.—226

Nik. Vas.—see *Sapozhkov, N. I.*

Nik. Vasilievich—169

Nikitich—see *Krasin, L. B.*

Nilssen, Magnus (b. 1871)—Norwegian Social-Democrat, politician. From 1901 to 1918 secretary of the Norwegian Workers' Party. Represented the N.W.P. on the International Socialist Bureau—182

No. 1—see *Badayev, A. Y.*

No. 3—see *Malinovsky, R. V.*

No. 5—see *Muranov, M. K.*

No. 6—see *Petrovsky, G. I.*

No. 16—see *Jagiello, Y. I.*

Nobs, Ernst (1866-1957)—a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. At the beginning of the First World War he adhered to the internationalists but in 1917 adopted a Centrist pacifist stand. In the twenties he sided with the Right wing of Swiss Social-Democracy and came out against the Swiss and international communist movement. In 1949 President of Switzerland—532, 558, 563, 583, 587, 591, 598, 609, 610, 614

Nogin, Viktor Pavlovich (*Makar, Novoselov*) (1878-1924)—professional revolutionary; Bolshevik, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, carried on Party work in Russia and abroad. In 1907-10 adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Menshevik liquidators. After the October Revolution occupied government and business posts—45-46, 51-55, 126, 243, 268, 272, 274, 379

Noskov, Vladimir Alexandrovich (*B. N., B. N-ch, Boris, Glebov, B.*) (1878-1913)—Social-Democrat. In 1902-03 organised the transportation of illegal Social-Democratic literature to Russia. Took part in preparing the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Majority Iskrist chairman of the Congress committee to work out the Party Rules; elected to the Central Committee. After the Congress adopted a conciliatory stand towards the Mensheviks—81, 105, 119, 120, 136, 152

Novich, Stiva—see *Portugets, S. I.*

Novoselov—see *Nogin, V. P.*

O

O. A.—250

Olga, Olya—see *Ravich, S. N.*

Olin—see *Lepeshinsky, P. N.*

Olkhin—see *Lokhov, N. N.*

Olminsky (*Alexandrov*), *Mikhail Stepanovich* (*Galyorka, Vas. Vas., A. Vitimsky*) (1863-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898; writer, member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. Took an active part in the October Revolution. Later manager of the Party History Department of

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the Central Committee, R.C.P.(B.), editor of the journal *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*, member of the management of the Lenin Institute—119, 120, 122, 125, 136, 158, 352, 362-63, 385, 388

Orlovsky—see *Vorovsky, V. V.*

Orn. (*Ornatsky, A.*)—see *Chicherin, G. V.*

Orthodox—see *Axelrod, L. I.*

Os. Pyotr—271

Osinsky, N. (*Obolensky, Valerian Valerianovich*) (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. In 1910-14 wrote for the Bolshevik publications *Zvezda*, *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*. After the October Revolution held government, Party, and business key posts. In 1920-21 an active participant in the anti-Party Democratic Centralism group and in 1923 joined the Trotskyite opposition—336-37

Osipov—see *Zemlyachka, R. S.*

P

P. And.—see *Krasikov, P. A.*

P. B., Pavel Borisovich—see *Axelrod, P. B.*

Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—Dutch Social-Democrat, Professor of astronomy at Amsterdam University. From 1910 he was closely connected with the German Left Social-Democrats. During the First World War—an internationalist, took part in the publication of the journal *Vorbote*, the theoretical organ of the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918-21 a member of the Communist Party of Holland, took an active part in the work of the Comintern, adopted an extreme Left, sectarian stand. In 1921 he resigned from the Communist Party and shortly afterwards from active political life—296, 297, 301, 453, 465, 473, 478, 482, 513, 516, 608, 613

Papasha (Grandpa)—see *Litvinov, M. M.*

Parvus (*Gelfand, Alexander Lazarevich*) (1869-1924)—at the end of the 1890s and the early 1900s took part in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia and Germany. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Menshevik. Parvus propounded the anti-Marxist theory of "permanent revolution", which Trotsky afterwards used as a weapon in his struggle against Leninism. Later Parvus abandoned Social-Democracy. During the First World War he adopted a chauvinist stand, engaged in big speculation and made a fortune on military contracts. From 1915 published the journal *Die Glocke*—143, 445

Pashev, Nikita—political emigrant, aviation mechanic at the Kitil airfield (Rumania). Apparently, one of the fugitive sailors of the *Potemkin*—281

Pavlov—see *Milyutin, V. P.*

Pavlovich—see *Krasikov, P. A.*

Pavlovich, Mikhail Pavlovich (*Veltman, Mikhail Lazarevich, Volontyor*) (1871-1927)—orientalist, Social-Democrat, Menshevik. After the October Revolution Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the Ukraine, member of the Board of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, then Rector of the Institute of Oriental Studies—275

Pedder—122

Peluso, Edmondo (1882-1942)—Italian socialist, emigrant. From 1898 a member of Socialist

and Social-Democratic parties in various countries. In 1916 a delegate of the Socialist Party of Portugal to the Kienthal Conference of socialist internationalists. From 1927 lived in the U.S.S.R. as a political emigrant, worked as a teacher—635

"*Pero*" (*Pen*)—see *Trotsky, L. D.*

Peshekhonov, Alexei Vasilievich (1867-1933)—bourgeois public figure and publicist. From 1906 one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois Popular Socialist Party. In 1917 Minister of Food Supply in the bourgeois Provisional Government. After 1922 a white émigré—341

Petrov—see *Lenin, V. I.*

Petrov—256

Petrovsky, Grigory Ivanovich (*Mr. Chairman, New Chairman, No. 6*) (1878-1958)—deputy of the Fourth Duma returned by the workers of the Ekaterinoslav gubernia, member of the Duma Bolshevik group. In November 1914 arrested with the other Bolshevik deputies and deported in 1915 to Siberia. Continued revolutionary work in exile. After the October Revolution held various Party and government posts—318, 361, 403, 410, 412, 414, 416, 420, 421

Platten, Friedrich (*Fritz*) (1883-1942)—Swiss Left Social-Democrat, one of the organisers of the Swiss Communist Party. In April 1917 rendered great assistance in arranging Lenin's return journey to Russia from Switzerland. In 1919 took part in founding the Third, Communist International, was a member of the Comintern Bureau. In 1921-23 secretary of the Swiss Communist Party. From 1923 onwards lived in the U.S.S.R.—500, 501, 517, 519, 531, 532, 582, 583, 586, 587, 601, 609, 610, 614, 623, 624, 625, 627, 630

Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich (*G. V., X., Nemets*) (1856-1918)—an outstanding leader of the Russian and international labour movement, the first propagandist of Marxism in Russia. In 1883 set up in Geneva the first Russian Marxist organisation—the Emancipation of Labour group. In the early 1900s was a member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya*.

From 1883 to 1903 Plekhanov wrote a number of works which played an important part in the defence and propaganda of the materialist outlook. But already at that time he was guilty of serious errors, which formed the embryo of his future Menshevik views. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Plekhanov adopted a conciliatory stand towards the opportunists, and afterwards joined the Mensheviks. In 1907-14 he came out against the Machist revision of Marxism and against liquidationism, and headed the group of pro-Party Mensheviks. During the First World War adopted a social-chauvinist stand. He disapproved of the October Revolution, but took no part in the struggle against Soviet power—61, 65, 67, 68, 71, 74-75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 85-86, 89-90, 96-99, 103-05, 106-09, 110-12, 114, 136, 139, 141, 145, 157, 159-60, 164, 179, 219, 224, 241, 244, 254, 263, 268, 271, 275, 292, 294, 308, 321, 325, 338, 339, 340, 353, 354, 355, 357, 378, 379, 405, 413,

417, 421, 423, 426, 430, 436, 468, 493, 497, 524, 552, 556

Pokrovsky, *Ivan Petrovich* (b. 1872)—Social-Democrat, Deputy of the Third Duma, aligned himself with the Bolshevik section of the Social-Democratic Duma group. In 1910 a member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik legal newspaper *Zvezda*—212, 255, 277

Pokrovsky, *Mikhail Nikolayevich* (*Domov*) (1868-1932)—prominent Soviet statesman and public figure, historian, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. From 1908 to 1917 lived abroad. In 1907-10 adhered to the otzovists and ultimatumists, and afterwards to the anti-Party *Vperyod* group, with which he broke in 1911. During the First World War he contributed to the Centrist newspapers *Golos* and *Nashe Slovo*. In 1917 he returned to Russia. From November 1917 to March 1918 Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, then Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R., Director of the Communist Academy, the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the Red Professorate Institute, etc. From 1929, an academician—191-92, 203, 204, 207, 208, 224, 524, 550, 551, 556-57, 564, 590, 596

Poletayev, *Nikolai Gurievich* (*Krass*) (1872-1930)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. In 1905 a member of the Executive Committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Represented the St. Petersburg gubernia in the Third Duma, member of the Bolshevik section of the Duma Social-Democratic group. After the October Revolution held business posts—212, 260, 269-71, 276, 277, 303-04, 318, 337-38

Polonsky, *Iosif Matveyevich* (*Stepan*) (b. 1889)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. In 1909 exiled for life to Siberia. At the end of 1911 escaped to Paris, where he joined the Bolshevik group. After the October Revolution engaged in trade union work, then worked in the Foreign Trade Commissariat—354, 380

Polubinov (*Yegor*)—Socialist-Revolutionary, emigrated from Russia. In September 1915 wrote to Lenin suggesting that the doors of the R.S.D.L.P. be opened to those Left S.R.s who condemned the defence-of-the-fatherland resolution adopted at the conference of the S.R. Party in July 1915—491, 492

Popov, *Anatoly Vladimirovich* (*Britman*, *A. V.*, *Antonov*) (d. 1914)—Social-Democrat. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. Member of the Paris section of the R.S.D.L.P. and the Committee of Party Organisations Abroad—248, 296, 378, 380, 381, 382, 547

Popov, *Ivan Fyodorovich* (1886-(1957)—Social-Democrat. In 1905-14 a member of the Bolshevik Party. In 1908 emigrated to Belgium, where he arranged contacts between the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and the International Socialist Bureau. Contributed to *Pravda*, *Prosveshcheniye*, *Le Peuple* and other periodicals. During the First World War he was taken prisoner by the Germans. In 1918 he returned to Soviet Russia—

307, 308, 372, 373, 374, 384, 406, 409, 413, 415, 416, 419, 424, 425, 426, 547

Portugeis, *S. I.* (*Novich Stiva*)—Menshevik, publicist. In 1907-14 a liquidator; contributed to the newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, the journal *Nasha Zarya* and other organs of the Menshevik liquidators. After the October Revolution emigrated—386

Posse, *Vladimir Alexandrovich* (1864-1940)—journalist, public figure. Editor of the "legal Marxists'" journals *Novoye Slovo* (1897) and *Zhizn* (1898-1901). The latter being closed down by the tsarist government, he continued to publish it abroad in 1902—99, 103

Postnikov, *V. Y.* (1844-1908)—economist and statistician, employed in the Ministry of Agriculture and State Properties, member of the Free Economic Society—37-38, 39-40, 42

Postolovsky, *D. S.* (*Vadim*) (1876-1948)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1895. At the Third Congress of the Party elected to its Central Committee. Was the official representative of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. on the Executive Committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. After the October Revolution worked on the State Commission for Draft Bills under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—272

Potresov, *Alexander Nikolayevich* (*A. N. Arsenyev*, *New Acquaintance*, *Starover*) (1869-1934)—in the nineties aligned with the Marxists. Took part in founding *Iskra* and *Zarya*. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. he became a leader of the Mensheviks. After the October Revolution emigrated—44, 45, 61, 66, 97-98, 100-01, 103, 106, 109, 215, 259, 270, 353, 405, 466, 552, 564, 575

Predkaln (*Priedkaln*), *Andrei Janovich* (1873-1923)—Lettish Social-Democrat, a physician by profession. In 1907 elected to the Third Duma where he aligned with the Bolshevik section of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. Contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*—212

Preobrazhensky, *Alexei Andreyevich* (1863-1938)—Narodnik, member of the farming colony at Shornel farm (Samara Gubernia) within several miles of Alakayevka, where the Ulyanovs spent the summers of 1889-93. During that period he often met V. I. Lenin and they had heated arguments together on the peasant question. Later he joined the Social-Democratic movement. In 1905 he worked in Samara—156-57

Prokopovich, *Sergei Nikolayevich* (1871-1955)—bourgeois economist and publicist. In the late nineties a prominent exponent of the Economist trend. Later an active member of the liberal-monarchist *Osvobozhdeniye* League. In 1906 a member of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party. Editor and publisher of the semi-Cadet, semi-Menshevik journal *Bez Zaglavia*. In 1917 Minister of Food Supply in the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Revolution deported from the

country for anti-Soviet activity—202, 215

Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich (1870-1920)—big landowner, one of the sponsors of the Black-Hundred Union of the Russian People. In 1907 he withdrew from it and formed a new monarchist counter-revolutionary organisation known as Chamber of Archangel Michael. Deputy to the Second, Third and Fourth Dumas from the Bessarabia gubernia. Notorious for his anti-semitic pogromist speeches in the Duma—441

Putyatin, Vasily Petrovich (b. 1878)—a peasant by birth. Deputy to the Third Duma from the Vyatka gubernia. For a time, member of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma—212

Pyatakov, Georgi Leonidovich (*Kievsky, Pyotr, Yuri, Japanese, Lialine*) (1890-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1910. From 1914 to 1917 lived in Switzerland, then in Sweden as a political emigrant. Contributed to the journal *Kommunist*; came out against Lenin on the question of the right of nations to self-determination. After the October Revolution a member of the Soviet Government of the Ukraine. From 1920 held administrative and business posts. Elected to the Central Committee at the Party's Twelfth, Thirteenth Fourteenth and Sixteenth congresses. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy, for which he was expelled from its ranks—459, 461, 463, 464, 472, 480, 487, 490, 495, 496, 529-30, 537, 539, 541, 543, 544, 546, 552, 559, 560, 562, 567, 570, 571, 574, 577, 583, 606, 615, 632

Pyatnitsa (Friday)—see *Pyatnitsky, I. A.*

Pyatnitsa's wife—see *Marshak, N. S.*

Pyatnitsky, Iosif Aronovich (*Albert, Pyatnitsa*) (1882-1939)—a leading member of the Communist Party; joined the revolutionary movement in the nineties. Living abroad as an emigrant, he managed the transportation of illegal literature and the smuggling of Party workers into Russia. Took an active part in convening the First and Third congresses of the R.S.D.L.P. Participant in the first Russian revolution (1905-07). Carried on Party work in Odessa, Moscow, and other cities. During the October days in 1917 a member of the Party's fighting headquarters in Moscow. After the October Revolution held Party posts—135-37, 249, 298, 301

Pyatnitsky, K. P. (1864-1938)—one of the founders of the *Znaniye* book publishing house (1898). In 1905 signed an agreement with the Bolshevik Central Committee for the publication of Marxist literature—166

Pyotr—see *Alexinsky, G. A.*

Pyotr—see *Ramishvili, N. V.*

Q

Quarck, Max (1860-1930)—German Right-wing Social-Democrat, lawyer and publicist. During World War I advocated a policy of collaboration between Social-Democracy and the German ruling classes—475, 476

Quelch, *Harry* (1858-1913)—a prominent leader of the British and international labour movement. Delegate to a number of international congresses of the Second International, member of the International Socialist Bureau. Took an active part in the activities of the British trade unions. During the period of publication in London of Lenin's *Iskra* (1902-03) gave assistance in organising the printing of the newspaper—80

Quessel, *Ludwig* (1872-1931)—German Social-Democrat publicist—265

R

Raczýnski, *Zygmunt* (b. 1882)—member of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.); worked in Cracow, Warsaw and Lodz. In October 1905 was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude in Siberia—68

Radchenko, *Ivan Ivanovich* (*Arkady*) (1874-1942)—a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class; played an important part in circulating Lenin's *Iskra* in Russia. In 1902 a member of the Organising Committee for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. From 1918 one of the organisers and managers of the Soviet peat industry—83-84, 88-89, 90-91

Radek, *Karl* (1885-1939)—from the beginning of the century took an active part in the Social-Democratic movement in Galicia Poland and Germany, contributed to the publications of the German Left Social-Democrats. During the First World War adopted an internationalist stand, but leaned towards the Centrists. In 1917 joined the Bolshevik Party. From 1923 an active member of the Trotskyite opposition. Expelled from the Party in 1936 for anti-Party activities—297, 301, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 464, 465-66, 468, 470, 475, 478, 480, 481, 482, 483, 487, 488, 489, 491, 495, 500, 504, 509, 510, 512, 513, 514, 515, 518, 519, 521, 527, 528, 531, 534, 535, 537, 540, 545, 546, 548, 549, 550, 554, 555, 561, 563, 571, 583, 585, 587, 598, 600, 607, 608, 614, 627, 629, 630, 632, 634-35

Radin—see *Knunyants*, *B. M.*

Rafailov, *M.*—see *Cots*, *M. R.*

Raffin-Dugens, *Jean Pierre*—French socialist. In 1910-19 member of the Chamber of Deputies. In 1921 joined the French Communist Party—594

Rakhmetov—see *Bogdanov*, *A.*

Rakovsky, *Christian Georgievich* (1873-1941)—from the early nineties took an active part in the Social-Democratic movement in Bulgaria, Rumania, Switzerland and France. Joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts. Expelled from the Party for active participation in the Trotskyite opposition—524

Ramishvili, *Naum Vissarionovich* (*Pyotr*) (b. 1881)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. After the Second Congress (1903) joined the Mensheviks. In 1918-20 Minister of the Interior in the Georgian Menshevik government, stood for Georgia's secession from Russia, fought

against the Soviet government —271, 272

Rappoport, *Charles*—French socialist, revised Marxian philosophy, for which he was sharply criticised by Paul Lafargue. Author of a number of books on philosophy and sociology—211, 218, 220, 223, 248, 484

Ravich, *Sophia* (*Olga*, *Olya*) (1879-1957)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. Did Party work in Kharkov, St. Petersburg and abroad. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—192, 226, 402, 435, 436, 450, 470, 476, 483, 485-86, 490, 498, 517, 526, 545, 594, 597, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 622, 624-25

Renaudel, *Pierre* (1871-1935)—a reformist leader of the French Socialist Party. In 1914-20 editor of *l'Humanité*. In 1914-19 member of the Chamber of Deputies—463, 594

Richter, *J.*—see *Lenin*, *V. I.*

Riskin—proprietor of a printing-press in Paris—381

Rittmeyer, *Georg*—Social-Democrat, with whom Lenin lived in Munich in 1900-01 under the name of Meyer. Lenin received letters at his address from December 1900 up to the end of July 1901—49

Rodzyanko, *Mikhail Vladimirovich* (1859-1924)—big landowner, one of the leaders of the Octobrist party, a monarchist. From March 1911 Chairman of the Third and then of the Fourth Duma. During the February 1917 revolution organised a counter-revolutionary centre known as the Provisional Committee of the Duma, and then a Private Council of Duma members. After the October Revolution attempted to rally the counter-revolutionary forces to fight the Soviet state. Later he emigrated—365

Rogova—138, 148

Roland-Holst, *Henriette* (1869-1952)—Dutch socialist, writer. Worked to organise women's unions; adhered to the Left-wing Social-Democrats, who formed the Social-Democratic Party of Holland in 1909. Took part in the publication of the journal *Vorbote*, the theoretical mouthpiece of the Zimmerwald Left. In 1918-27 was a member of the Dutch Communist Party and took part in the work of the Comintern—504, 513-16, 518, 569, 600, 601

Rolland, *Romain* (1866-1944)—French author and public figure. In 1914-19 wrote his *Diary of the War Year*, which was later kept in the Lenin State Library in the U.S.S.R. and published in accordance with the author's will in January 1955—498, 625

Roman—see *Yermolayev*, *K. M.*

Romanov, *Ivan Romanovich* (1871-1919)—workman, Bolshevik, deputy to the Second Duma. After the dissolution of the Duma emigrated to Belgium, then lived in France —189

Ropshin, *V.*—see *Savinkov*, *B. V.*

Rosa—see *Luxemburg*, *R.*

Rosen, *M. M.* (*E.*) (b. 1876)—member of the Bund from 1898. Carried on Party work in Minsk, Warsaw, Odessa, Kiev and Lodz. In 1907-08 a member of the Bund Central Committee and of the editorial board of its central organ—241

Rothstein, *Theodore* (1871-1953)—Social-Democrat. Emigrated to England in 1890 where he joined the Social-Democratic

Federation, adhering to its Left wing. In 1901 Joined the R.S.D.L.P. Contributed to the Russian and foreign socialist press. Took part in founding the Communist Party of Great Britain. Returned to the Soviet Union in 1920—453

Roussel, *Angéle*—French socialist. From 1907 to 1912 a member of the Standing Administrative Committee of the French Socialist Party—200-01

Rovio, *Kustaa* (1887-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. From the end of 1910 onward lived and worked in Finland. A member of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland. In August-September 1917 Lenin lived in his house, where he went into hiding to escape persecution by the bourgeois Provisional Government. Rovio was one of the active participants in the workers' revolution of 1918 in Finland. Later held Party posts in the U.S.S.R. —636-37

Rozanov, *V. N.* (1876-1939)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Menshevik group in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies—633

Rozhkov, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1868-1927)—historian and publicist. Joined the R.S.D.L.P. at the beginning of 1905, aligned himself for a time with the Bolsheviks. After the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution he became one of the ideological leaders of liquidationism—263

Rozmirovich Yelena Fyodorovna (*Troyanovskaya*, *Galina*) (1886-1953)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Living abroad as a political emigrant, fulfilled various assignments of the C.C. Bureau Abroad, was a confidential agent of the C.C. After the Poronin conference (1913) she was sent to Russia as secretary of the Duma Bolshevik group and the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. Was a member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravda*, contributed to the journals *Prosveshcheniye*, *Rabotnitsa*, etc. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—333, 389-90, 450, 457

Rubakin, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1862-1946)—bibliographer and writer, author of numerous works on bibliography the history of book publishing in Russia, and popular science sketches on geography, the natural sciences, etc. Emigrated to Switzerland in 1907 where he lived till the end of his life—402, 608

Rubanovich, *Ilya Adolfovich* (1860-1920)—a leader of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Member of the International Socialist Bureau—210, 308, 417

Rudin, *A.* (*Potapov*, *Alexander Ivanovich*) (1869-1915)—started political activities as a Narodnik, then joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. In 1903-05, a member of its Central Committee. Came out against Marxism in his articles and pamphlets on the agrarian question—107

Rudis-Gipslis, *I.* (*Rude*) (1885-1918)—member of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region from 1905, active participant in the 1905-07 revolution. After the revolution emigrated to Germany, worked in Berlin in a print-shop—348-49, 372-73, 374-75, 392, 401

Rühle, *Otto* (b. 1874)—German Left Social-Democrat. From 1912 Member of Parliament. In 1919 joined the Communist Party of Germany, where he aligned himself with the Left opposition. After the split among the German Communists, at the beginning of 1920, took part in founding the Communist Workers' Party of Germany. Was later expelled from it and went back to the Social-Democratic Party—510-11, 514, 523

Ruma, *L. N.*—agent provocateur worked in the Moscow Workers' Union—67, 72, 74

Rumyantsev, *P. P.* (*Schmidt*) (1870-1925)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1891. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik, member of the Bureau of Majority Committees, delegate to the Party's Third Congress. In June 1905 co-opted to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1905 an editor and contributor to the first legal Bolshevik paper *Novaya Zhizn*. In 1907-10 retired from political activities—166

Rusalka (Mermaid)—see *Lyadov*, *M. N.*

Rusanov, *A. N.* (b. 1881)—member of the Fourth Duma from the Primorye region, non-Party. By profession a schoolteacher—319

Rusanov, *Nikolai Sergeyevich* (*Tarasov*)—publicist, member of the Narodnaya Volya organisation, afterwards a Socialist-Revolutionary. While in emigration he met Engels. Returned to Russia in 1905, edited a number of S.R. newspapers—96, 99, 109

Ryabovsky—see *Stark*, *L. N.*

Ryadovoi (Private)—see *Bogdanov*, *A.*

Ryazanov (*Goldendach*), *David Borisovich* (1870-1938)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in the nineties. Living abroad as an emigrant he took part in founding the opportunist *Borba* group. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) he aligned himself with the Mensheviks. In 1909 a lecturer at the anti-Party Capri school. At the Sixth Congress (1917) he was admitted to membership of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). After the October Revolution worked in the trade unions. Expelled from the R.C.P.(B.) in February 1931 for supporting the counter-revolutionary activities of the Mensheviks—44, 45, 50-51, 60, 125, 294, 312, 314, 345, 445, 529

Rybalka—see *Yurkevich*, *L.*

Rykov, *Alexei Ivanovich* (*Vlasov*) (1881-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899. In 1907-10 took a conciliatory stand towards the opportunists in the Party. After the February 1917 revolution opposed the Party's line towards a socialist revolution. After the October Revolution held a number of key posts. Came out repeatedly against Lenin's policy. In 1928, one of the leaders of the Right opportunist deviation. Expelled from the Party in 1937 for anti-Party activities—203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 266-268, 272-75

S

Safarchik, *Saf-chik*—see *Safarov*, *G. I.*

Safarov, *G. I.* (*Volodin*, *George*, *Georgik*, *Samovarchik*, *Safarchik*, *Saf-chik*) (1891-1942)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1908.

Carried on Party work in St. Petersburg and abroad. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—291-92, 410, 413, 526, 532, 544, 546, 552, 553, 562, 568, 570, 574

Safarova, *Valentina Sergeyevna* (*Valya*) (b. 1891)—the wife of Safarov, G. I.—617, 620

Sahli, *Hermann*—professor of Berne University, specialist in internal diseases—555

Sammer, *Ivan Adamovich* (*Lyubich*) (1870-1921)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1897, Bolshevik. Took an active part in the revolution of 1905-07. After the October Revolution held business posts—204, 269, 272, 275

Samoilov, *Fyodor Nikitich* (1882-1952)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, deputy to the Fourth Duma from the workers of the Vladimir gubernia, member of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. Arrested together with the other Bolshevik deputies in November 1914 for revolutionary activities against the imperialist war and deported to Siberia in 1915. After the October Revolution worked in the Ukraine and in Moscow—309, 357, 387-88, 389, 397, 399, 421

Samovarchik—see *Safarov*, *G. I.*

Samovars—see *Leiteisen*, *G. D.* and *Nogin*, *V. P.*

Samsonov—see *Valentinov*, *N.*

Sanin, *Alexei Alexeyevich* (b. 1869)—Marxist writer of the nineties, contributor to *Samarsky Vestnik* (1896-97) and the collection *Proletarian Struggle*. He translated Hourwich's book *The Economics of the Russian Village* (1896) to which he gave a voluminous appendix of his own—100

Sapozhkov, *N. I.* (*Kuznetsov*, *N. V.*, *Nik. Vas.*) (1881-1917)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1904. At the end of 1911 emigrated to Paris—326, 334, 376, 379, 380, 382, 400, 408

Sauer—see *Skarre*, *Y.*

Savelyev, *Maximilian Alexandrovich* (*Vetrov*) (1884-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1911-13 editor of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* and simultaneously, from 1912, member of the editorial board of *Pravda*. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—318, 322

Savinkov, *Boris Viktorovich* (*Ropshin*, *V.*) (1879-1925)—a leader of the Combat Organisation of the S.R. party. After the October Revolution one of the organisers of counter-revolutionary revolts and armed intervention against the Soviet Republic—297, 340

Schmidt—see *Rumyantsev*, *P. P.*

Schter—633

Schwarz—see *Vorovsky*, *V. V.*

Schweitzer, *Johann Baptist* (1833-1875)—German public figure and writer, elected President of the General Association of German Workers in 1867. Pursued Lassallean, opportunist tactics of agreement with the Prussian government. An adherent of the Junker-Prussian way of uniting Germany "from above". Marx and Engels sharply criticised the "royal-Prussian government socialism" of Schweitzer—282

Seger, *Johann Friedrich* (1867-1928)—German Social-Democrat, one of the leaders of the Leipzig S.D. organisation and editor of *Leipziger Volkszeitung*—574

Semashko, Nikolai Alexandrovich (*Alexandrov*) (1874-1949)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893. In 1905 took an active part in the armed uprising in Nizhni-Novgorod, then emigrated. Was secretary and treasurer of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureau Abroad. At the outbreak of the imperialist world war was interned in Bulgaria. Returned to Russia in September 1917. Took an active part in the armed uprising in Moscow in October 1917. After the October Revolution held key posts in the public health service—184, 272, 275, 276, 277, 314

Semkovsky, S. (*Bronstein, Semyon Yulievich*) (b. 1882)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. Member of the editorial board of Trotsky's *Pravda* in Vienna. Contributed to the press organs of the Menshevik liquidators and foreign Social-Democratic parties. During the First World War he was a Centrist. On his return to Russia in 1917 he became a member of the Menshevik Central Committee. In 1920 broke with the Mensheviks. Later professor in Ukrainian colleges, engaged in scientific literary research—344, 563

Seppin, J. H.—182

Sergei Vasilievich—165

Sergeyev, V.—see *Taratuta, V. K.*

Shantser, Virgily Leonovich (*Marat*) (1867-1911)—Social-Democrat. At the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1907) elected to the C.C. Took part in the work of the Fifth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (December 1908), member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*—201, 205, 208

Sharko—see *Krupskaya, N. R.*

Shahumyan, Stepan Grigorievich (1878-1918)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1900. In 1904-10 directed Party work in Transcaucasia and was one of the organisers and editors of Bolshevik legal and illegal organs of the press. In 1914 headed the Baku organisation of the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution, Acting Commissar Extraordinary for Affairs of the Caucasus, Chairman of the Baku Council of People's Commissars and Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Member of the Party Central Committee. After the fall of the Baku Commune he was shot with 25 other Baku commissars by the British interventionists on September 20, 1918—410-11

Shchur—see *Skrypnik, N. A.*

Shelgunov, Vasily Andreyevich (1867-1939)—a workman, joined the revolutionary movement in 1886. From 1892 conducted propaganda of Marxism in the workers' circles of St. Petersburg. Was one of the organisers and leaders of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. He was arrested in connection with the prosecution of this League and exiled. In 1910 he took part in founding the newspaper *Zvezda*, and later *Pravda*—95

Shenderovich—358

Shipulinsky, F. P. (*Feofan, Lushin*) (1876-1942)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1898. In 1905 sided with the Mensheviks—162, 163

Shklovsky, Grigory Lvovich (1875-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Emigrated in 1909. Member of the Berne section of

the Bolsheviks. From 1915 member of the Committee of Bolshevik Organisations Abroad. Returned to Russia after the February 1917 revolution. From 1918 to 1925 in the diplomatic service—343-44, 355, 358, 399, 421, 469, 485, 488, 496, 498, 518, 537, 589

Shklyarevich, *V. G.* (1877-1921)—Social-Democrat, Iskrist. Established contact between the Crimean S.D. organisation and the editorial board of *Iskra*—86-87

Shlyapnikov, *Alexander Gavrilovich* (*A.*, *Alexander*, *Belenin*) (1885-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. During the First World War engaged in Party work in Petrograd and abroad; was liaison man between the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Bureaus in Russia and Abroad. After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Petrograd Party Committee, member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and Chairman of the Petrograd Metal Workers' Union. After the October Revolution People's Commissar of Labour in the Council of People's Commissars, afterwards held trade union and business posts. In 1920-22 organiser and leader of the anti-Party Workers' Opposition group. During the Party purge in 1933 he was expelled from the R.C.P.(B.)—437, 441, 442, 443-44, 456, 459, 480, 481, 484, 521, 527, 528, 532, 535, 536, 537, 538-39, 540, 542, 559, 566, 568, 573

Shouer, *M. M.*—Social-Democrat, Iskrist, member of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad, at the Second Congress of the League supported the Mensheviks—54

Shurkanov, *Vasily Yegorovich* (b. 1876)—a workman, deputy to the Third Duma from the Kharkov gubernia. Member of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. Subsequently discovered to have been an undercover man of the Russian secret political police from 1913—212

Siefeldt (*Simumyash*), *Arthur Rudolfovich* (1889-1938)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1906. From 1913 lived in Switzerland. Member of the Bolshevik Party from 1915—508

Sigg, *Jean*—a leader of the Geneva organisation of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, Member of the Federal Parliament—436

Silvin, *Mikhail Alexandrovich* (*Brodyaga*) (1874-1955)—Social-Democrat, joined the revolutionary movement in 1891, member of the central group of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. An agent of *Iskra*. Co-opted to the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. Went over to the Mensheviks at the end of 1904, but soon after returned to the Bolsheviks; contributed to a number of Bolshevik newspapers. In 1908 retired from political activities and quitted the Party. After the October Revolution worked in the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat of Education, from 1923 to 1930 employed in the Trade Delegation of the U.S.S.R. in Britain, and from 1931 a teacher—127, 129

Sinclair, *Upton* (1878-1968)—American author—289, 473

Skaret, *Ferdinand* (1862-1941)—Austrian Social-Democrat.

Held key posts in the leadership of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, which he represented in the Second International. Up to 1930 a regular Member of Parliament—448

Skarre, V. (*Sauer*)—from 1908 secretary of the Committee Abroad of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region, a Menshevik—374

Skovno, Abram Andreyevich (*Abram*) (1888-1938)—joined the Bolshevik Party in 1903. From 1910 lived in France, member of the Paris section of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1914 went to live in Switzerland. Returned to Russia together with Lenin. After the October Revolution held Party and business posts in Moscow—432, 433, 511, 617

Skrypnik, Nikolai Alexeyevich (*Shchur*) (1872-1933)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. Member of *Pravda* editorial board (1914). After the February 1917 revolution secretary of the Central Council of Factory Committees in Petrograd, member of the Central Executive Committee, first convocation. Active participant in the October Revolution, member of the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee. After the revolution held Party and administrative posts—206, 207

Skvortsov-Stepanov, Ivan Ivanovich (*Bolshak*) (1870-1928)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1896; from 1904 a Bolshevik; Marxist writer. Active participant in the October Revolution. After the revolution held government and Party posts—138, 148, 203, 394-96

Smidovich, Inna Germogenovna (*Dimka*) — Social-Democrat. From the moment *Iskra* was organised and up to the time N. K. Krupskaya arrived in Geneva in April 1901 discharged the duties of secretary of the editorial board, afterwards engaged in the transportation of literature across the frontier. At the Second Congress of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad supported the Mensheviks, was secretary to the League's administration—583

Smilga, Ivan Tenisovich (1892-1938)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. In 1914-15 a member of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). After the February 1917 revolution a member of the Kronstadt Party Committee, Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee of the Army, Navy and Workers of Finland. After the October Revolution authorised agent of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars in Finland, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council—636, 637

Sokolnikov (*Brilliant*), *Grigory Yakovlevich* (1888-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. From 1909 to 1917 lived abroad. During the First World War contributed to the Menshevik liquidator newspaper *Nashe Slovo*. After the October Revolution held administrative, diplomatic and military posts. Expelled from the Party in 1936 for anti-Party activities—594, 598

Sokolov, Nikolai Dmitrievich (1870-1928)—Social-Democrat, well-known barrister at political trials. Contributed to the journals *Zhizn*, *Obrazovaniye*

and others. At the by-elections to the Third Duma in St. Petersburg in 1909 he was nominated candidate of the R.S.D.L.P. After the October Revolution worked as legal adviser in various Soviet institutions—215, 386

Sokolovsky—see *Nadezhdin, L.*

Solomon, Georgi Alexandrovich (*Isetsky, Salomon*)— joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1898, carried on agitation and propaganda work. In 1907 emigrated, lived abroad up to 1917—190, 192, 193

Sorokin—471

Spandaryan, Suren Spandarovich (1882-1916)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. Member of the Caucasian Union Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Active participant in the revolution of 1905-07. At the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. elected to the Central Committee and the Bureau of the C.C. in Russia. After the Conference toured the country, making reports to the Bolshevik organisations of the Lettish Region, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Tiflis and Baku. Contributed to the newspaper *Zvezda*. Arrested in 1912 and sentenced to exile for life in Siberia. Died in Krasnoyarsk—287

Spectator—see *Nakhimson, M. I.*

Spitsa (Spoke)—see *Nevsky, V. I.*

Stal, Ludmila Nikolayevna (*Ludmila*) (1872-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897. In 1905 a member of the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., in 1906 a member of the St. Petersburg Committee. In 1907 emigrated. Lived in France, England and Sweden up to 1917. Active participant in the October Revolution. During the civil war carried on political work in the army. From 1921 held Party and administrative posts —461, 462, 484, 567

Stalin (*Jugashvili*), *Joseph Vissarionovich* (*Vasilyev, Koba*) (1879-1953)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. since 1898. After the October Revolution was elected to the Council of People's Commissars, where he headed the People's Commissariat for Nationalities. During the foreign intervention and civil war was active on several fronts as a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. In 1922 was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B). As of 1941 he was Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, later also of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. During the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) was Chairman of the State Committee for Defence, People's Commissar for Defence, and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armed forces.

In the position of General Secretary of the Party C.C., which he held for a long time, Stalin, together with other leading functionaries, exerted great efforts for the building of socialism, and played a major role in smashing various anti-Party trends, especially Trotskyism and Right opportunism.

At the same time, associated with his name are the distortions in the life of Soviet society, which the Communist Party qualified as manifestations of the personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism. The C.P.S.U. decidedly condemned the personality cult

and took measures to prevent similar mistakes and distortions in future—236, 310, 314, 317-19, 322, 323, 326, 469, 483, 625

Starik (Old Man)—see *Lenin, V. I.*

Stark, L. N. (*Ryabovsky*) (1889-1943)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905. Deported from the country in 1912; lived for a time in Vienna, where he aligned himself with Trotsky's group, then lived on Capri. Contributed to the Bolshevik publications *Zvezda*, *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye* and the Menshevik journal *Sovremennik*—355, 549

Starover (Old Believer)—*Potresov, A. N.*

Stasova, Yelena Dmitrievna (*Absolut*) (1873-1966)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Up to 1905 carried on illegal revolutionary work in St. Petersburg, Kiev, Minsk, Orel, Smolensk, Vilna, and Moscow; was secretary of the St. Petersburg Party Committee, secretary of the Northern Bureau of the C.C. In 1907-12 did Party work in Tiflis. At the Sixth (Prague) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. she was elected alternate member of the C.C. Afterwards carried on Party work in Petrograd and Baku, worked in the Comintern, the International Red Aid and the Central Control Commission, and engaged in public and literary activities—126-27, 128-29, 162

Stavsky, I. I. (1877-1957)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898, one of the leaders of the November strike in Rostov-on-Don in 1902. On his arrival abroad wrote a letter together with Z. Mikhailov and Mochalov to the editors of *Iskra* declaring their support for its programme—95, 97, 105

Steinberg, S.—Russian emigrant, member of the Emigrants' Committee set up in Stockholm in 1917 after the February revolution in Russia to help political emigrants return to Russia—630

Steklov, Yuri Mikhailovich (*Nakhamkis, Nevzorov*) (1873-1941)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1893. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. In 1907-14 contributed to the Party's Central Organ—the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and the Bolshevik papers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. After the October Revolution editor of *Izvestia* and the magazine *Sovetskoye Stroitelstvo* (Soviet Construction); from 1929 Deputy Chairman of the Academic Committee under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—44, 46-47, 60, 158, 277, 325, 344, 378

Stepan—see *Polonsky, I. M.*

Stepanov—see *Skvortsov-Stepanov, I. I.*

Stepko—see *Kiknadze, N. D.*

Stietz, Otto—426-27

Stolypin, Pyotr Arkadievich (1862-1911)—Russian statesman, big landowner. In 1906-11 Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior. Implemented an agrarian reform aimed at creating a bulwark of the tsarist autocracy in the countryside in the person of the kulaks. Associated with his name is the period of harsh political reaction that set in in Russia after the suppression of the revolution of 1905-07—174, 222, 340

Strannik (Wanderer)—see *Fridolin, V. Y.*

Ströbel, *Heinrich* (1869-1945)—German Social-Democrat. At the outbreak of the First World War came out against the imperialist war, adhered to the *Internationale* group, in which he represented a trend that leaned towards Kautskyism. In 1916 he swung over completely to Kautskyism. In 1917 one of the organisers of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany—511, 514

Ström, *Fredrik* (1880-1948)—Swedish Left Social-Democrat, writer and publicist. In 1911-16 Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden. In 1921-24 Secretary of the Swedish Communist Party. Author of the book *J'stormigtid* (Stormy Times) published in Stockholm, 1942, containing a chapter "Lenin in Stockholm" giving reminiscences of Lenin's visit to Stockholm on March 31 (April 13) and an interview with him—626

Struve, *Pyotr Berngardovich* (1870-1944)—bourgeois economist and publicist. In the nineties a leading spokesman of "legal Marxism", who tried to adapt Marxism and the labour movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. With the founding of the Cadet Party in 1905 he became a member of its Central Committee. An ideologue of Russian imperialism. After the October Revolution a white émigré—140

Sukhanov, *N.* (*Gimmer*, *Nikolai Nikolayevich*) (b. 1882)—economist and publicist of a petty-bourgeois trend. Started as a Narodnik, then became a Menshevik. After the October Revolution worked in Soviet economic institutions. Sentenced in 1931 as a leader of an underground Menshevik organisation—405, 517, 529, 532, 538, 550

Surkov, *P. I.* (1876-1946)—Social-Democrat, workman (weaver). Bolshevik Deputy to the Third Duma from the workers of the Kostroma gubernia; contributed to the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda*—212

Sverdlov, *Yakov Mikhailovich* (*Andrei*) (1885-1919)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. After the Sixth (Prague) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January 1912 co-opted to the Central Committee of the Party and elected to the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Russia. Member of the editorial board of *Pravda*. Took an active part in preparing and carrying out the October Revolution. Member of the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee and the Revolutionary Military Centre for leadership of the uprising, which were set up by the Central Committee of the Party. On November 8 (21) elected Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—335

Sysoika—see *Bogdanov*, *A.*

T

T.—292

Tarasov—see *Rusanov*, *N. S.*

Taratuta, *Victor Konstantinovich* (*Victor*, *Sergeyev*, *V.*) (1881-1926)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Delegate to the Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the R.S.D.L.P., member of the Bolshevik Centre—197, 205, 226, 229, 257

Teodorovich, *Ivan Adolfovich* (*Fedorovich*) (1875-1940)—joined the revolutionary

movement in 1895. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) a Bolshevik. In 1905 member of the editorial board of the Bolsheviks' Central Organ *Proletary*. In 1905-07 member of the St. Petersburg Party Committee—166

Ter-Ioannisyan, *V. A.*—wife of the well-known Armenian writer Muratsan. From 1890 onward lived in Germany. In Berlin, through S. Spandaryan, made the acquaintance of Lenin at the beginning of 1912—287-88

Thalheimer, *August* (1884-1948)—German Social-Democrat, publicist. In 1914-16 editor of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Volksfreund*, member of the *Internationale* group, subsequently renamed the Spartacus group and the Spartacus League. From 1923 one of the leaders of the Right-wing opportunists. Expelled from the Party in 1929—462

Thun, *Alphons* (1853-1885)—German historian, author of the book *History of the Revolutionary Movements in Russia*—108, 110

Tinsky—see *Usievich*, *G. A.*

Tolstoy, *Lev Nikolayevich* (1828-1910)—Russian author—263

Tomich—see *Korenevsky*, *M.*

Tomsky, *Mikhail Pavlovich* (1880-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. In 1905-06 worked in the Reval organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1907 member of the St. Petersburg Party Committee. Member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik paper *Proletary*. After the October Revolution held a number of key posts. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy. In 1928, together with Bukharin and Rykov, headed the Right opportunist deviation in the R.C.P.(B.)—221-22

Travinsky—see *Krzhizhanovsky*, *G. M.*

Tria—see *Mgeladze*, *V. D.*

Troelstra, *Pieter Jelles* (1860-1930)—a leader of the Dutch labour movement, Right-wing socialist. A founder (1894) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland—444

Trotsky (*Bronstein*), *Lev Davidovich* ("*Pero*") (1879-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897, a Menshevik. After the Second Congress (1903) opposed the Bolsheviks on all issues involving the theory and practice of socialist revolution. Returned from emigration in 1917, joined the Mezhraiontsi group with whom he was admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress (1917). After the October Revolution held a number of key posts. Carried on a bitter factional struggle against the Party's general line, against Lenin's programme for building socialism; argued the impossibility of winning socialism in the U.S.S.R. Expelled from the Party in 1927, in 1929 deported from the country for anti-Soviet activities, and deprived of Soviet citizenship in 1932. Living abroad, he continued his struggle against the Soviet state and the Communist Party, against the international communist movement—106, 111, 112, 124, 129, 140, 176, 222, 231, 243, 244, 263, 265, 278, 296, 300, 378, 379, 453, 455, 456, 458, 460, 461, 483, 484, 489, 502, 504, 507, 513, 514, 515, 516, 523, 567, 602

Troyanovsky, Alexander Antonovich (1882-1955)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907. Emigrated in 1910. Member of the Central Committee delegation to the Basle Congress of the Second International (1912), attended the Cracow and Poronin meetings of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. with Party functionaries. Returned to Russia in 1917. Was in the diplomatic service and held other posts—308, 333, 339, 344, 618

Troyanovsky's wife—see *Rozmirovich, Y. F.*

Tsensky—122

Tskhakaya, Mikhail Grigorievich (*Mikha*) (1865-1950)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. One of the leaders of the Caucasian Union Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. From 1907 to March 1917 lived abroad. In 1917-20 member of the Tiflis Committee of the Party. After the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia in 1921 held Party and administrative posts—498, 625

Tsvetov—see *Blumenfeld, I. S.*

Tugan-Baranovsky, Mikhail Ivanovich (1865-1919)—Russian economist, in the nineties a prominent spokesman of "legal Marxism". During the revolution of 1905-07 a member of the Cadet Party. After the October Revolution a counter-revolutionary leader in the Ukraine—104, 191, 248, 332

Tulyakov, Ivan Nikitich (b. 1877)—a workman, Social-Democrat, Menshevik, deputy to the Fourth Duma from the Don Cossack Army region—357, 370

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—a leader of the Italian labour movement, one of the organisers of the Italian Socialist Party and leader of its Right, reformist wing—594, 606

Tyszka, Jan (*Jogiches, Leon*) (1867-1919)—prominent leader of the Polish and German labour movement. One of the founders of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, member of the Party's Executive. During the imperialist world war participated in the work of the German Social-Democrats, was one of the organisers of the Spartacus League. After the November 1918 revolution in Germany took part in founding the Communist Party of Germany and was elected secretary of its Central Committee—187-88, 197, 276, 297, 314, 329, 334, 372, 429, 521, 522, 588

U

Ulyanova, Maria Ilyinichna (*Medveshonok*). (1878-1937)—Lenin's younger sister, professional revolutionary, Bolshevik. Carried on Party work in Russia and abroad—113, 629

Usievich (*Tinsky*), *Grigory Alexandrovich* (1891-1918)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1908. In 1916 lived in Switzerland. Returned to Russia together with Lenin (April 3, 1917). Took an active part in the October Revolution—546, 549, 553, 554, 562, 564, 588, 612, 613, 616, 621

Usievich, Yelena Felixovna (b. 1893)—wife of G. A. Usievich, daughter of Felix Kon, prominent leader of the international labour movement; joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1915, member of the Bolshevik section in Berne. Returned to Russia in April 1917 together with Lenin—612

V

V. I.—see *Zasulich, V. I.*
V. M.—see *Velichkina, V. M.*
V. V.—see *Vorontsov, V. P.*
Vadim—see *Postolovsky, D. S.*
Vaillant, Edouard Marie (1840-1915)—French socialist, follower of Blanqui, one of the leaders of the Second International's Left wing. Was one of the founders of the Socialist Party of France (1901). During the First World War adopted a social-chauvinist stand—168
Vakar, V. V. (1878-1926)—started revolutionary activities in the early nineties. In 1902 a member of the Kiev Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), a Bolshevik—88
Valentin—see *Galperin, L. Y.*
Valentinov, N. (*Volsky, Nikolai Vladislavovich, Samsonov*) (b. 1879)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1898. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Bolsheviks; went over to the Mensheviks at the end of 1904, edited the legal Menshevik paper *Moskovskaya Gazeta* and contributed to other Menshevik organs—129
Valya—see *Safarova, V. S.*
Vandervelde, Emile (1866-1938)—leader of the Belgian Workers' Party, Chairman of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International. Took an extreme opportunist stand. Was a member of the bourgeois government during the First World War—423, 424, 438, 480, 482
Var, A.—see *Warski, Adolf.*
Varin—see *Fridolin, V. Y.*
Vas. Vas.—see *Olminsky, M. S.*
Vasilyev—see *Stalin, J. V.*
Vasserberg, E. A. (b. 1874)—a member of the R.S.D.L.P. promotion group in Paris in 1903—71
Vecheslov, M. G. (*Yuriev*) (1869-1934)—a Social-Democrat a doctor by profession. In 1900 headed the *Iskra* promotion group in Berlin; organised transportation of *Iskra* into Russia across the frontier. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), a Menshevik. Joined the R.C.P.(B.) in June 1918—56, 57-58
Velichkina, Vera Mikhailovna (1868-1918)—a professional revolutionary. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), a Bolshevik; contributed to the newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*, translated works of Marx and Engels, organised transportation into Russia of Bolshevik publications—115, 258, 261
Velika, Vel. Dm., Velika Dmitrievna—see *Zasulich, V. I.*
Vera—see *Lobova, V. N.*
Vetchinkin—169
Vetrov—see *Savelyev, M. A.*
Victor—see *Taratuta, V. R.*
Vilensky Ilya Semyonovich (*Ilya*) (1873-1931)—a Social-Democrat. In 1897 member of the Yekaterinoslav League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In 1900 arrested and exiled; escaped from exile to Geneva, where he joined the *Iskra* organisation and worked in the printing-press of the Emancipation of Labour Group, later became manager of the Party's printing-press—120-21
Vinitsky—see *Medem, V. D.*
Vinnichenko, Vladimir Kirillovich (1880-1951)—Ukrainian fiction

writer, a bourgeois nationalist. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party—a Menshevik nationalist organisation. After the February 1917 revolution one of the organisers and leaders of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Rada (Council); subsequently, together with Petlura, headed the Directory (the nationalist government of the Ukraine in 1918-19). After the establishment of Soviet power in the Ukraine, a white émigré—400

Vitimsky, A.—see *Olminsky, M. S.*

Vl. Khr.—382

Vladimirov, Miron Konstantinovich (*Sheinfinkel, M. K., Lyova*) (1879-1925)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. In 1911 drew away from the Bolsheviks; later joined the Paris group of Plekhanovites, who published the newspaper *Za Partiyu*. During the First World War contributed to Trotsky's Paris newspaper *Nashe Slovo*—278-79, 379, 588

Vladimirsky, Mikhail Fyodorovich (*Kamsky*) (1874-1951)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1895. In 1905 a participant in the December armed uprising in Moscow. In 1906 emigrated to France, where he worked in the Bolshevik organisations—327, 383, 389, 400, 406, 410, 413, 415

Vlasov—see *Rykov, A. I.*

Voinov—see *Lunacharsky, A. V.*

Voiloshnikov, Aviv Adrianovich (1877-1930)—member of the Social-Democratic group in the Third Duma, aligned with the Bolsheviks. In 1911-12 contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*—212

Voitinsky, V. S. (b. 1885)—during the revolution of 1905-07 a Bolshevik. In the spring of 1909 he was sentenced by a military tribunal to penal servitude in connection with the case of the Bolshevik Military Organisation. After the February 1917 revolution, a Menshevik. In October 1917 he took part in the Kerensky-Krasnov counter-revolutionary revolt. Later emigrated—367-70

Volkov—390

Volodin—see *Safarov, G. I.*

Volontyor (Volunteer)—see *Pavlovich, M. P.*

Volsky, Stanislav (b. 1880)—Social-Democrat. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) joined the Bolsheviks. Afterwards became a leader of the otzovists, took part in the organisation and work of the factional schools on Capri and at Bologna (Italy); a member of the anti-Party *Vperyod* group—206

Voronin, Semyon Alexandrovich (1880-1915)—a workman, deputy to the Third Duma from the Vladimir gubernia. Member of the Social-Democratic Duma group, aligned with the Bolsheviks. Contributed to the Bolshevik legal newspaper *Zvezda*—212

Vorontsov, Vasily Pavlovich (*V. V.*) (1847-1918)—economist and publicist, one of the ideologists of liberal Narodism in the eighties and nineties; advocated reconciliation with the tsarist government, came out against Marxism—39, 40

Vorovsky, Vatslav Vatslavovich (*Josephine, Orlovsky, Schwarz*) (1871-1923)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1894. At the beginning of 1904 organised

the Southern Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. in Odessa, at the end of August went abroad. A member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*. After the October Revolution a prominent Soviet diplomat. Was assassinated in Lausanne by white guards—127, 152, 155, 203, 207, 249, 635

Vyach. Al.—see *Karpinsky*, *V. A.*

Vyazmensky, *G. M.*—manager of the archives of Russian Social-Democracy in Berlin—334

W

Warski, *Adolf* (1868-1937)—a veteran leader of the Polish revolutionary movement, took an active part in founding the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Delegate to the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. After the Congress, a member of its C.C. In 1909-10 an editor of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. A founder of the Communist Workers' Party of Poland and member of its C.C.—242, 256,

Warszawski—see *Bronski*, *M. G.*

Werner—see *Bogdanov*, *A.*

Wijnkoop, *David* (1877-1941)—Dutch Social-Democrat, afterwards Communist. In 1909 one of the founders and Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland ("Tribunists"), which assumed the name of Communist Party of Holland in 1918. As a leader of the Communist Party of Holland, he adopted an ultra-Left, sectarian stand—451, 452, 461, 465-66, 467-68, 471, 478, 479-80, 481-82

Y

Y.—269-70

Y. Yur., *Yuri*—see *Pyatakov*, *G. D.*

Y. B.—see *Bosh*, *Y. B.*

Y. F.—see *Rozmirovich*, *Y. F.*

Yakubova, *Apollinaria Alexandrovna* (1870-1917)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1893, adherent of Economism. A member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Emigrated in the summer of 1899. Assisted in the organisation of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) which she attended as a non-voting delegate. After the split in the Party sympathised with the Mensheviks. After 1905 retired from political activities, worked in workers' educational organisations—47-48

Yasneva—see *Golubeva*, *M. P.*

Yefron, *Y. A.* (d. 1917)—a doctor by profession; lived abroad as an emigrant, supported the Emancipation of Labour Group; later a member of the *Iskra* organisation in Paris—74

Yegor—see *Polubinov*.

Yegorov, *Nikolai Maximovich* (b. 1871)—a workman, deputy to the Third Duma from the Perm gubernia electorate. Member of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. Contributed to the Bolshevik legal newspaper *Zvezda*, then joined the Trotskyites—212

Yelizarova-Ulyanova, *Anna Ilyinichna* (*Andrei Nikolayevich*, *James*) (1864-1935)—Lenin's sister; joined the revolutionary movement in 1886. In 1900-05 worked in *Iskra* organisations and Bolshevik illegal newspapers; was a member of the editorial board of *Vperyod*. Took

an active part in the publication of Lenin's writings. In 1912-14 contributed to the Bolshevik organs: *Pravda*, *Prosveshcheniye* and *Rabotnitsa*. In 1917 secretary of *Pravda* editorial board and editor of the journal *Tkach* (Weaver). In 1918-21 worked in the People's Commissariat of Education. Took an active part in the organisation of the Lenin Institute, of whose scientific staff she was a member—67, 166, 177, 386, 528, 549, 554

Yenukidze, *A. S.* (*Avel*) (1877-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. In 1910 worked in the Party's Baku organisation, was a member of the Baku Committee. In 1911 was arrested and kept in prison till July 1912. After his release worked in St. Petersburg up till 1914. After the October Revolution occupied military, administrative and Party posts—360

Yermolayev, *K. M.* (*Roman*) (1884-1919)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In 1910 was one of the sixteen Mensheviks who signed the "Open Letter" calling for the Party's liquidation. In 1917 elected to the C.C. of the Menshevik Party—240-42, 268

Yevsei—see *Leibovich*, *M.*

Yu. K.—see *Kamenev*, *L. B.*

Yudin—see *Aizenstadt*, *I. L.*

Yuri—see *Bekzadian*, *A. A.*

Yuri—see *Bronstein*, *P. A.*

Yuri—see *Grozhan*, *D. S.*

Yuri—see *Kamenev*, *L. B.*

Yurkevich (*Rybalka*), *Lev* (1885-1918)—Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist. Member of the C.C. of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party. In 1913-14 took an active part in *Dzvin*, the nationalist journal of a Menshevik trend. During the First World War published the monthly paper *Borotba* in Lausanne—512, 535

Yuriev—see *Vecheslov*, *M. G.*

Yuzef—see *Dzerzhinsky*, *F. E.*

Yuzhakov, *Sergei Nikolayevich* (1849-1910)—an ideologue of liberal Narodism, sociologist and publicist. Contributed to the journals *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, *Vestnik Yevropy* and others. One of the leading editors of the journal *Russkoye Bogatstvo*—55

Z

Zagorsky (*Lubotsky*), *Vladimir Mikhailovich* (1883-1919)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1902. Worked abroad on assignments of the Bolshevik centre. In 1918 elected secretary of the Moscow Party Committee—308

Zakharov, *Mikhail Vasilievich* (b. 1881)—workman, Bolshevik deputy to the Third Duma from the Moscow gubernia, contributor to the Bolshevik legal paper *Zvezda*—212

Zaks, *S. M.* (*Gladnev*, *S. M.*) (1884-1937)—writer, Social-Democrat. From 1911 contributed to the Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda*, and in 1912-13 to *Pravda* and Priboi Publishing House. Took a conciliatory stand towards the liquidators—294

Zalevski, *Kazimir* (1869-1918)—one of the founders of the Social-Democratic organisations in Lithuania and of the Union of Lithuanian Workers in 1895. In 1900 sponsored the Union's amalgamation with the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland, which formed the S.D. Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithu-

ania. From 1917 a member of the R.S.D.L.P. After the October Revolution worked in the newspaper *Izvestia*—329

Zaslavsky, David Iosifovich (1880-1965)—journalist, litterateur. Joined the revolutionary movement in 1900. From 1903 a member of the Bund; in 1917 elected to its C.C. In 1917-18 came out against the Bolsheviks. In 1919 supported the Soviet Government; worked in the Soviet press—633

Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (*V. I., Velika, Vel. Dm., Velika Dmitrievna*) (1849-1919)—prominent participant in the Narodnik movement, and subsequently in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Took part in the foundation and activities of the Emancipation of Labour group. In 1900 a member of the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903) sided with the Iskrist minority. After the Congress became a leader of Menshevism—48, 61, 75, 80, 85, 108, 116, 359

Zemlyachka Rozalia Samoilovna (*Zalkind, R. S., Demon, Osipov*) (1876-1947)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1893, a member of the Kiev Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., as an *Iskra* agent carried on work in Odessa and Yekaterinoslav. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was co-opted to the C.C. from the Bolsheviks; took an active part in fighting the Mensheviks. In August 1904 elected to the Majority Committees Bureau. Worked as secretary of the St. Petersburg Party organisation and was its delegate to the Third Congress of the Party. During the revolution of 1905-07 was secretary of the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. After the October Revolution held Party and administrative posts—119, 122, 133, 146, 149

Zetkin, Clara (1857-1933)—outstanding leader of the German and international labour movement, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany. Adherent to the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, Zetkin, together with Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Karl Liebknecht, took an active part in the fight against Bernstein and other opportunists. During the First World War adopted a revolutionary internationalist stand. In 1916 joined the *Internationale* group, which afterwards assumed the name of the Spartacus League. From 1919 a member of the Communist Party of Germany, member of its Central Committee and of the Comintern Executive Committee. From 1924 Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid—465, 473, 480, 514, 515

Zhitomirsky, Y. A. (b. 1880)—agent provocateur, infiltrated into the Social-Democratic movement. Served in the foreign agency of the Russian Department of Police from 1902—137

Zina—see *Lilina, Z. I.*

Zinoviev (*Radomyslsky, Grigory Yevseyevich, G., Gr., G. Z., Grigory*) (1883-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. From 1908 to April 1917 lived abroad as a political emigrant; was a member of the editorial board of the Party's Central Organ *Sotsial-Demokrat* and of the Central Committee. During the

period of preparation and carrying out of the October Revolution he displayed vacillation and came out against the armed uprising. The publication by Kamenev, in his own name and in the name of Zinoviev, in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, of a statement declaring their disagreement with the C.C.'s resolution on the armed uprising, was divulgence of a secret decision of the Party, a betrayal of the revolution.

After the October Revolution held a number of key posts. Came out repeatedly against the Party's Leninist policy: in November 1917 advocated the setting up of a coalition government with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries; in 1925 one of the sponsors of the New Opposition; in 1926 one of the leaders of the anti-Party Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. In November 1927 expelled from the Party for factional activity, subsequently twice reinstated and expelled again—205, 207, 215, 216-17, 224, 230, 241, 242, 243, 245, 272, 277, 340, 344, 351, 355, 396, 405, 406, 410, 412, 413, 424, 443, 450, 455, 456-64, 470-74, 475-76, 480-81, 483-84, 487-91, 495-96, 501-02, 509-10, 511-13, 516-29, 531-38, 540-42, 543-45, 548-56, 559, 561-63, 565-71, 572-74, 580, 582, 583, 584, 594, 599, 600, 606, 607, 614, 622, 625, 635

Zubatov, *Sergei Vasilievich* (1864-1917)—colonel of the gendarmes; in 1901-03 organised the police-sponsored workers' unions—the Society of Mutual Aid of Workers in Mechanical Production in Moscow, the Association of Russian Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, and others, with the aim of diverting the workers from the revolutionary struggle—52, 67

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СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 43

На английскот языке